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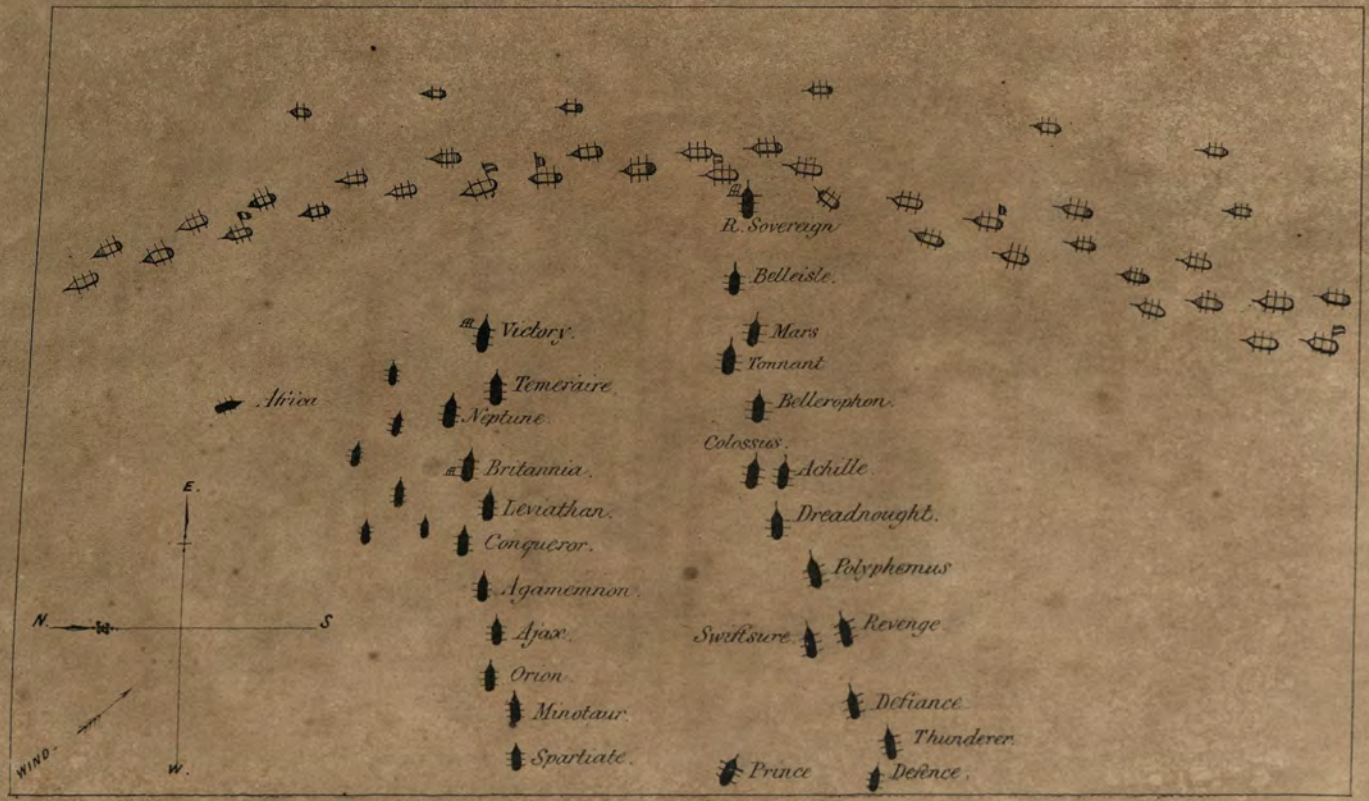

H Colburn 13. Gt Marlborough Street.

THE

DISPATCHES AND LETTERS

OF

VICE ADMIRAL

LORD VISCOUNT NELSON;

WITH NOTES BY

38792

SIR NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, G.C.M.G.

"The Nation expected, and was entitled to expect, that while Cities vied with each other in consecrating Statues in marble and brass to the memory of our Nelson, a Literary Monument would be erected, which should record his deeds for the immortal honour of his own Country, and the admiration of the rest of the World."—Quarterly Review.

THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

AUGUST TO OCTOBER 1805.

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PREFACE.

In this Volume the Collection of LORD NELSON'S Letters is completed, and such a variety of matter has been inserted, that it is the more necessary to give a particular account of the contents.

The Letters extend from the 1st of August 1805, (when LORD NELSON was on his way to Ushant, after his return from the West Indies in pursuit of the French Fleet) until the 21st of October, the day of his glorious death. On the 15th of August he joined the Channel Fleet under Admiral Cornwallis, with whom he left all his own Squadron except the Victory and Superb, and proceeded with these Ships to England. He arrived at Spithead on the 18th of August; the next day he struck his Flag, and then went to Merton.

The most remarkable of his Letters about this time is the one to Captain Fremantle, wherein he speaks, in a truly modest and generous manner, of Sir Robert Calder's Action. "Who," he asks, "can command all the success which our Country may wish? We have fought together, and therefore well know what it is. I have had the best disposed Fleet of friends, but who can say what will be the event of a Battle? and it most sincerely grieves me that in

any of the Papers it should be insinuated that LORD NELSON could have done better. I should have fought the Enemy, so did my friend Calder; but who can say that he will be more successful than another? I only wish to stand upon my own merits, and not by comparison, one way or the other, upon the conduct of a brother Officer. You will forgive this dissertation, but I feel upon the occasion;" and nothing could be more considerate or more magnanimous (remembering Sir Robert Calder's conduct towards him after the Battle of St. Vincent), than NELSON's treatment of that Officer on going home for his trial, when he diminished his own force and actually disobeyed the orders of the Admiralty, merely to indulge Sir Robert's weakness in wishing, at such a moment, to return in his own Ship, instead of a Frigate.

While on shore LORD NELSON again pointed out to Mr. Pitt the importance of preventing France from obtaining possession of Sardinia; and he was frequently consulted by Ministers on the great events that were then pending, of which conferences he gave an amusing account in a letter to Captain Keats.

On the morning of the 2nd of September, LORD NELSON, who was then at Merton, was informed by Captain Blackwood that the Combined Fleet had put into Cadiz; whereupon he immediately went to the Admiralty, and it was determined that he should resume the command of the Mediterranean Fleet. Amidst the bustle of his approaching departure he could nevertheless bestow much of his thoughts on his family and friends; and the few Letters which

he had time to write, related almost entirely to their interests. To the Private Secretary of the First Lord of the Admiralty, he wrote on behalf of his *protégé*, Captain Layman; to Mr. Rose, to ask for an appointment for his brother-in-law, Mr. Bolton; and the two predominant feelings of his heart—to defeat the Enemy, and to show kindness to all who were dependent upon him,—were strikingly manifested in his Letter to Mr. Davison of the 6th of September, wherein he said he hoped soon to meet the Combined Fleet, that half a victory would but half content him, that he was doubtful whether the Admiralty could give him a sufficient force; and after adding, "but I will do my best, and I hope God Almighty will go with me; I have much to lose, but little to gain, and I go because it's right, and I will serve my Country faithfully," he adverts to the condition of his brother Maurice's widow, "poor blind Mrs. Nelson," and directs that her apothecary's bill, to a large amount, should be paid. He quitted Merton—it proved for ever—on the night of the 13th of September, and his private Diary shows the feelings of piety and patriotism which then animated him: "At half-past ten drove from dear, dear Merton, where I left all which I hold dear in this world, to go and serve my King and Country; may the great God whom I adore, enable me to fulfil the expectations of my Country, and if it is His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the Throne of His Mercy. If it is His good providence to cut short my days upon

earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that He will protect those so dear to me, that I may leave behind. His will be done."

Lord Nelson arrived at Portsmouth early on the morning of the 14th of September, and, after an absence of only twenty-five days, rehoisted his Flag on board the Victory. In proceeding to the place of embarkation towards the latter part of that day, accompanied by his friends Mr. Rose and Mr. Canning, "a crowd collected in his train, pressing forward to obtain a sight of his face: many were in tears and many knelt down before him and blessed him as he passed:" touched with their enthusiasm, he exclaimed, "I had their huzzas before—I have their hearts now." The Victory sailed from Spithead on the morning of Sunday the 15th of September, in company with the Euryalus, Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood, and on the 28th joined the Fleet off Cadiz, under Vice-Admiral Collingwood. From this time until the 19th of October, when the Combined Fleet put to sea, Lord Nelson's correspondence related principally to the details of his Squadron, and to the expectation of meeting the Enemy, nearly all his Letters being addressed to Vice-Admiral Collingwood, or to Captain Blackwood, who had the arduous duty of watching the Enemy's movements in Cadiz. His account of his reception by the Captains of the Squadron is very characteristic: "I believe my arrival was most welcome, not only to the Commander of the Fleet, but also to every individual in it; and, when I came to

explain to them the '*Nelson touch*,' it was like an electric shock. Some shed tears; all approved—'It was new—it was singular—it was simple!'; and, from Admirals downwards, it was repeated—'It must succeed, if ever they will allow us to get at them! You are, my Lord, surrounded by friends whom you inspire with confidence.' Some may be Judases; but the majority are certainly much pleased with my commanding them." 'In another Letter he says, "The reception I met with on joining the Fleet caused the sweetest sensation of my life. The Officers who came on board to welcome my return, forgot my rank as Commander-in-Chief, in the enthusiasm with which they greeted me. As soon as these emotions were past, I laid before them the Plan I had previously arranged for attacking the Enemy; and it was not only my pleasure to find it generally approved, but clearly perceived and understood." Writing to Mr. Davison, he said, "Day by day, my dear friend, I am expecting the Fleet to put to sea—every day, hour, and moment; and you may rely that if it is within the power of man to get at them, that it shall be done; and I am sure that all my brethren look to that day as the finish of our laborious cruise. The event no man can say exactly; but I must think, or render great injustice to those under me, that, let the Battle be when it may, it will never have been surpassed. My shattered frame, if I survive that day, will require rest, and that is all I shall ask for. If I fall on such a glorious occasion, it shall be my pride to take care that my friends shall not blush

for me. These things are in the hands of a wise and just Providence, and His will be done! I have got some trifle, thank God, to leave to those I hold most dear, and I have taken care not to neglect it. Do not think I am low-spirited on this account, or fancy anything is to happen to me; quite the contrary—my mind is calm, and I have only to think of destroying our inveterate foe."

On the 9th of October he communicated his celebrated Plan of Attack, in writing, to every Captain under his command, and which is now printed, for the first time from his original autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir George Mundy. Sending it to Vice-Admiral Collingwood, he said, "I send you my Plan of Attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the Enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll., have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view,—that of annihilating our Enemies, and getting a glorious Peace for our Country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you: and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend." "I am watching these fellows," he said in a letter written on the same day, "as a cat would a mouse;" and on the 10th he wrote to Captain Blackwood, "I rely on you that we can't miss getting hold of them, and I will give them such a shaking as they never

yet experienced; at least, I will lay down my life in the attempt."

NELSON's dearest hopes were fulfilled, by intelligence, on Saturday the 19th of October, that the Enemy's Fleet had put to sea; and having made the necessary arrangements for meeting them, he wrote two letters, one to Lady Hamilton, in which he said, "May the God of Battles crown my endeavours with success; at all events I will take care that my name shall ever be most dear to you and to Horatia;" and the other to his child, sending her his "affectionate parental blessing."

On Sunday the 20th, LORD NELSON apprehended, from its blowing fresh and being thick weather, that the Enemy would return into Port; but at daylight on the 21st of October the Combined Fleet was discovered in a close Line of Battle about ten miles distant, apparently waiting his attack. The signals to "Form the Order of Sailing in two columns," and to "Prepare for Battle," were immediately hoisted; and every preparation having been made for Action, he retired to his Cabin, and, on his knees, wrote that Prayer which, from its simple beauty as a composition, and from its indicating the sentiments of his mind at such a moment, will, like his immortal Signal, be remembered as long as the English language may endure. He then added, in his own hand, a Codicil to his Will, solely to solicit the beneficence of his Country to the two persons whom he loved best in the world,—to the one, on public grounds in reward of public services—

and to the other as his adopted daughter, who he desired should, in future, bear the name of NELSON only. "These are," he said, "the only favours I ask of my King and Country at this moment when I am going to fight their Battle. May God bless my King and Country, and all those I hold dear." This solemn request has, however, to this hour, been utterly disregarded.

The vast importance and imperishable glory of the BATTLE of TRAFALGAR, and the deep interest which must ever be felt respecting NELSON'S death, have induced the Editor to collect, from every available source, all the information on the subject in his power; and he believes that no similar event has ever been so fully illustrated.

To the narrative by Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Beatty, of what took place before the Battle, have been added the letters of Captain Blackwood, and some valuable communications from Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, who commanded the Orion, and from Captain Pasco, who was LORD NELSON'S Signal Lieutenant. Of the Battle three accounts are given, namely, the one in "James's Naval History," which is the fullest and most circumstantial that has been written; the French account in the "Monumens des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français," no Official report having ever been published; and the Spanish Official and other accounts.

Mr. James's narrative has been illustrated by a copy of the Log of every British Ship in the Action, including those of the Frigates, Cutter, and Schooner,

which are now for the first time printed, and of all the Signals that were made; by the Official and Private Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood; and by Letters from Captain Blackwood, the Marquis de Solano, Governor of Cadiz, and Vice-Admiral Alava.

The fall of LORD NELSON and his dying moments are described in Dr. Beatty's most interesting Narrative, to which some notes are appended.

Of the statements that appeared in some of the French Newspapers (the "Moniteur" maintained a rigid and prudent silence), and of those circulated in Spain, it is sufficient to observe that their mendacity was as audacious as it was absurd; but the description given of the Battle in the celebrated French work above mentioned, is more worthy of a great Nation, whose indisputable prowess and military glory require no aid from the misrepresentation of facts.

To these statements are added, an account of the proceedings in England respecting the Battle of Trafalgar; of the honours rendered to NELSON'S memory by Addresses to the Throne, a Public Funeral, &c.; of the feeling manifested by his Sovereign and the Royal Family, and especially by His late Majesty, King George the Fourth, then Prince of Wales; and of the Speeches in Parliament on voting a provision for the inheritors of his Honours. Then follow notices of the "Victory," and of the Admirals and Captains who were at Trafalgar; remarks on the dress in which NELSON fell, to disprove the often repeated assertion

that he purposely put on his decorations on going into Battle; of the Monuments that have been erected to his memory; and of the Poems in which it has been attempted to celebrate his fame. To these is added, what will probably be read with no common interest, all that is known of the history of the child whom he styled his "adopted daughter," HORATIA NELSON. That statement is the more curious from its containing some particulars of the true cause of LORD NELSON'S separation from his wife.

It has been observed in the Prefaces to the other Volumes of this Work, that many of LORD NELSON'S Letters had been sent to the Editor too late for insertion in their proper places, and among others, those to Admiral Sir John Jervis, to Mr. Trevor, Minister at Turin, to Mr. Drake, Minister at Genoa, to Mr. Wyndham, Minister at Florence, and to other persons, in 1795 and 1796; to Earl Spencer, to the Earl of St. Vincent, to Mr. Davison, to Lady Nelson, and to Lady Hamilton. These Letters, in all about two hundred and fifty, have been inserted in the form of ADDENDA, in strict chronological order, illustrated in the same manner as the former. As one of the illustrations of the latter part of the Correspondence consists of extracts from such of the Logs of LORD NELSON'S Ships as are now in the Editor's possession, he has prefixed to those additional Letters such passages in the Logs of the "Albemarle" and "Boreas," from August 1781 to December 1787, and of the "Agamemnon" and "Captain," from January 1793 to the end of 1796, as would have formed Notes

to the Letters in the First Volume, had those manuscripts then been in his hands. These extracts, and particularly the Logs of the "Albemarle" and "Boreas," afford much information on a period of LORD NELSON's career of which little was previously known.

His correspondence in 1795 and 1796 related chiefly to his proceedings on the Coast of Italy, and some of the Letters were partly printed in the first and second Volumes from Clarke and M'Arthur's "Life of Nelson," but so incorrectly and with so many omissions, that it was necessary to reprint them; and if their copies be compared with the originals, the unjustifiable manner in which those writers mutilated documents will be at once perceived.

Having been favoured with a copy of a very full and interesting description of the Battle of the Nile, written at the time by the gallant Captain Miller, who commanded the Theseus in the Action, and for which the Editor has to offer his best thanks to Miss Miller, he has placed it among the additional Letters.

The Letter from Sir John Acton to LORD NELSON, of the 1st of August 1799, deserves particular attention, as it shows that when he went to Naples in June in that year, he had received the fullest powers from the King of the Two Sicilies. After alluding to the misconduct of Cardinal Ruffo, and to his "unaccountable and shameful capitulation intended for the Castles of Ovo and Nuovo," and saying that LORD NELSON's "prudent moderation in regard to the Cardinal had been followed by His Majesty," Sir

John Acton observes, "It was in your Lordship's power to arrest the Cardinal, and send him to Palermo;" hence, as was assumed in the Editor's remarks[1] on the transactions at Naples in June 1799, the authority vested in LORD NELSON by His Sicilian Majesty, must have been superior to that of Cardinal Ruffo, or of any other Sicilian subject. Moreover, the additional Letters from Earl Spencer to LORD NELSON confirm the belief before expressed, that his proceedings at Naples had received the unqualified approbation of his own Government. Writing on the 4th of August, Lord Spencer said, "I have to thank you for a long string of letters, most of which have been a very considerable time finding their way to me; but, when they have reached, they have been very satisfactory. You must have gone through a great deal of anxiety, but I hope that your perseverance and spirit will ere this be amply rewarded by the complete reinstatement of the King at Naples, which, I trust, has by this time taken place." And again, on the 18th of the same month, "I received with great satisfaction on the 16th instant, your letter of the 15th of July. The account it conveyed of the repossession of Naples, and of your having restored the King to his Dominions, was calculated to give the most sincere pleasure to every one here; and it has given to none of your friends more joy than to myself, that this restoration should have been effected so entirely by your means, with

[1] Vide vol. iv. p. 490.

the assistance of the gallant companions of your services."

Many of the new Letters are of great interest, especially those to Mr. Davison, as they show LORD NELSON'S private feelings on some important occasions, especially respecting the Battle of Copenhagen.

The remaining part of the Volume contains LORD NELSON'S Will and the Codicils thereto; and in the APPENDIX, are the official account of his Funeral, and copy of the Patent creating the Earldom of NELSON, to which is added an Index Nominum to the whole a Work.

Having completed his undertaking, and given to the Public about three thousand five hundred Letters of NELSON, the Editor congratulates himself that (with the exception of the Letters to Lady Hamilton, which had been before printed, and of which, however, the greater part is inserted,) he has been able to carry his plan into full effect, namely, to give all the Letters which fell into his hands, exactly as they were written; and having done so, he refers with pride to that plan, and again asks if this fact does not "redound to the honour of NELSON'S heart, and show the beautiful simplicity and integrity of his private character, in a far higher degree than all the eulogies ever composed on his merits, reflecting lustre upon even his matchless Victories. In what other instance strictly parallel has this ever been done? in how many would it be possible to do so without irreparable damage to the writer? and to accomplish it, who would not insert

a few Letters which may seem trivial, and a few sentences which, being the momentary effect of irritation of mind or body, it might perhaps be wished had never been written?"

But there is a still higher cause for congratulation than the success of any Editorial plan, in the reception which the Monument thus erected by NELSON to his own fame, has met with from all classes of his countrymen. The generous, he might almost say the enthusiastic, manner in which the Public Press has rendered homage to his glory, and done justice to his character, shows that the love of NELSON is a National feeling, and that "his Name, that magical word of war," will live for ever.

The Editor again offers his warmest thanks to the numerous persons who have contributed materials for the Work, and besides those already mentioned, to Lord Nelson's intimate friend and executor, William Haslewood, Esq. He will still feel greatly obliged for copies of any unpublished Letters, as well as for copies of such as have not been printed from the originals.

Torrington Square,
14th May, 1846.

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CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. p. 62. *For* "Portsmouth, April 16th 1762," *read* "April 6th."
— p. 336. *For* "1773" *read* "1793."
— p. 347. The date of the Letter to Captain Locker, viz., "Agamemnon, St. Fiorenzo, January 17th 1794," was certainly a mistake, as it must have been written on the 17th of January 1795.
Vol. II. p. 273, line 12. The "11th of September," must have been a clerical error for "17th."
— p. 409. The date of the Letter to Earl Spencer, in the Autograph in the Spencer Papers, is the "19th" instead of the "13th of July 1799."
— p. 442. *For* "To — Manley" *read* "Stanley."
Vol. IV. p. 161. The Letter to Mr. Nepean of the 23rd of December 1799 is accidentally repeated.
Vol, VII. p. 14. The Letter of Mr. Scott was dated on the 17th of August 1805.

Addenda.

Page cxiii. *For* "September 21st 1796," *read* "September 24th 1796."
Page clxxxv. *For* "Palermo, June 13th 1799," *read* "Palermo, January 13th 1799."
Page ccxl. It should have been stated that Lord Nelson's Will and seven Codicils were Proved on the 23rd of December 1805, by William Earl Nelson, and William Haslewood, Esq., and that the eighth and last Codicil was brought in and Proved by the same Executors on the 11th of September 1806.

ANALYSIS

OF THE

LIFE OF NELSON,

FROM AUGUST 1 TO OCTOBER 21, 1805.

YEAR.	MONTH.		FACTS.
1805.	August	1st . . .	VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE, with his Flag in the "Victory," on his passage to Ushant from Gibraltar, after returning from the pursuit of the French Fleet to the West Indies.
—	—	15th . . .	Off Ushant, joined the Channel Fleet under Admiral Cornwallis, and proceeded to Spithead accompanied by the "Superb."
—	—	17th . . .	Anchored at Dunose.
—	—	18th . . .	Anchored at Spithead, and thence went to the Motherbank.
—	—	19th . . .	Struck his Flag and went to Merton; living principally at Merton, but occasionally in London.
—	September	2nd . . .	Informed at Merton by the Hon. Captain Blackwood, that the Combined Fleet had put into Cadiz. Ordered to resume the command of the Mediterranean Fleet.
—	—	13th . . .	Left Merton.
—	—	14th . . .	Arrived at Portsmouth, and re-hoisted his Flag on board the "Victory."
—	—	15th . . .	Sailed in company with the "Euryalus."
—	—	16th . . .	Off Portland.
—	—	17th . . .	Off Plymouth.
—	—	18th . . .	Off the Lizard.

YEAR.	MONTH.		FACTS.
1805, *continued*			VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE.
—	September	23rd	. . Off Cape Finisterre.
—	—	25th	. . . Off Lisbon.
—	—	26th . . }	Off Cape St. Vincent.
—	—	27th . . }	
—	—	28th	. . . Joined the Fleet off Cadiz, under Vice-Admiral Collingwood.
			In command of the Fleet off Cadiz.
—	October	19th	. . . The Enemy's Fleet put to sea.
—	—	21st	. . . BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR. At 1. 30. P.M. Mortally wounded, and at 4. 30. DIES.

—	December	23rd	. . His Body landed at Greenwich.
1806.	January	8th.	Conveyed to the Admiralty.
—	—	9th	Deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral.

LETTERS.

1805—ÆT. 46.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Sea, 1st August, 1805.

Sir,

A duplicate of my letter to you of the 29th of May, 1804, on the subject of the Maria Theresa[1], captured and condemned as a legal Prize to the Victory as therein stated, accompanies this; and as I have not as yet been favoured with an answer to the said letter in original, and my sentiments on the justice and propriety of the proceeds of the said Vessel being given to the Captors still continuing the same, and the Officers and Company of the Victory having frequently mentioned to Captain Hardy the hardship of being so long kept out of their money, and requested that he would communicate the same to me, that the necessary steps might be taken to enable them to receive their Prize-money for the said Ship, I request that you will be pleased to communicate this letter, and the duplicate one above mentioned, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and move them to give such directions as they may judge necessary for the proceeds of the said Maria Theresa being immediately paid to the Agent of the Captors, that the Officers and Company of the Victory may receive their proportions, as early as possible.

[1] Vide vol. vi. p. 40.

I must beg to observe, that the detention of this Vessel's proceeds as a Droit of Admiralty, in my humble opinion, is a singular instance; and when their Lordships take into account that the poor Sailor who claims his due, has been for these two last years shut up from every comfort of the shore, and in want of his little pittance (almost the only thing he has made) to procure him some few necessaries of life, I am sure they will agree with me in the propriety of its being immediately paid.

I shall not here enter into the prompt payment of all Prize-money being made general, as their Lordships must be well aware of the happy consequences of such a measure, by keeping the Seamen in good humour, and adding some few comforts to their situation. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 418.]

3rd August, 1805.

I feel every moment of this foul wind, but I trust in Providence that it is all for the best; although I, a poor weak mortal, suffer severely from the mortification of so apparently long a passage as this will probably be, from the continuance of Northerly winds. We are in Lat. 39° N., Long. 16° W., course West. No information; all night light airs[a].

[a] During Lord Nelson's passage from the West Indies, the following circumstance is stated by Clarke and M'Arthur (vol. ii. p. 417) to have occurred, and which, Southey says, "more than any other event in real history, resembles those whimsical proofs of sagacity which Voltaire in his *Zadig* has borrowed from the Orientals:"—

"An American Merchant Ship, spoken by one of the Frigates, had fallen in, a little to the Westward of the Azores, with an armed Vessel, having the appearance of a Privateer dismasted, and which had evident marks of having been set fire to, and run on board by another Ship, the impression of whose stern had penetrated the top sides. The crew had forsaken her, and the fire most probably had gone out of its own accord. In the cabin had been found a Log-book and a few seamen's jackets, which were given to the Officer, and taken on board the Victory;

TO CAPTAIN HARGOOD, H. M. SHIP BELLEISLE.

[From a press copy in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Victory, August 5th, 1805.

My dear Hargood,

Nothing but your desire to save the —— of the Belleisle from the fate which would justly await him, should your charges against him be proved, could have induced me to allow of your forgiveness of such faults as his have been; and I sincerely hope that he will show his gratitude to you for this great proof of your goodness to him. I hope you will severely admonish him, and that his future conduct will show his sincere contrition. I am ever, dear Hargood, yours most faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

I am dreadfully uneasy at not getting a fair wind;—I feel every moment an age, for the Enemy's Fleet may be off Ireland, or in the Channel. You were told by Telegraph that the Curieux saw the Combined Squadron on June 19th: I

and, with these, the Admiral immediately endeavoured to explain the mystery, and to discover some further intelligence of the Enemy. The Log-book, which closed with this remark, 'Two large Ships in the W.N.W.' showed, in his opinion, that the abandoned Vessel had been a Liverpool Privateer cruising off the Western Islands. In the leaves of this Log-book, a small scrap of dirty paper was found filled with figures, which no one could make anything of but Lord Nelson, who immediately on seeing it, remarked, 'They are French characters!' which probably stimulated him to a stricter observation. After an attentive examination, he said, 'I can unravel the whole: this Privateer had been chased and taken by the two Ships that were seen in the W.N.W. The Prize Master, who had been put on board in a hurry, omitted to take with him his reckoning; there is none in the Log-book: and this dirty scrap of paper, which none of you could make anything of, contains his work for the number of days since the Privateer last set Corvo, with an unaccounted-for run, which I take to have been the chase, in his endeavour to find out his situation by back-reckonings. The jackets I find to be the manufacture of France, which prove the Enemy was in possession of the Privateer; and I conclude, by some mismanagement she was run on board of afterwards by one of them, and dismasted. Not liking delay (for I am satisfied those two Ships were the advanced ones of the French Squadron), and fancying we were close at their heels, they set fire to the Vessel, and abandoned her in a hurry. If my explanation, gentlemen, be correct, I infer from it they are gone more to the Northward, and more to the Northward I will look for them.' Subsequent information proved that he was correct in every part of this interpretation."

am sorry that Captain Bettesworth did not stand back, and try and find us out. I feel very unlucky. I need not say that I shall always be glad to see you.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 418.]

8th August, 1805.

In summer time, coming from the Mediterranean, you must not expect to lose the Northerly wind, until you get into the Longitude of 17° W.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL LOUIS.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 418.]

"August 15th. P.M. noon, saw the Channel Fleet E. b. S.: twenty-four Sail of the Line, one Sloop, one Brig, one Cutter, and a Schooner."—*Signal Log.*

"At 3, saw Ushant bearing S.E. b. E. eight or nine leagues. At 6, saluted Admiral Cornwallis in H. M. Ship Ville de Paris with fifteen guns, which was returned with eleven. Hove to. 7.45, filled and made sail."—*Victory's Log.*

15th August, 1805.

Sir,

I have only a moment to beg that you will be so good as to express, in the manner best calculated to do justice, the high sense I entertain of the merit of the Captains, Officers, and Ships' Companies, lately composing the Squadron under my command[3]; and assure their able and zealous Commanders, that their conduct has met my warmest approbation. I have only to repeat the high opinion I entertain of your distinguished conduct. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[3] On joining the Channel Fleet, Lord Nelson left all his Squadron except the Superb, with which Ship, pursuant to orders from the Admiralty, he was directed by Admiral Cornwallis, on the 15th of August, to proceed in the Victory to Spithead.

TO CAPTAIN FREMANTLE.

[From a press copy in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Victory, August 16th, 1805.

My dear Fremantle,

I could not last night sit down to thank you for your truly kind letter, and for your large packet of newspapers, for I was in truth bewildered by the account of Sir Robert Calder's Victory[4], and the joy of the event; together with the hearing that *John Bull* was not content, which I am sorry for. Who can, my dear Fremantle, command all the success which our Country may wish? We have fought together[5], and therefore well know what it is. I have had the best disposed Fleet of friends, but who can say what will be the event of a Battle? and it most sincerely grieves me, that in any of the papers it should be insinuated, that Lord Nelson could have done better. I should have fought the Enemy, so did my friend Calder; but who can say that he will be more successful than another? I only wish to stand upon my own merits, and not by comparison, one way or the other, upon the conduct of a Brother Officer. You will forgive this dissertation, but I feel upon the occasion. Is George Martin[6] with you? If so remember me to him kindly. I have said all you wish to Admiral Murray, and to good Captain Hardy. Dr. Scott says you remember everybody but *him*. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Fremantle, and with the most sincere wishes that you may have the Neptune close alongside a French three-decker[7].

Believe me as ever, my dear Fremantle, your most faithful and affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[4] Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder's Action with a superior force off Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July, when two Spanish Ships of the Line were captured. For not having done his utmost to renew the Action, Sir Robert Calder was sentenced by a Court-Martial to be "severely reprimanded."

[5] At Copenhagen, where Captain Fremantle commanded the Ganges.

[6] Now Admiral Sir George Martin, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

[7] This wish was realized at Trafalgar, when Captain Fremantle commanded the Neptune of 98 guns.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Sea, August 12th, 1805.

Sir,

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having directed me, by their order dated the 26th October, 1804, to take the Tribune under my command, I beg leave to acquaint you for their Lordships' information, that Captain Bennett arrived at Gibraltar in December following; that after giving orders to the Ships at that place under my command, directing them to perform different services, he judged proper to proceed and cruize, and afterwards to proceed to England; and their Lordships by your letter of the 15th February last having disapproved of his conduct, and acquainted me that it was their intention to bring him to a Court Martial for not proceeding and putting himself under my command (which afterwards took place), I must in justice to myself [8] and the other Flag Officers concerned, beg to represent to their Lordships that the Tribune captured some valuable Prizes on her cruize from Gibraltar to England, three-eighths of which, I understand, Captain Bennet has claimed as his own exclusive right, by which means myself, and the other Flag Officers on the Mediterranean Station, are excluded from what certainly justice, and as far as I interpret the Proclamation for the distribution of Prize-money, entitle us to. It is also proper to observe that several letters on His Majesty's Service, inclosing orders to any Captain or Commander whose Ship was intended by their Lordships to compose a part of the Mediterranean Fleet, were left with Commissioner Otway, to put themselves under my command, and join me agreeably to the Rendezvous, also inclosed in each of the said letters; but Commissioner Otway being absent at Malta, Mr. Pownall, the Store-keeper in whose charge the said letters on Service were left, did not, it appears, from the then sickly state of the Garrison, deliver one of them to Captain Bennett. And these particular circumstances, and the Proclamation above alluded to, 'stating in case any difficulty shall arise in respect to the said distribution not herein sufficiently

[8] Vide vol. vi. p. 313.

provided for, the same shall be referred to our Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, whose direction thereupon shall be final and have the same force and effect as if herein inserted;' I have to request that you will be pleased to move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to give the necessary directions for myself, and the other Flag Officers, being paid the Flag eighth of such Captures as were made by the Tribune during her cruize from Gibraltar to England, on the occasion before mentioned. I need not point out to their Lordships the serious ill-consequences that may arise to the Service, if Junior Officers, in disobedience of their orders to join a Commander-in-Chief, judge proper to consider the performance of any other service necessary, in preference to that on which they are particularly ordered, (and that they are to receive a reward of one-eighth of all the Captures they may make, for such disobedience of their orders,) as they are too evident to escape their notice; and if, in one instance, the point is given up, a private Captain may find many excuses, and cruize for any length of time without joining his Commander-in-Chief.

I am not much in the habit of interfering in Prize concerns, but the present appears a proper instance for Flag Officers doing justice to the Service, as well as for preventing Junior Officers from being guilty of a similar line of imprudence. This case coming so perfectly within the spirit of the Proclamation, and their Lordships' particular cognizance, affords me reason to hope that they will be pleased to give such directions as will make any interference of the law unnecessary.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN KEATS, H. M. SHIP SUPERB.

[Autograph in the possession of the Rev. Richard Keats.]

Victory, August 17th, 1805

My dear Keats,

I send you the last batch of newspapers, which will detail to you Sir Robert Calder's Action. By all accounts, I am satisfied their original destination was the Mediterranean, but they heard frequently of our track. If it continues little wind,

perhaps you will come on board and stay dinner; you will meet a hearty welcome from, my dear Keats, your most obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—I shall answer the Officer who may come for Pratique; therefore only give him my Bill of Health, without answering questions.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

"August 17th. P.M. 10.15, anchored at Dunose. August 18th: A.M. at 4, weighed and made sail to Spithead; saluted Admiral Montague in H. M. Ship Royal William. At 8.30, anchored at Spithead; Superb anchored here. P.M. at 4, weighed and made sail for the Motherbank. At 6.14, anchored. Superb anchored here."—*Victory's Log.*

Victory, at Spithead, 18th August, 1805.

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the evening of the 15th inst. I joined the Honorable Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, with His Majesty's Ships named in the margin[9]; that on doing so I received an order from him to proceed immediately with the Victory and Superb to Spithead, where I arrived this morning.

I enclose you for their Lordships' information, a duplicate list of the state of the Ships therein mentioned, the original of which I transmitted to Admiral Cornwallis, not having the honour of paying my respects to him, as he was good enough (being the close of the day when we joined) to send me his order by one of the Cutters, with a request that I would not think of coming out of the Victory at that time of night, but proceed as before mentioned. The Companies of the Victory and Superb are in most perfect health, and only require some vegetables and other refreshments to remove the scurvy. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[9] Victory, Canopus, Superb, Spencer, Belleisle, Spartiate, Conqueror, Tigre, Leviathan, Donegal, Swiftsure.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Spithead, 18th August, 1805.

Sir,

You will herewith receive an account of specie on board His Majesty's Ships named in the margin, found in the Military chests belonging to the Regiment of Castile, and on board the several detained Spanish Merchant Vessels mentioned in the said list, which you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that such directions may be given about its disposal on the arrival of the Ships in Port, which it is on board of, as their Lordships shall think proper. At the same time you will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships that the uncertainty of any of the Squadron (late under my command) returning to England, prevented me from ordering the specie to be put on board the Superb, which otherwise was my intention.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—The 6808 dollars taken out of a Spanish Vessel by the Spencer, were supplied to the respective Captains, being in distress for money, and for which my Secretary, Mr. Scott, has their bills and receipts, and will deliver them when directed.

[Inclosure.]

AN ACCOUNT OF SPECIE FOUND ON BOARD THE DIFFERENT SPANISH SHIPS DETAINED BY THE FLEET UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B. AND DUKE OF BRONTE, &C. &C., BETWEEN THE 15TH NOVEMBER 1804 AND THE 11TH JANUARY 1805.

	Dollars.
15th November, 1804.—To Specie found in the Military Chest belonging to the Regiment of Castile, and taken on board the Canopus for security	3707½
To Specie found in the Military Chest, belonging to the above Regiment, and taken on board the Conqueror for security	3701

	Dollars.
To Specie found in the Military Chest, belonging to the above Regiment, and taken on board the Excellent for security	4734
17th November.—To Specie taken out of a Spanish Vessel by the Spencer, and afterwards let go.....	6808
27th November.—To Specie found on board the Pearl, Spanish Vessel, and taken on board the Canopus for security	112,307¾
18th, 19th, and 20th November.—To Specie found on board the Spanish Ships Concepçion, Michauic, and Santa Anna, by the Leviathan and Ambuscade, and taken on board the former for security	19,430
5th December.—To Specie found on board the Spanish Polacre, Virgin del Carmen, and taken on board the Leviathan for security.....	1075
Total	151,763

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Spithead, 18th August, 1805.

Sir,

I must beg you will be good enough to recommend James Marguette (Pilot), the bearer hereof, mentioned in my letter in original and duplicate dated the 10th ult.[1], to their Lordships' kind attention. He is a most valuable and useful man as a Pilot for the Leeward Islands, and very handsomely volunteered his services to me, as mentioned in my said letters; and as he is a perfect stranger in London, and consequently will be apt to be imposed upon, I must beg that he may be taken particular care of, and put in a way for a speedy passage to Barbadoes. I have paid him, as per Certificate from the Captain of the Victory, at the rate of 5s. per day, from the 14th of June to the date hereof, as he has no money to defray his expenses during his stay in England; and beg, if their Lordships consider him entitled to more, that they will be so good as order him to be paid; and also furnish him with such a further sum as they may think proper, to defray his expenses, and be some compensation for the inconvenience and loss he may sustain in the absence from his

[1] Vide vol. vi. p. 470.

home. I must also beg, when their Lordships order him a passage in any of His Majesty's Ships, that they will be pleased to direct him to be borne as a Pilot, that he may receive the allowance as such till he arrives at Barbadoes.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE COLLECTOR OF THE CUSTOMS, OR THOSE IT MAY CONCERN.

[From a Copy inclosed in the preceding Letter.]

Victory, Spithead, August 18th, 1805.

The Victory, with the Fleet under my command, left Gibraltar twenty-seven days ago, at which time there was not a fever in the Garrison, nor, as Doctor Fellows told me, any apprehension of one.

The Fleet late under my command I left on August 15th with Admiral Cornwallis, at which time they were in the most perfect health. Neither the Victory, or the Superb, have on board even an object for the Hospital, to the truth of which I pledge my word of honour.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Spithead, 18th August, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Captain Hardy of the Victory, with the one therein alluded to from the Surgeon of the said Ship, representing the very bad state of Captain Hardy's health, and the necessity of his being permitted to go on shore for a short time, for the recovery thereof. I also enclose you a letter from the Physician of the Mediterranean Fleet on the above subject; and as my personal knowledge of these facts, as well as the reluct-

ance with which Captain Hardy is under in making this application, I have to beg you will be pleased to move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to grant that valuable Officer such indulgence of absence[2] as they shall think proper, for the recovery of his health. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Victory, August 18th, 1805.

My dear Davison,

You will have heard before I write this line, that the Victory is at Spithead. I hope we are not to be put in Quarantine; for we have neither sick, or have had in the Fleet. Neither this Ship, or Superb, which is come with me, have one man to send to the Hospital. You will have felt, I am sure, for all my ill-luck, or rather d—n General Brereton. As I shall see you very soon, I will only say that I am as ever, my dear Davison, your most obliged and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Leake.]

Victory, Motherbank, August 19th, 1805.

My dear Sir,

I am much obliged by your kind letter of yesterday, and the inclosure; this is the first time in my life[3] that I have been in Quarantine. We are now out twenty-eight days;

[2] The Admiralty complied with this request, and appointed an Acting Captain to the Victory; but Captain Hardy rejoined her with Lord Nelson in the following month.

[3] Considering how long Lord Nelson had served in the Mediterranean, this fact is very remarkable. He had however once placed his whole Squadron in Quarantine for a week, in consequence of having communicated with a Ship from Tunis. Vide vol. v. p. 205.

and the most rigorous in the Mediterranean for a Ship of War, is only twenty days from our last communication with an unhealthy place, if the Ship is healthy. I shall see you as soon as I can, and thank you for your kind attentions. Ever, my dear Sir, your obliged

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN KEATS, H. M. SHIP SUPERB.

[Autograph in the possession of the Rev. Richard Keats.]

Victory, August 19th, 1805.

My dear Keats,

I would not ask you to dine here yesterday, as we were to move just at dinner time. I have made the signal for the Cutter's[4] boat under whose orders we are, to know if we may communicate: if he says 'Yes,' I will hoist the Assent and Superb's Pendants; if 'No,' the Negative. If we can communicate, I shall expect of course to see you, and to stay dinner. I do not expect Pratique before to-morrow. Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE REV. DR. NELSON.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 419.]

19th August, 1805.

My dear Brother,

You will have heard of our arrival, but I know you would like better to have it under my hand. I am but so-so—yet, what is very odd, the better for going to the West Indies, even with the anxiety. We must not talk of Sir Robert Calder's Battle: I might not have done so much with my small force. If I had fallen in with them, you would probably have been a Lord before I wished; for I know they meant to make a dead set at the Victory. Hardy is, I am sorry to say, very

[4] A Cutter which was placed near the Victory and Superb at the Motherbank, to enforce the Quarantine Regulations.

unwell. Give my kind love to Mrs. Nelson, Horace, &c. and best regards to Archdeacon Yonge, to Rolfe, and our other friends; and be assured that I am your most affectionate brother,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO JOHN SCOTT, ESQ., SECRETARY TO LORD NELSON.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 420.]

"19th August. At 9, P.M., hauled down Lord Nelson's Flag."—*Victory's Log.* Lord Nelson proceeded immediately to Merton, and arrived there early the following morning. He soon after went to London, and had an interview with the Secretary of State for the War Department, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and with some others of the Ministers.

[About 19th August, 1805.]

I cannot allow myself to part from you, even, as I hope, for a very short time, without giving you the assurance of my sincere esteem and regard; and to say, that, as a Secretary, for ability, punctuality, and regularity, I believe your superior is not to be met with; and as a Gentleman, that your whole conduct has been most exemplary. Wishing you health and every felicity, believe me always, my dear Sir, your obliged and sincere friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO LADY COLLIER.

[Autograph in the possession of Commodore Sir Francis A. Collier, C.B.]

Merton, August 22d, 1805.

Lord Nelson's compliments to Lady Collier, begs to say that Francis[5] was very well, and a good Officer. Lord Nelson begs his best respects to Mrs. Mills.

[5] Now Commodore Sir Francis Augustus Collier, K.C.H., C.B., and Superintendent of Woolwich Dock Yard.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Autograph in the Admiralty.]

Merton, August 24th, 1805.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your letter of the 22nd, inclosing Mr. Gosling's report upon the Maria Theresa, taken by the Ambuscade, when she was Prize to the Victory.[6] It never could be contended, but that all Captures made by Ships not Commissioned, belong of right to the Crown, but as in *no* instance that I have ever heard of, and as must be known to every Sea-Member of the Board, the Vessels manned (in every War) by Officers and Men belonging to His Majesty's Ships taking Prizes, they have in every instance been condemned as Prizes taken by the Ship, to which such Officers and Men belonged. A deviation I once heard of, when a Ship of War, being in sight, claimed the capture; and I have heard the Vessel manned from the other Ship only shared as a Cutter or Privateer, but the proceeding was considered as very shabby. This right being, when prosecuted, certainly in the Crown as a Droit of Admiralty, I rely with confidence that the Officers and Crew of the Victory will not be the first, and perhaps the solitary instance, of such proceedings. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN KEATS, H. M. SHIP SUPERB.

[Autograph in the possession of the Rev. Richard Keats.]

Merton, August 24th, 1805.

My dear Keats,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Nothing, I do assure you, could give me more pleasure than to have you at all times near me, for without a compliment, I believe your head is as judicious as your heart is brave, and neither, I believe, can be exceeded. Yesterday the Secretary of State[7],

[6] Vide vol. vi. p. 40, and p. 1 ante.

[7] Lord Castlereagh (afterwards Marquis of Londonderry, K.G.) was, however, Gazetted as Secretary of State on the 10th of July, 1805, six weeks before the date of this letter.

which is a man who has only sat one solitary day in his Office, and of course knows but little of what is passed, and indeed the Minister, were all full of the Enemy's Fleet, and as I am now set up for a *Conjuror*, and God knows they will very soon find out I am far from being one, I was asked my opinion, against my inclination, for if I make one wrong guess the charm will be broken; but this I ventured without any fear, that if Calder got fairly close alongside their twenty-seven or twenty-eight Sail, that by the time the Enemy had beat our Fleet soundly, they would do us no harm this year. The Royal Duke[8] wrote you from Merton about yourself, I believe, but when I can see Lord Castlereagh I shall know positively what they mean to do; perhaps you may pass by Merton in your way to London; if you come by Epsom it is the nearest road to pass my door. Ever, my dear Keats, your most faithful and obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

You see [by] my writing tackle that I am not mounted as a Commander-in-Chief. Pray thank Admiral Montagu for his kind letter. I have not time to write to all my numerous correspondents, and I hope many of them, friends.

TO WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of the Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon.]

Merton, August 26th, 1805.

My dear Mr. Beckford,

Our dear Lady Hamilton has told me that you have had the goodness to write to me some time past, but which letter, nor indeed any *one* (except a few from her Ladyship in April) have I received since December last year. No less than four Dispatch Vessels being lost or taken, and the letters by other Vessels having followed me to the West Indies, therefore, my good friend, if you have supposed for one moment that I have been neglectful in answering your letter, this will do away any such suspicion, for I do assure you, my dear Mr. Beckford, there are very few persons who I have a higher

[8] The Duke of Clarence, who had called on Lord Nelson at Merton.

respect for; and so I ought, for none have been kinder or more attentive to me, both in receiving me as a Public man, or a private friend than yourself. I have only a moment to scrawl this line, but I would not delay it one moment, as none wishes to stand higher in your good opinion than, my dear Mr. Beckford, your much obliged humble servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR RICHARD NEAVE, BART., AND THE COMMITTEE OF WEST INDIA MERCHANTS.

[From Harrison's Life of Nelson, vol. ii. p. 456, and the "Naval Chronicle," vol. xiv. p. 480.]

A Meeting of West India Merchants was convened on the 23rd of August, Sir Richard Neave, Bart., in the Chair, when it was unanimously agreed, "that the prompt determination of Lord Nelson to quit the Mediterranean, in search of the French Fleet; his sagacity in judging of, and ascertaining, their course; and his bold and unwearied pursuit of the Combined French and Spanish Squadrons to the West Indies, and back again to Europe; have been very instrumental to the safety of the West India Islands in general, and well deserve the grateful acknowledgments of every individual connected with those Colonies; and that a Deputation from the Committee of Merchants of London trading to the West Indies be appointed to wait upon Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, to express these their sentiments, and to offer him their unfeigned thanks."

London, August 28th, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to express to you, and the Committee of West India Merchants, the great satisfaction which I feel in their approbation of my conduct. It was, I conceived, perfectly clear that the Combined Squadrons were gone to the West Indies, and therefore it became my duty to follow them. But I assure you, from the state of defence in which our large Islands are placed, with the number of regular Troops, and numerous, well-disciplined, and zealous Militia, I was confident, not any Troops which their Combined Squadron could carry, would make an impression upon any of our large Islands before a very superior force would arrive for their relief. I have the honour to remain, Sir, and Gentle-

men, with the greatest respect, your most obliged and obedient servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE[a].

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, G.C.H.]

Albemarle-street, August 29th, 1805.

My dear Mr. Rose,

Although I certainly want nothing for my individual self, yet you, and every one, must be sensible that I have many and dear relatives, who I am anxious to get something for, and such a Place as they will do credit to, both as Servants of the State, and to my character as recommending them. Therefore I wish Mr. Pitt would give me for my brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Bolton, father of one of the heirs of my Title, a Commissionership in either the Customs, Excise or Navy Office. The first would be most preferable.

Although I have seen Mr. Pitt, yet at a time when he is pleased to think that my services may be wanted, I could

[a] Though not immediately relating to the above communication, the following letter from Mr. Rose to Lord Nelson, respecting the extension of his Pension, will be inserted here, because it explains the intentions of the Government on the subject:—

"Old Palace-Yard, June 12th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"I am not in the habit of raising an expectation in the mind of any one on slight grounds; but I fear you will be inclined to suspect me a little of having done so with you, when you shall hear that the Session of Parliament has ended, without any step taken for the extension of your Pension in the manner you wished. I can, however, most safely assert, that I am entirely blameless on that subject, as I was fully authorised to have given stronger assurances respecting it than I did. The real truth is, circumstances have occurred which create a difficulty about it at this time; but Mr. Pitt, who feels as cordially about you as any one can do, desires me to say to you, my dear Lord, *in his name*, that he will not fail in the next Session, to submit to His Majesty a Message to Parliament for extending your Pension to the two next persons who shall succeed to the Title of Viscount Nelson of the Nile.

"I am most unaffectedly sorry for this short delay; but I am comforted under a positive certainty that no disappointment can happen from it, as it is a measure

not bring my mouth to ask a favour, therefore I beg it may pass *through you*. I am ever, my dear Rose, your faithful and obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, G.C.H.]

Albemarle-street, August 29th, 1805.

My dear Sir,

I know Edridge[1] very well. He does many things for me, and if I do not go forth *very, very* soon, which I hope Calder's Victory[2] (which I am most anxiously expecting) will render unnecessary, I will sit with pleasure for a drawing.

Your *élève* Strachey[3] is not on the Admiralty list for promotion, and deaths do not happen; but if I get a great Victory he shall most assuredly have a captured Ship. Lyons[4] is with me, and a very fine, and good young man: I shall have great pleasure in promoting him. Ever, my dear Mr. Rose, yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

so entirely right in itself, as to render it utterly impossible for it to be affected by any change of Government whatever. The opinion of the Country is, and must continue, unaltered about you. What is intended is an act of justice, following necessarily the extended limitation of your Title. From my heart I wish more could be done. I am always, my dear Lord, with the truest regard, most cordially and affectionately yours, GEORGE ROSE."—*Autograph.*

[1] In a Letter from Mr. Rose, dated Cuffnells, 27th August, 1805, he requested Lord Nelson to sit to an artist of the name of Edridge, "who has taken a most remarkably strong likeness of Mr. Pitt, in small whole-length. I should delight in having such a one of your Lordship." In a postscript Mr. Rose added, "I repeated to Mr. Pitt *all* you said to me. He is *deeply sensible* of your zeal, goodness, and confidence in him. He talked of riding over to Merton to thank you."—*Autograph.*

[2] It was expected that *another* Action would have taken place between Sir Robert Calder's Squadron and the Enemy.

[3] Vide vol. v. p. 311.

[4] Vide vol. iv. p. 286. Lord Nelson's statements respecting Captain Strachey and Mr. Lyons, were in answer to Mr. Rose's inquiries.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT.

[Autograph draught in the possession of Miss Bolton of Burnham.]

Gordon's Hotel, 6 A.M., August 29th, 1805.

Sir,

I cannot rest until the importance of Sardinia, in every point of view, is taken into consideration. If my letters to the different Secretaries of State cannot be found, I can bring them with me. My belief is, that if France possesses Sardinia, which she may do any moment she pleases, that[5] our Commerce must suffer most severely, (if possible to be carried on) when France possesses that Island. Many and many most important reasons could be given, why the French must not be suffered to possess Sardinia, but your time is too precious to read more words than is necessary; therefore I have only stated two strong points to call your attention to the subject, and I am [sure] our Fleet would find a difficulty, if not impossibility, of keeping any Station off Toulon for want of that Island to supply cattle, water, and refreshments in the present state of the Mediterranean, and that we can have no certainty of commerce at any time, but what France chooses to allow us, to either Italy or the Levant. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Merton, 29th August, 1805.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the favour of your letter accompanying the report of the Admiralty Solicitor, whose opinion appears to be—that His Majesty's Proclamation does not *in terms* confer upon the Flag-Officers of the Mediterranean

[5] The following passage is here referred to in the draught, but it was deleted:—"There is no place in the present War for our Fleets to resort to (supposing the Enemy at Toulon) for water and refreshments, but at such a distance as to leave the Enemy at liberty to move as they pleased, and that . . ."

Station a right to participate in Prizes taken by Captain Bennett, under the circumstances mentioned in my letter of the 12th instant.

I must now beg that you will be pleased to submit to the consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, whether the case in question be 'sufficiently provided for' in the Proclamation; and if not, whether their Lordships will think proper to exercise, in favour of the Flag-Officers of the Mediterranean Station, the discretion vested in them by that clause of the Proclamation which was cited in my former letter, and to give 'directions' accordingly, which will then 'have the same force and effect' as if inserted in the Proclamation. It is provided in the Proclamation that a Captain of a Ship *shall be* deemed to be under the command of a Flag, in certain contingencies therein expressed; but the Proclamation does not go on to say that he *shall not, in any other contingency*. Captain Bennett, after his arrival within the limits of the Station, fell in with, and dispatched on different services, several Ships of the Mediterranean Fleet. This was not merely a virtual, but an actual union and consolidation of his Ship, by co-operation in joint services, with the Mediterranean Fleet; and as Captain Bennett was positively ordered to put himself under the command of the Flag-Officer commanding that Fleet, it should seem the presumption ought to be, that by such junction and co-operation he had done so, whereby the rights of his Superior Officers would be preserved; rather than such a presumption as would entitle him (in derogation of the rights of others) not merely to disobey orders with impunity in point of emolument, but to receive a reward for having done so.

It has been suggested that the passage in the Proclamation which I have alluded to, might have been designed to refer only to the clause immediately preceding it; but I am advised, (and indeed it appears evident from the provisions which follow this) that the control of the Lords of the Admiralty was intended to extend over every case not specifically set down in the Proclamation, and that such is the true construction of the provision. It would indeed have been a defect to confine it within narrower bounds. I am, Sir, &c.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

REMARKS BY LORD NELSON, ON MR. BICKNELL'S[6] LETTER.

The whole of Mr. Bicknell's answer is what I had no doubt upon, but the power of the Admiralty is referred to upon cases not clearly ascertained; and this I take to be one of them. The question is, whether Captain Bennett, having taken the Ships of the Mediterranean Fleet junior to him, under his orders, did not virtually make himself a part of that Fleet?

Orders lying with the proper Officer at Gibraltar for any Captains ordered to belong to the Mediterranean Fleet, whether the omission of their delivery, wilfully or neglectfully, ought to deprive the Flag-Officers of their right?

TO WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of the Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon.]

Merton, August 31st, 1805.

My dear Mr. Beckford,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Nothing could give me more pleasure than paying my respects at Fonthill, but I cannot move at present, as all my family are with me[7], and my stay is very uncertain; and, besides, I have refused for the present all invitations. Every Ship, even the Victory, is ordered out, for there is an entire ignorance whether the Ferrol Fleet is coming to the Northward, gone to the Mediterranean, or cruizing for our valuable homeward-bound Fleet. I hope they will be met with and annihilated. Lady Hamilton desires me to present her kind regards.—And believe me ever, my dear Mr. Beckford, your much obliged friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

[6] Solicitor to the Admiralty.

[7] Namely, his brother, Dr. Nelson (afterwards Earl Nelson) and Mrs. Nelson, and their children, Horace and Charlotte, (now Lady Bridport); his sisters and brothers-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Bolton, and Mr. and Mrs. Matcham; his nephews, Mr. Thomas Bolton (afterwards second Earl Nelson) and Mr. George Matcham; and his nieces, Miss Ann and Miss Eliza Bolton; and Lady Hamilton.—*Harrison's Life of Nelson*, vol. ii. p. 454.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL MURRAY.

[Autograph in the possession of George Murray, Esq.]

Merton, August 31st, 1805.

My dear Murray,

I have wrote to Mr. Cutler this day. It was very improper his withholding your Prize-money one moment on any pretence—such conduct does my good friend Davison harm. Victory is ordered to sea; whether my Flag goes out in her I have not heard. I am satisfied you may hoist your Flag whenever you please; and I do assure you that it will always give me pleasure to see your Flag fly in any Fleet under my command. Being ever, with the sincerest regard and esteem,

Your most obliged friend,

I am almost blind. NELSON AND BRONTE.

Mr. Scott is just come, and he will be with Mr. Cutler to-morrow morning.

TO SIR EDWARD BERRY[8], POST-OFFICE, YORK.

[Autograph in the possession of Lady Berry.]

Merton, August 31st, 1805.

My dear Sir Edward,

As this may, or not, catch you at York, I shall only thank you for your letter. I will certainly, with much pleasure, mention you for a Ship; but Lord Barham is an almost entire stranger to me. However I can speak of you, as one of whose abilities I am well acquainted.—I am ever, my dear Sir Edward, yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[8] In reply to the following Letter, which shows the neglect that formerly attended even the most meritorious Officers. Captain Berry was, however, and probably at Lord Nelson's suggestion, appointed to Nelson's old Ship, the Agamemnon, and commanded her at Trafalgar.

"Leith, 23rd August, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"I have this moment had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship's arrival announced in the papers after your great exertions, fatigue, and anxiety, which I

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ., SWANLAND-HOUSE, MORPETH.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Merton, August 31st, 1805.

My dear Davison,

I had the pleasure of your truly kind letter of August 25th. I am pretty sure that I wrote you a line on our passage up Channel, to tell you of my near approach. My time and movements must depend upon Buonaparte. We are at present ignorant of his intentions, and whether the Squadrons from Ferrol are coming to join the Brest Fleet, going to the Mediterranean, or cruizing for our homeward-bound Fleets. With respect to your kind offer of money, I shall try and settle my Account with you, even should I feel it necessary

assure you I have ever been mindful of, tracing your route upon the chart, and sharing your disappointments at the different places you missed the Enemy's Fleet; at other times elated, more than I can express, with a sanguine hope of your gaining a great victory, and always wishing to transport myself to your Squadron. But, alas! I may wish and hope, write, and dance attendance for years, without the smallest notice taken of my applications. A man's standing in the Service, and his *reputation*, (and who has not *reputation* that has served with you?) all goes for nought. The consequence is disgust on my part, and a fixed determination to apply no more. After five weeks' Admiralty attendance, and not being permitted the honour of an interview, I received the following letter from Lord Barham, or rather his Secretary, in reply to my request for a Line-of-Battle Ship or Frigate:—'I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to acquaint you that I have directed an entry to be made of your application, but cannot come under any promises. 9th May, 1805.'

"Finding that I was treated in that way, and seeing fresh appointments almost daily, I took it in my head to travel about my own Country a little, and have visited the English Lakes, the Highlands of Scotland, and purpose returning into Norfolk by Berwick, Northumberland, Yorkshire, &c., &c. I purpose being at York the 1st or 2nd of September, and if you receive this time enough, I should be most happy to hear that you are in good health on my arrival there. 'To be left at the Post-Office, York, till called for,' must be my address, until I arrive in Norwich, which will be about the 18th. We have been much satisfied with our tour, but I should feel much more pleased at an appointment to the Resistance, building at Rochester, or the Lavinia, at Milford Haven, or *anything that is to be had.* I only mention those Frigates, because I know they are not yet given away, and will soon be ready. The idea of totally giving up the Service is not very pleasant to me, and I know your Lordship will do what you can for your ever faithful, obliged, and affectionate E. BERRY."—*Autograph.*

to begin a new one; for long Accounts ought to be closed between the dearest friends. I am sorry Swanland is so distant; but I may remain in England for seven years, if the Enemy's Fleets are met with. I have only a moment to say God bless you; and believe me ever your most obliged and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Can Mr. Cutler settle my Account, and give the regular receipts? Admiral Murray cannot get his *Prize-money from him*, and is, of course, exceedingly displeased; I mean for the Orion.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MINTO.

[Autograph draught in the Nelson papers.]

Merton, August 31st, 1805.

No. 5.	PAGE	No. 5.	PAGE
Earl Camden	329	Viscount Melville	321
Lord Hawkesbury	203	Lord Hobart	35
Mr. Jackson	155	Lord ———	158

I send you two other Letter-books [p], and those I have marked may be worth your reading relative to Sardinia, as marking strongly my opinion. In the large Book without number, you will find one strong letter to Lord Melville on Sardinia. I shall be in Town on Monday: As an index is placed in the first page, you can refer to any letter in the Book. As I said yesterday, you will only find in the opinions of a Seaman your own confirmed.—Ever, my dear Lord, your faithful friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

[p] The Letter-Books referred to have not fallen under the Editor's observation.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

On the 2nd September, 1805, Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood of the Euryalus, arrived at the Admiralty, with intelligence that the Combined Fleets had put into Cadiz. At five o'clock on that morning he called on Lord Nelson at Merton, for a few minutes, and found him already up and dressed. Immediately on seeing Captain Blackwood, he exclaimed, "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish Fleets, and I think I shall yet have to beat them." According to the statement in Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1833, "Lord Nelson followed him to London, and in talking over the operations that were intended, on returning to the Mediterranean, often repeated, 'Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give Mr. Villeneuve a drubbing.'" Clarke and M'Arthur's account of the interview differs only from the above by the necessary addition, that the last remark was made on his again meeting Captain Blackwood in London. A very different, and rather apocryphal statement, is given by Harrison (*vol. ii. p. 457*), and repeated by Southey: "All this, however," Captain Blackwood's account of the Enemy's Fleet, "was nothing to him. 'Let the man trudge it who has lost his budget,' gaily repeated his Lordship. But amid all this *allegro* of the tongue to his friends at Merton Place, Lady Hamilton observed that his countenance, from that moment, wore occasional marks of the *penseroso* in his bosom. In this state of mind, he was pacing one of the walks of Merton garden, which he always called the Quarter-deck, when Lady Hamilton told him that she perceived he was low and uneasy. He smiled and said, 'No! I am as happy as possible.' Adding, 'that he saw himself surrounded by his family; that he found his health better since he had been at Merton; and, that he would not give a sixpence to call the King his uncle.' Her Ladyship replied, 'that she did not believe what he said, and that she would tell him what was the matter with him; that he was longing to get at these French and Spanish Fleets; that he considered them as his own property, and would be miserable if any other man but himself did the business; that he must have them, as the price and reward of his long watching, and two years' uncomfortable situation in the Mediterranean:' and finished, by saying, 'Nelson, however we may lament your absence, and your so speedily leaving us, offer your services, immediately, to go off Cadiz; they will be accepted, and you will gain a quiet heart by it. You will have a glorious Victory; and, then, you may come here, have your *otium cum dignitate*, and be happy.' He looked at her Ladyship for some moments; and, with tears in his eyes, exclaimed—'Brave Emma! good Emma! if there were more Emmas, there would be more Nelsons; you have penetrated my thoughts. I wish all you say, but was afraid to trust even myself with reflecting on the subject. However, I will go to Town.' He went, accordingly, next morning, accompanied by her Ladyship and his sisters. They left him at the Admiralty, on the way to Lady Hamilton's house in Clarges Street; and, soon after, received a Note informing them that the Victory was telegraphed not to go into Port, and begging they would prepare everything for his departure. This is the true history of that affecting affair."

"When it was determined that Lord Nelson should proceed in the Victory and resume the command of the Fleet off Cadiz, Lord Barham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, is said to have placed a List of the Navy in his hands, desiring him to

choose his own Officers, to which he replied, returning the list: 'Choose yourself, my Lord, the same spirit actuates the whole profession; you cannot choose wrong.' Lord Barham then desired that the Admiral would, without reserve, dictate to the Private Secretary, Mr. Thomson, such Ships as he wished, in addition to his present Squadron, and that they should follow him, at short intervals, as soon as each was ready. 'Have no scruple, Lord Nelson, there is my Secretary, I will leave the room, give your orders to him, and rely on it they shall be implicitly obeyed by me.' "—Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 422, who consider that this took place before Captain Blackwood's arrival, though they say it occurred at one of Nelson's last visits to the Admiralty; but this is scarcely possible, for he does not appear to have known that he was actually to resume his Command until about the 3rd or 4th of September.

The late Admiral Sir Philip Charles Henderson Durham informed the Editor, that about the 9th of September, having gone to the Admiralty (after his arrival in the Defiance, to repair the damages sustained in Sir Robert Calder's Action), he met Lord Nelson in the Admiralty room, who said "I am just appointed to the Command in the Mediterranean, and sail immediately. I am sorry your Ship is not ready, I should have been very glad to have you." Captain Durham replied, "ask Lord Barham to place me under your Lordship's orders and I will soon be ready." Lord Nelson did so and promised to leave the Orders at Portsmouth. The next day, Captain Durham went to Portsmouth, when he found at the George Inn the two Orders dated on the 11th of September, vide p. 32. As Lord Nelson merely resumed his Command after leave of absence, a new Commission was not necessary, and none was issued.

Merton, 3rd September, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to transmit you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter, with its inclosure, which I have received this morning from Captain Adair, of the Royal Marines, late Inspecting Officer for raising Recruits in the Mediterranean; and I beg to observe, that the representation conveyed in his letter is just, that the Recruits were raised under the particular circumstances therein mentioned, and that those raised were prime men. I therefore consider Captain Adair very justly entitled to their Lordships' kind consideration in this business, and request that you will be pleased to move them to grant him such allowance on the occasion, as they may think him entitled to. It is impossible for me to say too much in favour of that excellent and zealous Officer. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE REV. ROBERT ROLFE.

[Autograph in the possession of the Rev. Robert Rolfe.]

September 5th, 1805.

My dear Mr. Rolfe,

I hope you have not been angry at my not having answered your truly kind letter, but in truth I have not a moment. *All my things* are this day going off for Portsmouth[1]. Accept my best regards and good wishes, and say every *kind thing* to your good mother and sister; and be assured I am ever, my dear Rolfe, your most affectionate cousin,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO J. D. THOMSON, ESQ.[2]

[From the "Naval Chronicle," vol. xxxviii. p. 17.]

Merton, 5th September, 1805.

My dear Sir,

This will be delivered to you by Captain Layman, who, if he had not been a very active zealous Officer, I am certain would not have lost his fine Sloop, the Raven[3]. The sentence of the Court-Martial, placing him at the bottom of the list, I have too much respect for a Court, to say a word about. But this I will assert, that I consider Captain Layman as a most zealous, able, active, and brave Officer; and that the Sentence of the Court has neither altered my public or private opinion of his great merits. The loss of the services of men

[1] On the 4th of September, Lady Hamilton wrote to Lady Bolton, Lord Nelson's niece:—

"My dear Friend, I am again broken-hearted, as our dear Nelson is immediately going. It seems as though I have had a fortnight's dream, and am awoke to all the misery of this cruel separation. But what can I do? His powerful arm is of so much consequence to his Country. But I do, nor cannot say more. My heart is broken. Your father goes to-day. Mr. William Bolton came yesterday. God bless you! Ever your affectionate E. HAMILTON."—*Autograph* in the possession of John Wild, Esq.

[2] Afterwards Sir John Deas Thomson, K.C.H., then Private Secretary to Lord Barham, First Lord of the Admiralty. He died in February, 1838.

[3] Vide vol. vi. p. 348.

of such rare abilities is to be lamented by the Country. My wish at present is, to place Captain Layman well with Lord Barham, and that his Lordship may possess my opinion of him. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, G.C.H.]

Merton, September 3rd, 1805.

My dear Mr. Rose,

Mr. Thomas Bolton, my brother, is a gentleman in every meaning of the word: his pursuits in life have always been those of a gentleman, first a merchant, now a large farmer; he is a man of business, and probably in either the Customs, Excise, or Navy Office, [would] carry more abilities than many who have Seats at those Boards. The Customs would please me best, as, from having been a merchant, he may at first be more conversant in the business. Mr. Bolton is about my age; but I am sure it is not for yourself that these questions could be asked: however I have answered them. But I asked that place for my dear brother-in-law which I knew he was fully competent to fill with advantage to the Public, and to do credit to my recommendation.

I hold myself ready to go forth whenever I am desired, although God knows I want rest; but self is entirely out of the question. I shall rejoice to see you on board the Victory, *if only for a moment;* but I shall certainly not be an advocate for being at Portsmouth till one of the Victory's anchors are at the bows. If you do not see Mr. Pitt very soon, I think it would be best to send him my letters relative to Mr. Bolton. I am ever, my dear Mr. Rose, your most faithful Friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Merton, September 6th, 1805.

My dear Davison,

I much fear that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you before my departure, and to thank you for all your kind attentions. I wish you could name any one to settle my long Account; for although I may not be able to pay off at this moment the balance due to you, still it would be a satisfaction to me to have it settled; and then I could give you a Bond for the amount, until I may be able to pay it, which I still hope to be able to do in spite of Sir John Orde[4]. I hope my absence will not be long, and that I shall soon meet the Combined Fleets, with a force sufficient to do the job well; for half a Victory would but half content me. But I do not believe the Admiralty can give me a force within fifteen or sixteen Sail of the Line of the Enemy; and therefore, if every Ship took her opponent, we should have to contend with a fresh Fleet of fifteen or sixteen Sail of the Line. But I will do my best; and I hope God Almighty will go with me. I have much to lose, but little to gain; and I go because it's right, and I will serve the Country faithfully.

I send you a Memorandum, which I am sure you will comply with. Poor blind Mrs. Nelson[5] I must assist this morning. A Mr. Brand, an apothecary, called upon me for 133*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, as due from my brother Maurice to him. I shall refer him to you, and if it is a just demand, he must have it. I shall leave the bill in St. James's-square.—Ever, my dear Davison, your most obliged and affectionate Friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Admiralty Office, 7th September, 1805.

Sir,

In obedience to their Lordships' order dated the 1st of February last, directing me to appoint an Agent for all the

[4] Vide vol. vi. pp. 283, 299.

[5] Vide vol. iv. p. 378.

Spanish Vessels detained and sent into Gibraltar by any of His Majesty's Ships, prior to the 11th of January, I appointed[6] Mr. James Cutforth, Agent Victualler at Gibraltar, by Warrant, dated 6th May, agreeably to the spirit of their Lordships' order, perfectly satisfied that I was not exceeding the authority invested in me on the occasion; but I was very much surprised on my return from the West Indies, to receive the enclosed Letter from Mr. Cutforth, with a copy of the Circular one, therein referred to, from Earl Camden. In consequence I wrote to Mr. Cutforth directing him on no account to relinquish the important charge I had committed to his trust, but to proceed in the sale of the Spanish Vessels, and transmit the amount thereof immediately to the Judge of the Admiralty Court in England; fully satisfied that Earl Camden never intended to supersede my appointment, as the copy of his Lordship's letter will clearly show. I consequently considered the business as finally settled until the other day, since my arrival in Town, I received the inclosed letter from Mr. Cutforth, with the copy of the one therein mentioned to General Fox, and his Secretary's answer thereto, which I herewith transmit you, together with a letter to me from the General, and one from Mr. Cutforth to Mr. Scott, my Secretary, which I have to beg you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for their information, and move their Lordships to take such measures as they may think proper and necessary with His Majesty's Ministers, to do away with any interference on the part of General Fox, and to give the most full effect to their Lordships' order to me of the 1st of February last.

I lament exceedingly the necessity of this application to their Lordships; but cannot, consistent with the Service, suffer the dignity and rights of the Admiralty Board to be called in question, or my authority from them doubted, in the implicit execution of their Order. Should their Lordships, however, consider their Order to me of the 1st of February last to have exceeded their authority, I beg they will order it to be cancelled. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[6] Vide vol. vi. p. 425.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Admiralty, September 7th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I shall be with you in a very few days, and I hope you will remain Second in Command. You will change the Dreadnought for Royal Sovereign, which I hope you will like. Ever, my dear Collingwood, most faithfully yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN PHILIP CHARLES DURHAM, H. M. SHIP DEFIANCE.

[Original, formerly in the possession of the late Admiral Sir Philip Charles Henderson Durham, G.C.B.]

At the Admiralty Office, 11th September, 1805.

Pursuant to instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, you are hereby required and directed to put yourself under my command, and follow and obey all such orders as you shall from time to time receive from me for His Majesty's Service[7]. NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN PHILIP CHARLES DURHAM, H. M. SHIP DEFIANCE.

[Original, formerly in the possession of the late Admiral Sir Philip Charles Henderson Durham, G.C.B.]

At the Admiralty Office, 11th September, 1805.

You are hereby required and directed, the moment His Majesty's Ship under your command is in all respects ready for sea, to repair with her to St. Helen's, and join the Victory, holding yourself in constant readiness to proceed with her to sea. But should the Victory sail previous to your joining her, as above, you are to apply to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, who will furnish you with my Rendezvous, when I desire you will join me with the utmost possible expedition. NELSON AND BRONTE.

[7] A similar Order is issued by every Commander-in-Chief to the Captain of each Ship placed under his command.

PRIVATE DIARY[s].

[Autograph or fac simile copy in the possession of P. Toker, Esq.]

Friday Night, 13th September.

At half-past ten drove from dear dear Merton, where I left all which I hold dear in this world, to go to serve my King and Country. May the Great God whom I adore

[s] During the few days between the 7th of September and the 13th, when he left Merton for Portsmouth, Lord Nelson received the following interesting letters from Earl Camden, late Secretary of State for the War Department, and then President of the Council; from General Dumouriez; and from His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent;—

EARL CAMDEN TO LORD NELSON.

"Wildernesse, September 7th, 1805.

"My Lord,

"I hope your Lordship was informed that I did myself the honour to call on you in Albemarle-street: I availed myself of the earliest opportunity I could when I was in London last week. I was extremely desirous of personally thanking you for the Political communications I had the advantage to receive from you, when I was Secretary of State, on the various subjects upon which you addressed me, and I was also very anxious to return you my thanks for the attention you were so good as to show to my nephew, Mr. James. But I trust your Lordship will permit me, in addition to these expressions of thanks for personal favours, to testify that admiration I feel, in common with the rest of the world, of the whole of your conduct, after you heard of the Enemy having passed the Straits of Gibraltar. I take leave to offer this testimony, as that of one who then filled an Office peculiarly connected with the West Indies, and who then saw the advantage of the first part of your conduct; and the confidential situation I now fill in His Majesty's councils has enabled me to judge of, and to admire, the subsequent steps you have taken. It will always be to me the highest satisfaction to continue that intercourse with your Lordship, which has begun officially, in any situation I may fill; and I have the honour to subscribe myself your Lordship's most obedient humble servant, CAMDEN."—*Autograph.*

GENERAL DUMOURIEZ TO LORD NELSON.

"Wednesday, 11th September, 1805.

"My much dear Nelson,

"If I cannot be so happy as to encounter you to-day, I pray you to be sure that my heart is full of your friendship, that my thoughts are all directed to your glory, that my constant desires are to co-operate with you in Italy, that all my hopes at the very point of the Continental War are in your counsels to your Ministry to provide me with a Foreign Army, or Italians, or Austrians, to attack the upstart Corsican through the centre of his Italian Kingdom. I planned, and sent to the Court of Vienna, a project for landing a Division of 20,000 Austrians of Dalmatia, in the Pope's Territory, near Ancona, to cut off the French Division now standing in the Kingdom of Naples, and to march afterwards through Tuscany and Parma, direct to the Genoese, to take the rear of the French defending

enable me to fulfil the expectations of my Country; and if it is His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the Throne of His Mercy.

the Mantuan and Milanese. I expect daily an answer. If my plan is agreed, and if I receive the command of that Diversion, we will realize together the projects we formed at our first meeting in Hamburgh, against the barbarian usurpator, whom we equally abhor.

"Your task, dear friend, is to inculcate to your Ministry that they must not let my experience unemployed, that my name is preponderant in the opinion of the French, and very proper to be opposed to the Corsican, even better than the name of other Generals more skilful than myself; that the Court of Vienna is well disposed for me, and that an insinuation of your Ministry would determine it to call me; that it would be politically useful to your Ministry to have a General devoted to itself, for the co-operation of a plan decisive for the end of the War.

I confide you as a brother. If your hasty depart don't permit you to discuss the matter with your Ministry, make use of my letter, as you judge convenable. Excuse my rough English language; be convinced of my constant admiration and friendship. Sail in the Victory to Victory. Lend me the hand to be one of your Glory's companions, and be always the good friend of your devoted servant,

"G. Dumouriez."—*Autograph.*

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent to Lord Viscount Nelson.

(Private.) "Kensington Palace, September 12th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"The kindness you have ever shown to my *protégé* young Rainsford, induces me to request of your Lordship to give me your opinion, whether it would be for his advantage to be removed at present to a Frigate, from the Victory, as, if that is the case, I shall then entreat you to place him with any Officer of whom you entertain a good opinion, only premising that my *first* wish is, that he should remain under your protection, and not be sent anywhere from under your own command, as I am naturally anxious that, if he merits it, he should look up to *you* altogether for future advancement in the profession. If I had the good fortune of seeing your Lordship before you left Town, it was my intention to have said to you, how proud I should have felt, could I have been thought worthy of being intrusted with the command of the Army, that may be employed on any service in which your Lordship might take on yourself that of His Majesty's Naval Forces, being fully convinced that, with such a colleague, there is nothing, almost, that might be undertaken, the issue of which would be doubtful. But, alas! since the unfortunate issue of my command at Gibraltar, in 1802-3, I appear to have been set quite aside, and I see no prospect of any favourable change occurring. But should such a circumstance, though unexpected, occur, it would be a great satisfaction to me to know that your Lordship would not be averse to having me with you. In the meanwhile, my best and most fervent wishes will ever attend you, and it will be a subject of real pride to me to be considered one of your warmest friends and admirers. With these sentiments, and those of the highest personal regard and esteem, I remain, my dear Lord, ever yours most faithfully and sincerely,

"Edward."—*Autograph.*

If it is His good providence to cut short my days upon earth[9], I bow with the greatest submission, relying that He will protect those so dear to me, that I may leave behind.—His will be done: Amen, Amen, Amen.

Saturday, September 14th, 1805.

At six o'clock arrived at Portsmouth, and having arranged all my business, embarked at the Bathing Machines with Mr. Rose and Mr. Canning at two; got on board the Victory at St. Helens, who dined with me; preparing for sea.

[9] Lord Nelson's mind was so strongly impressed with the probability that he might never return to England that, before he quitted London, he called at Mr. Peddieson's, his Upholsterer, in Brewer-street, where the Coffin presented him by Captain Hallowell (vide vol. iii. p. 89) had been sent, and with his usual gaiety and good humour desired him to get the attestation of its identity engraved on the lid, 'for,' added his Lordship, 'I think it highly probable that I may want it on my return.'" Harrison's "Life of Lord Nelson," vol. ii. p. 468.

Lord Nelson's last departure from Merton, and from England, is described by his biographers as having been singularly affecting. His last act, a few minutes before leaving Merton, about ten at night, the 13th of September, was to visit and pray over his Child. He then took leave of Lady Hamilton, entered the chaise, and arrived at the George Inn, Portsmouth, about six o'clock the next morning. At two o'clock on Saturday the 14th, he embarked from the beach where the Bathing Machines were placed, instead of from the usual landing-place, "to elude the populace," says Southey; "but a crowd collected in his train, pressing forward to obtain sight of his face: many were in tears, and many knelt down before him, and blessed him as he passed. England has had many heroes, but never one who so entirely possessed the love of his fellow-countrymen as Nelson. All men knew that his heart was as humane as it was fearless: that there was not in his nature the slightest alloy of selfishness or cupidity; but that, with perfect and entire devotion, he served his Country with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength; and therefore they loved him as truly and as fervently as he loved England. They pressed upon the parapet to gaze after him when his barge pushed off, and he was returning their cheers by waving his hat. The sentinels, who endeavoured to prevent them from trespassing upon this ground, were wedged among the crowd; and an Officer, who not very prudently upon such an occasion, ordered them to drive the people down with their bayonets, was compelled speedily to retreat; for the people would not be debarred from gazing till the last moment upon the hero—the darling hero of England!" It was not in Nelson's nature to witness such affection in his Countrymen unmoved; and he touchingly exclaimed to Captain Hardy, "I had their huzzas before—I have their hearts now!"

Lord Nelson was accompanied to the Victory by his friends Mr. Rose and Mr. Canning, who dined on board while she was preparing to sail; and, ever interested in the welfare of those he regarded, he took the opportunity to recommend to Mr. Rose, in the strongest terms, his Chaplain Mr. Scott.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL MURRAY[1].

[Autograph in the possession of George Murray, Esq.]

Portsmouth, September 14th, 1805.

My dear Admiral,

Many thanks for your kind note and haunch of venison. I am this moment getting in the Boat at the Bathing Machines.—May every success attend you, and health, that greatest of blessings. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Murray; and ever, my dear Murray, believe me your most faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

"September 14. A.M. at 11.30, hoisted the Flag of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B. Sunday, 15th. 8, A.M., weighed and made sail to the S.S.E. Euryalus in company."—*Victory's Log.*

Victory, at St. Helens, 14th September, 1805.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived at Portsmouth this morning at six o'clock, and hoisted my Flag on board the Victory at this anchorage about noon. The Royal Sovereign, Defiance, and Agamemnon, are not yet ready for sea, so that I must leave them to follow, the moment they are complete. The Ships named in the margin[2] only accompany me. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at St. Helens, 14th September, 1805.

Sir,

Not knowing where His Majesty's Ships named in the margin[3] are at present, I beg to transmit orders for their

[1] This is supposed to be the last letter Lord Nelson ever wrote in England.

[2] Victory, Euryalus, (Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood).

[3] Chiffoné, Unité, Nautilus, Beagle, Pylades, Moselle, Scout, Merlin, Entreprenante, Pickle.

respective Captains, and request you will be so good as forward them as early as possible. Inclosed is a copy of the said Orders and Rendezvous for their Lordships' information, and also a copy of the Order given to the Captains of His Majesty's Ships Renommée and Melpomené, directing them to proceed to Malta with money, agreeably to their Lordships' instructions, communicated to me in your letter of the 12th instant. The Orders for the Ajax and Thunderer are gone to Plymouth; and those for the Amazon to dock and refit, not knowing when she may arrive, are herewith transmitted. L'Aimable will proceed with the Lisbon Convoy, agreeably to their Lordships' orders of the 11th and 12th instant, and join me on my Rendezvous the moment the service is performed. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN ROBERT DUDLEY OLIVER[4], H. M. SHIP MELPOMENE.

[From a Copy in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at St. Helens, 14th September, 1805.

You are hereby required and directed to complete His Majesty's Ship under your command with the utmost dispatch for Foreign Service; and the moment that is done, and the Melpomené in all respects ready for sea, you are to receive the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling in dollars on board the said Ship, and instantly proceed and join me on the enclosed Rendezvous in your way to Malta; but should you learn that the Fleet under my command has gone into the Mediterranean, and that it would be taking you out of your way to join me, it is my directions that you proceed direct to Malta; and after having delivered the said money to Sir Alexander Ball, you will return and join me wherever you may learn the Fleet under my command may be.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

N.B.—An order of the same tenor and date given to the Captain of the Renommée.

[4] Now an Admiral of the Blue.

TO CAPTAIN ..... OF H. M. SHIP .....

[From a Copy in the Admiralty.]

Victory, St. Helens, 14th September, 1805.

As I am about to proceed from hence down Channel, you are hereby required and directed to join me in His Majesty's Ship under your command on the enclosed Rendezvous; and I am to desire that every possible exertion is used to put the said Ship in a state for immediate service, with stores and provisions complete to six months, and that you will join me as above directed.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM LECHMERE[5], H. M. SHIP THUNDERER.

[Original in the possession of Sir John Lechmere, Bart.]

Victory, at Sea, 15th September, 1805.

Secret Rendezvous.

Off Cape St. Vincent, where a Frigate will be stationed to give information where I am to be found. In the event of not meeting the said Frigate, after cruizing twenty-four hours, the Ship in search of me must call off Cape St. Mary's and Cadiz, approaching them with the utmost caution.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Victory, September 16th, 1805.
Off Portland, Wind W.S.W.

My dear Davison,

I regret most exceedingly, for many reasons, my not having had the pleasure of seeing you; but my fate is fixed, and I

[5] He was made a Rear-Admiral in 1808, and died, a Vice-Admiral of the White, in December 1815.

am gone, and beating down Channel with a foul wind. I am, my dear friend, so truly sensible of all your goodness to me, that I can only say, thanks, thanks: therefore I will to business. I wish I could have been rich enough, with ease to myself, to have settled my Account with you; but as that is not done, I wish for my sake that you would have it closed, and receipts pass between us; and then I will give you a bond for the balance, as for money lent. Those bonds relative to Tucker, being all settled, should be returned to me. Be so good as to give them to Haslewood. If you and I live, no harm can happen; but should either of us drop, much confusion may arise to those we may leave behind. I have said enough. Haslewood will settle the Account with all legal exactness.

I have requested you to pay Chawner's account for work to be done in his line; and what is ordered, viz. the kitchen, ante-room, and for altering the dining-room, which you would have been provoked to see spoiled. The alteration will cost three times as much as if it had been done at first. However, Chawner now knows all my plans and wishes. Poor blind Mrs. Nelson I have given 150*l.* to pay her debts, and I intend to pay her house-rent in future, in addition to the 200*l.* a year, which I take will be about 40*l.* a year. I wished also to have seen you respecting my Proxy, for as it passed through your hands without an immediate communication with Lord Moira, so it should have returned that way. I ever was against giving my Proxy to any man, and now I have it again, it will probably never be given again. Lord Moira made me break my intention; and as very few can equal our friend for honour and independence, it is not very likely that I shall give it, without strong reasons, again. With every good wish, believe me ever, my dear Davison, your most obliged and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I have settled Chawner's account for all which has been hitherto done at Merton.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

[From "Lord Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton," vol. ii. p. 96.]

Victory, off Plymouth, September 17th [1805]. Nine o'Clock in the Morning, Blowing fresh at W.S.W., dead foul wind.

I sent, my own dearest Emma, a letter for you, last night, in a Torbay Boat, and gave the man a guinea to put it in the Post-Office. We have had a nasty blowing night, and it looks very dirty. I am now signalising the Ships at Plymouth to join me; but I rather doubt their ability to get to sea. However, I have got clear of Portland,* and have Cawsand Bay and Torbay under the lee. I intreat, my dear Emma, that you will cheer up; and we will look forward to many, many happy years, and be surrounded by our children's children. God Almighty can, when he pleases, remove the impediment. My heart and soul is with you and Horatia. I got this line ready in case a Boat should get alongside. For ever, ever, I am yours, most devotedly,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Mr. Rose said he would write to Mr. Bolton, if I was sailed; but I have forgot to give him the direction: but I will send it to-day. I think I shall succeed * very soon, if not at this moment.

Wednesday, September 18th, off the Lizard.

I had no opportunity of sending your letter yesterday, nor do I see any prospect at present. The Ajax and Thunderer are joining; but it is nearly calm, with a swell from the Westward. Perseverance has got us thus far; and the same will, I dare say, get us on. Thomas seems to do very well, and content. Tell Mr. Lancaster that I have no doubt that his son will do very well. God bless you, my own Emma! I am giving my letters to Blackwood, to put on board the first Vessel he meets going to England or Ireland. Once more, heavens bless you! Ever, for ever, your

NELSON AND BRONTE.

* Vide p. 18, ante.

TO CAPTAIN SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND, BART., COMPTROLLER OF THE NAVY.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir Graham Eden Hamond, Bart., K.C.B.]

Victory, off Plymouth, September 17th, 1805.

My dear Sir Andrew,

I have read, with much attention, your very interesting letter of the 12th; and I rely, that although you have been involved in money transactions out of your strict line of duty, for the *benefit* of the Naval Service, that you will pass the fiery ordeal[7] without a singe. You have then a most undoubted right to retire from the fatigues of your laborious Office with such pension and marks of your Sovereign's approbation, as he may be graciously pleased to bestow. With respect to your petitioning for your rank, on the List of Admirals, I shall answer you, my dear Sir Andrew, to the best of my opinion; and if it should not meet exactly your ideas, yet I trust you will believe that no one has a higher opinion of your Naval abilities, as a Captain or Admiral, than myself.

If my memory serves me right, when you passed your Flag, I wrote my regret that the Service was to lose your abilities at sea. You would long since have commanded the Fleets of Britain with the whole Service looking up to your abilities. But, with what you may deem precedents, Lord Barham, Sir John Laforey,[8] Lord Hood, Admiral Gambier, and lately, Admiral Sterling, yet these gentlemen contended for their Flags. We will not [they said] hold our Civil employments (Lord Barham, Sir John Laforey, and Admiral Sterling, in a stronger degree than the other two). You allowed it to pass over, and holding your Civil employment for many years, desire to take your place on the List of Admirals. Your pension ought to be equal to your wishes, and much more, in addition to your Comptroller's pension,

[7] The Commission of Inquiry into Naval Abuses. [8] Vide vol. i. p. 282.

than an Admiral's half-pay. But I fear, that if the precedent was established, however properly in your person, that such a field would be opened for Officers getting on the List of Admirals, after being long out of the Service, that the Ministry would never get clear of applications; nor could the Service know who were likely to command them. Having given you, my dear Sir Andrew, my full opinion, allow me to say, and to offer, that if the King is pleased to place you on the List of Admirals, that I shall be ready, and offer myself to serve as Second under you for a given time, to mark, at least in myself, to the Service, that I receive you with open arms as a most valuable Officer restored to us.

With respect to your good son[9], you are sure of my affectionate attention to him; and believe me ever, my dear Sir Andrew, your most obliged and affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, G.C.H.]

Victory, off Plymouth, September 17th, 1805.

My dear Mr. Rose,

I forgot to give you my dear brother-in-law's direction, that you might know where to direct to him, as you promised to give him a line, and I flatter myself it will be a most favourable one: 'Thomas Bolton, Esq., Cranwich, Brandon, Norfolk.' We have had two nasty days, but by perseverance have got off Plymouth; therefore, at least, I secure Torbay in case of a gale; but I shall try hard and beat out of the Channel, and the first Northerly wind will carry me to Cape St. Vincent, where nothing shall be wanting on my part to realise the expectation of my friends. I will try to have a Motto,—at least it shall be my watch-word, "*Touch and Take.*" I will do my best; and if I fail in any point I hope

[9] Captain Hamond, of the Lively, now Vice-Admiral Sir Graham Eden Hamond, Bart., K.C.B.

it will be proved that it will be owing to no fault of, my dear Mr. Rose, your very faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I beg my respectful compliments to Mr. Pitt.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH, K.B.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 424.]

Off the Eddystone, September 17th, 1805.

I could not answer your kind letter of the 10th[1], as I was every moment engaged in settling my affairs both public and

[1] No letter from Sir John Thomas Duckworth to Lord Nelson, of the *tenth* of September has been found. There is, however, the following letter of the 14th of that month, and also Sir John Duckworth's reply to the above letter:—

"Stoke, Plymouth Dock, September 14th, 1805.

"My Lord,

"When I had the honour of writing you from Exeter, where I was called to be enrolled among the Freemen with your Lordship, I little thought I should, on my return home, experience the gratification I did, by receiving a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty, acquainting me that my services were required in the Fleet under your command. Believe me, to serve under your Lordship's auspices is a pleasure next to being in command myself, and this, I trust, will be proved to you, by actions: as I have not been in the habit of being civilly treated since my return from Service, which I had been led to believe I had correctly performed, I have little to expect from the Admiralty, nor has any communication been made of the ship it is intended I should hoist my Flag in, or of my Captain and Officers, who, with my band, *cooks*, &c., are in the Acasta, off Brest. But I have expressed to the First Lord that the good of the service is blended with that of having officers you have a reliance on, and am preparing to embark whenever called upon. If your Lordship is near Lady Hamilton, I will beg you to keep Mrs. King and myself, in her and Miss Nelson's remembrance, and we unite in every good wish for your Lordship, as I have the honour to be very respectfully, my good Lord, your most obedient and humble servant, J. T. DUCKWORTH.

"P.S.—Your Lordship will of course command me, if I can be made useful here. Yours, &c., J. T. D."—*Autograph.*

"Stoke Plymouth, September 25th, 1805.

"My Lord,

"The intended departure of the Belleisle to-morrow, to join your Lordship, affords me an opportunity to acknowledge the honour of your truly kind letter of the 27th, when off the Eddystone, where I beheld you with particular avidity, having prepared myself to directly embark, in consequence of Lord Barham's

private. Perhaps this will not find you at Plymouth, for I know it was intended to offer you your Flag, as Third in Command in the Mediterranean Fleet. I am aware, and said so at the Admiralty, that having served, so long and so honourably, as Commander-in-Chief, you might not wish to take an inferior station; but that if you did, it would give me most sincere pleasure to have you, and to profit by your skill and gallantry. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

laconic letter, saying my services were required in the Fleet under your Lordship's command, and that orders would be directly given for my hoisting my Flag in one of the ships *now* under immediate orders for that station, which I directly acquainted your Lordship of, and accepted with pleasure, though flattering myself that I should have the honour of being your second; for the nearer I could approach your Lordship, the stronger the effect in imitation of your glorious example; but wherever I am placed, the best of my abilities will be employed to establish those sentiments you so flatteringly apply to me; and I with confidence assert it will be my highest gratification to evince from my zeal the happiness I feel in serving with you, and though the Admiralty endeavour to check my ardour by giving me a spurred and doubled Ship, the Formidable, yesterday out of dock, without a man, refuse me to have all my officers, and *can't promise me my band*, which was apparently retained for me in the Acasta, with Captain Dunn, and to which I have paid an annual income. This is increasing the injury I have already received from the Board, which they well know I feel, but it will not operate to gratify their hope of my declining service; and my utmost exertions shall be used to join your Lordship. Mr. Haslewood having received directions whilst I was in the West Indies, to consider me as blended with you in the negotiation about the Marquis de Niza's right, which I have since repeated, I conclude the money your Lordship mentions as paid in Exchequer Bills, must be for both our shares; but if the Admiralty refuse giving me a Three-decker, manned, and in readiness, I shall, with concern I say, have sufficient time to go to town, and talk over the subject, when I shall have the pleasure of receiving good Lady Hamilton's commands. I am much obliged by your Lordship's kind intentions towards Mr. Lloyd, and I anxiously hope the Enemy will give your Lordship the opportunity alluded to of rewarding the meritorious. Feeling warmly interested in everything that has reference to Captain King, my son-in-law, I hope your Lordship will forgive my solicitation for L'Achille being retained under your command. His little wife begs to be honoured with your remembrance, and I have the honour to be, my good Lord, with real respect and regard, your Lordship's most obliged friend, and faithful humble servant, J. T. DUCKWORTH."—*Autograph.*

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off the Lizard, 18th September, 1805.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that yesterday, on passing Plymouth, His Majesty's Ships, named in the margin,[2] got under weigh from Cawsand Bay, and this morning joined me off the Lizard. The wind is not fair; but, with perseverance, I hope to get on. Their Lordships may be assured that every exertion shall be used to effect my arrival off Cadiz as early as possible, when a Cutter shall be sent to England, and your several letters, &c., acknowledged. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Sea, September 19th, 1805.

Sir,

I have received their Lordships' duplicate order of the 7th instant, addressed to 'Vice-Admiral Collingwood, or the Senior Officer, for the time being, at Gibraltar,' relative to the sending all the Transports from thence under a proper Convoy to Malta, with directions to their respective Masters to follow such orders as they may receive from General Sir James Craig; and you will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that due attention shall be paid to the instructions contained in their order above mentioned. I am, Sir, &c., NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Sea, 19th September, 1805.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 10th inst., together with the copy of a Dispatch from Lord Strangford[3], His

[2] Ajax, Thunderer.

[3] Percy Clinton Sydney, 6th Viscount Strangford, then Secretary of Embassy, and Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Lisbon, now Baron Penshurst in the Peerage of Great Britain, G.C.B., G.C.H., to whose kindness the Editor owes much valuable assistance.

Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, to Lord Mulgrave, therein mentioned, relative to the Combined Fleet at Cadiz, and its probable destination. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original, in the Admiralty.]

Victory, at Sea, 19th September, 1805.

Sir,

On my taking the command of the Mediterranean Fleet in July 1803, I received from Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton a copy of their Lordships' authority to Lord Keith for ordering Courts Martial; but owing to some particular circumstances, and the late changes at the Admiralty, their authority to me was omitted to be sent. I have, therefore, to request that you will be pleased to represent the same to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and move their Lordships to send me their order for holding Courts Martial, as early as possible. I feel perfectly satisfied that the authority invested in me by the copy of the said order has hitherto been sufficient; but it is more regular, and will prevent any future consequences, to have their Lordships' order for assembling Courts Martial dated agreeably to that of my late orders. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD CASTLEREAGH, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

[Original, in the Colonial Office.]

"20th September. A.M., 11, exchanged Signals and showed our Colours to Rear-Admiral Stirling's Squadron, consisting of five Ships of the Line and one Frigate. P.M., at 1.30, hove to: Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton came into the Fleet in H. M. Ship Decade. At 2.20, filled and made sail: Decade parted."—*Victory's Log.*

Victory, off Cape Finisterre, September 23rd, 1805.

My Lord,

I have read with much attention the letters of Prince Castelcicala to Lord Mulgrave, respecting a Vessel taken with

an English Pass, belonging to Neapolitans, and carried into Algiers, there condemned, and the Neapolitans made slaves, but that the English Captain was released, and requesting that the Vessel and Crew may be restored. I take the liberty of stating, as my opinion, that no Vessel was ever more fully proved to be an enemy of the Algerines; and it is stated that the English Passport was to cover her from the Algerines, who were cruizing in her intended track. Supposing the case to be French, I believe Sir William Scott would not hesitate one moment in the condemnation; indeed I have seldom met with so clear a case, and the Algerine Judges seemed to have acted as upright men upon the present occasion. Whilst I state this opinion, I have no hesitation in saying, that if the British Government at Malta placed these unfortunate men in this very miserable state of slavery, together with the loss of the Vessel and cargo; then I think, upon every principle of justice, the British Government at Malta are bound to redeem the men, and pay for the Vessel and cargo. But I am rather of opinion that these Neapolitans get Passports (but that is now impossible, I hope) as an additional precaution against being taken; but, never trusting to it, they can escape the Algerine cruizers.

Under these circumstances I have not wrote to the Dey of Algiers upon this business. I send an extract of my letter relative to it to Mr. Consul Cartwright, which I hope your Lordship will approve.

I have, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Off Lisbon, September 25th, 1805.

TO MR. CONSUL CARTWRIGHT, ALGIERS.

[From a Copy in the Colonial Office. Extract only.]

Victory, the 25th September, 1805.

. . . . . In your packet I suppose you have copies of letters from Prince Castelcicala, as the Neapolitan Envoy, to Lord Mulgrave, upon the subject of the Crews of two Neapolitan Vessels, and for the restitution of the Vessels, or their value;

and Lord Castlereagh has thought that, if I wrote to the Dey upon the subject at this moment, that it would be attended with a good effect; but I own I think it would tend to make a new breach between us at a moment, when every thing is just settled; and I believe that these very Vessels were brought forth by Captain Keats, with many other claims, all which are now buried in oblivion, and cannot with prudence be revived: at least it appears so to me; but if you, from being on the spot, think otherwise, I am sure it will give great pleasure to the Government and to myself to get these Vessels and crews released.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO JAMES GAMBIER, ESQ., CONSUL AT LISBON.

[Autograph in the possession of Captain Gambier.]

Victory, September 25th, 1805.

Sir,

I entreat that it may not be known that I am off Lisbon, for I hope to see our Enemy at sea; and I have further to request that every man which can be raised at Lisbon may be placed for the Fleet under my command. I shall write to Lord Strangford from Lagos. I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN SUTTON, H. M. SHIP AMPHION, TAGUS.

[Autograph in the possession of Captain Ives Sutton.]

Victory, September 25th, 1805.

(Most secret.)

My dear Sutton,

Get every man, in every way, for the Fleet under my command; and beg Mr. Gambier to secure all he can for the Fleet.—I am ever, my dear Sutton, most faithfully yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Pray, do not mention my near approach to Cadiz[4].

[4] To this letter the following one was added by Captain Hardy:—

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, September 25th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I put your letters, which I know Lord Barham intended to have sent you by a Cutter from Plymouth, as he desired me to sit down at the Admiralty to write you a line which Captain Lechmere has returned to me, and I send it with the other from the Thunderer by Euryalus, who I send forward to announce my approach; and to request that if you are in sight of Cadiz, that not only no salute may take place, but also that no Colours may be hoisted, for it is as well not to proclaim to the Enemy every Ship which may join the Fleet.

I fell in with Décade, on the 20th, 27 leagues S.W. from Scilly. It blew then very strong at S.W. I saw Captain Stuart for a moment. Sir Richard was far from well. I shall of course send to Gibraltar as soon as possible after my joining. If Euryalus joins before I am in sight, I wish you would make something look out for us towards Cape St. Mary's, which I shall make if the wind is to the Northward of West. I am ever, my dear Collingwood, your most faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I would not have any salute even if you are out of sight of land.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HENRY PAULET.

[Autograph in the possession of Warren Maude Stamp, Esq.]

Victory, off Lisbon, September 25th, 1805.

My dear Lord,

Many thanks for your very kind letter. Nothing, I do assure you, could give me so much pleasure as having you

"My dear Sutton,

"I hope to see you in a day or two. I fear our Galeons will not turn out so well as we expected, as it is said you are to have only one-fifth of the money, and all the hulls. God bless you, my good fellow.—I remain, my dear Sutton, yours most sincerely,

"T. M. HARDY."

with me—it has always been my wish that it should be so, but a fatality seems to prevent it. However, I shall again mention my wish at the Admiralty, and I know that Otway[5] wants to come also; if he is still in the same mind I will ask for him. Perhaps, if you both write to Admiral Gambier[6], my letter will be with him long before yours.

I can, my dear Lord, only again repeat how glad I shall be to have you near me on the day of Battle, and I will venture to say, you shall not again[7] be shoved out in whatever may take place. I am ever, my dear Lord, your most obliged and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off the Rock of Lisbon, 5 o'clock, P.M., 25th September, 1805.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I arrived off here this morning; but owing to its having been calm all day, I have not made any progress in my passage, but hope as the breeze is now springing up from the N.W., to get round Cape St. Vincent to-morrow. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From the "Authentic Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson," by Dr. Beatty, 2nd Ed. p. 95.]

Wednesday, September 25th, 1805.

Light airs Southerly. Saw the rock of Lisbon, S.S.E. ten leagues. At sunset the Captain of the Constance came on

[5] Captain now Admiral Sir Robert Waller Otway, Bart., G.C.B. (Vide vol. iv. p. 301.)

[6] One of the Lords of the Admiralty.

[7] Lord Henry Paulet (vide vol. iv. p. 293, 399) commanded the Defence in Sir Hyde Parker's Fleet before Copenhagen, but that Ship did not form part of Lord Nelson's Squadron in the attack.

board, and sent my letters for England to Lisbon, and wrote to Captain Sutton, and the Consul. The Enemy's Fleet had not left Cadiz the 18th of this month, therefore I yet hope they will wait my arrival.

TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY, BART.

[From the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., p. 448.]

Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, September 26th, 1805.

My dear Sir Charles,

Only this moment have I been favoured with your letter of February 4th, 1804. Where is this Mr. Stewart[8]? let him come forth! and if I can take the Enemy's Fleet he shall be made a Lieutenant; if not he must get an Admiralty recommendation, for all except death vacancies are considered as belonging to them; but be assured I am ever happy to meet your wishes, and believe me, my dear Sir Charles,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN JOHN SYKES, H.M. SHIP NAUTILUS.

[Original in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sykes.]

Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, 27th September, 1805.

Whereas His Majesty's Ships, Royal Sovereign, Defiance, Superb, Melpomené, and several others, may soon be expected to join me from England, You are, notwithstanding former orders, hereby required and directed to cruize in His Majesty's Sloop Nautilus, under your command, off Cape St. Vincent, for the purpose of falling in with the Ships above mentioned, or any other that may be ordered from

[8] Mr. Edward Stewart, son of the late Reverend Charles Edward Stewart, Rector of Wakes Colne, in Essex, and of Rede in Suffolk. He was made a Lieutenant in March, 1805, some months before Lord Nelson answered Sir Charles Bunbury's application; promoted to Commander in June, 1814, and was drowned in command of the Brisk in the Medway in 1824, on which day, it is said, he had been made a Post-Captain.

England to join me; and continue on this service until you are relieved, or receive orders from me for your further proceedings. And upon your falling in with any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels as above, you will deliver them a copy of the General Order and Rendezvous of the Fleet herewith transmitted, which are always to remain in the possession of the Ship stationed off Cape St. Vincent, and take their respective receipts for the same, which you will deliver to me on joining the Fleet. Should the Enemy's Fleet from Brest make its appearance, I desire that you will join me with an account thereof, with the utmost dispatch.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

GENERAL ORDER.

TO ALL JUNIOR FLAG OFFICERS, AND THE CAPTAINS OR COMMANDERS OF ANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS OR VESSELS, ORDERED BY THE ADMIRALTY UNDER MY COMMAND.

Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, 27th September, 1805.

Pursuant to Instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, You are hereby required and directed to put yourself under my command, and follow and obey all such signals, orders, and directions as you shall from time to time receive from me for His Majesty's Service. And I am to desire that you will immediately join the Fleet under my command on the Rendezvous left with this order, or wherever you may learn I am gone to; a copy of which, together with that of this order, I desire you will take and sign for accordingly, for which this shall be your order.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALL JUNIOR FLAG OFFICERS, AND THE CAPTAINS OR COMMANDERS OF ANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS OR VESSELS, IN SEARCH OF ME.

Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, 27th September, 1805.

Secret Rendezvous.

The Rendezvous of the Fleet under my command will be between Cape St. Mary's and Cadiz. Ships, therefore, in search of me, not falling in with the Fleet off the former place, must approach the latter with the utmost caution; and

should I have left Cadiz in pursuit of the Enemy, a Vessel of War will be stationed off Cape Spartel with information where I am gone to.

N.B.—Tangier Bay will always give information.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

Victory, off Cadiz, 28th September, 1805.

"28th September, P.M. At 6, in steering-sails, joined the Fleet off Cadiz under the command of Vice-Admiral Collingwood, consisting of twenty-three Sail of the Line, and six Sail of the Line in shore. At 8, St. Sebastian's Light-House bore E. b. N., distant five or six leagues."—*Victory's Log, and Signal Log.*

It is my particular directions that no Junior Flag Officer salutes on joining the Fleet under my command, nor any Ship show their colours.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Dr. Beatty's "Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson," p. 95.]

Sunday, September 28th, 1805.

Fresh breezes at N.N.W. At daylight bore up, and made sail. At nine saw the Ætna cruising. At noon saw eighteen sail. Nearly calm. In the evening joined the Fleet under Vice-Admiral Collingwood. Saw the Enemy's Fleet in Cadiz, amounting to thirty-five or thirty-six Sail of the Line.

Sunday, September 29th.[9]

Fine weather. Gave out the necessary orders for the Fleet. Sent Euryalus to watch the Enemy with the Hydra off Cadiz.

TO SIR JOHN ACTON.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 425.]

30th September, 1805.

My dear Sir John,

After being only twenty-five days in England, I find myself again in the command of the Mediterranean Fleet. I

[9] On this day Lord Nelson completed his forty-sixth year.

only hope that I may be able, in a small degree, to fulfil the expectations of my Country.... I hear the French have two or three Sail of the Line at Toulon, two Frigates and a Corvette. In England they have not the smallest idea of such a force. If it be so, they must send more Ships; for although it is natural to look to the Russians to prevent those Ships from doing any harm to the Eastward of Toulon, yet I can answer for nothing but what is committed to the charge of English Ships. I was so little a while in England, and only three times with the Minister, that I hardly entered into any business but my own. I hope both Austria and Russia have begun; and, if the War comes into Italy, I have proposed such a co-operation on the part of England, that I am confident three months may, if all parties are agreed, free Italy and Piedmont; but we must all put our shoulders to the wheel. The Combined Fleet in Cadiz is thirty-five, or thirty-six Sail of the Line, and eight at Carthagena. I have twenty-three Sail of the Line; and six occasionally at Gibraltar, and to have an eye upon the Ships at Carthagena. The French have made an exchange of an old French 74 for the Santa Anna, a Spanish First-rate. Be assured I am your Excellency's most faithful friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL KNIGHT.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 425.]

30th September, 1805.

I was only twenty-five days, from dinner to dinner, absent from the Victory. In our several stations, my dear Admiral, we must all put our shoulders to the wheel, and make the great machine of the Fleet intrusted to our charge go on smoothly. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR ALEXANDER JOHN BALL, BART., MALTA.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 426.]

30th September, 1805.

My dear Ball,

I got fairly into the Fleet yesterday, and under all circumstances I find them as perfect as could be expected.....The

force is at present not so large as might be wished, but I will do my best with it; they will give me more when they can, and I am not come forth to find difficulties, but to remove them. I know not a word of Sir James Craig or his Troops, or what they are going about, except, as the man said of the Parson, 'he preached about doing good,' and so Ministers talked of our Troops doing good to the Common Cause; but I was so little a time in England, and not more than four times in London, that really I could hardly talk of anything seriously but Naval matters. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE HONOURABLE HENRY EDWARD FOX, GIBRALTAR.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 425.]

In this letter Lord Nelson requested that the publisher of the Gibraltar Gazette should be forbidden to mention the force of the Fleet, much less the names and strength of the Ships; adding,

[About 30th September, 1805.]

For I much fear, that if the Enemy know of our increased numbers, we shall never see them out of Cadiz. If my arrival is necessary to be mentioned, the Ships with me need not; and it may be inserted that an equal number, or some Ships of Admiral Collingwood's, are ordered home. I rely upon your goodness to accord with my wishes. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[From the "Naval Chronicle," vol. xiv. p. 475.]

Victory, [about 30th September, 1805.]

Day by day, my dear friend, I am expecting the Fleet to put to sea—every day, hour, and moment; and you may rely that, if it is within the power of man to get at them, that it shall be done; and I am sure that all my brethren look to that day as the finish of our laborious cruise. The event no

man can say exactly; but I must think, or render great injustice to those under me, that, let the Battle be when it may, it will never have been surpassed. My shattered frame, if I survive that day, will require rest, and that is all I shall ask for. If I fall on such a glorious occasion, it shall be my pride to take care that my friends shall not blush for me. These things are in the hands of a wise and just Providence, and His will be done! I have got some trifle, thank God, to leave to those I hold most dear, and I have taken care not to neglect it. Do not think I am low-spirited on this account, or fancy anything is to happen to me; quite the contrary—my mind is calm, and I have only to think of destroying our inveterate foe. I have two Frigates gone for more information, and we all hope for a meeting with the Enemy. Nothing can be finer than the Fleet under my command. Whatever be the event, believe me ever, my dear Davison, your much obliged and sincere friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO LORD BARHAM, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 426.]

September 30th, 1805.

My dear Lord,

I did not fail, immediately on my arrival, to deliver your message to Sir Robert Calder; and it will give your Lordship pleasure to find, as it has me, that an inquiry is what the Vice-Admiral wishes, and that he had written to you by the Nautilus, which I detained, to say so. Sir Robert thinks that he can clearly prove, that it was not in his power to bring the Combined Squadrons again to Battle. It would be only taking up your time, were I to enter more at large on all our conversation; but Sir Robert felt so much, even at the idea of being removed from his own Ship which he commanded, in the face of the Fleet, that I much fear I shall incur the censure of the Board of Admiralty, without your Lordship's influence with the Members of it. I may be thought wrong, as an Officer, to disobey the orders of the Admiralty, by not insisting on Sir Robert Calder's quitting the Prince of Wales

for the Dreadnought, and for parting with a 90-gun Ship, before the force arrives which their Lordships have judged necessary; but I trust that I shall be considered to have done right as a man, and to a Brother Officer in affliction —my heart could not stand it, and so the thing must rest. I shall submit to the wisdom of the Board to censure me or not, as to them may seem best for the Service; I shall bow with all due respect to their decision. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, September 30th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I had rather that all the Ships burnt a blue-light, or false fire; for it must often happen that the cause of wearing is change of wind, and often a very confused sea, and Ships may be very anxious, from various circumstances, to be assured that her neighbour astern has wore, as the Line from the above circumstances would be entirely broke. It is perfectly understood that, unless in very fine weather, or extraordinary circumstances, the Fleet will not be directed to wear in succession. We have found the comfort of blue-lights and false fires in the Mediterranean, where the wind changes so often. I am writing to every part of the Mediterranean, and if Thunder defers her appearance till to-morrow, I shall be ready for her, and she shall go to Sardinia, Palermo, from whence my letters for Malta will go express to Girgenti, and from thence to Malta in a Sparanero. If the weather is fine, perhaps you will come on board to-morrow. If the weather suits I will ask you to dinner: our party will not be so numerous as yesterday and to-day. Captain Rotheram, of course.

The Pickle Schooner was off St. Vincent on Sunday looking for a Ship on that station. She was seven days from Plymouth. Ever yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN OTWAY, GIBRALTAR.

[Autograph in the possession of Rear-Admiral Inglefield, C.B.]

Victory, September 30th, 1805.

My dear Sir,

—Commissioner I must not call you. When you are done with Gibraltar, I think you had better come to the Victory, or any Ship more agreeable to you in the Fleet, in order to be ready for a passage to England. Several will soon go. I only beg of you to be assured of my sincere disposition to meet your wishes; and believe me ever, your most obliged, humble servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I met Décade off Scilly the 20th, with a fair and fresh gale.

TO CAPTAIN SOTHERON, H.M. SHIP EXCELLENT, NAPLES.

[From a copy in the Elliot papers.]

Victory, September 30th, 1805.

My dear Sotheron,

Captain . . . .'s son is adrift in Italy, at Naples, or Rome; we think, very probably, in prison for debt. His father is very anxious to save the lad. He was Lieutenant of the Hydra and ran away with an opera-dancer from Malta. Pray try, with Mr. Elliot, at Naples, and with Mr. Jackson, at Rome, to get word of Mr. . . . . Captain . . . . . will pay the bills he has drawn for on England—supposed to be two or three hundred pounds—and if now a few more is necessary to liberate the youth, I will be answerable. All we want is to save him from perdition. If you will, my dear Sotheron, undertake this task of inquiry, it will save me the no small trouble of writing two letters.

Let me have a good account of your health. I assure you I long to relieve you, and to get your Ship home. It will not I hope be much longer deferred.—Ever, my dear Sir, with the greatest esteem, your much obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HUGH ELLIOT, ESQ.

[Autograph in the Elliot papers.]

Victory, September 30th, 1805.

My dear Sir,

Vice-Admiral Collingwood told me, when I joined the Fleet, of some application of some letter of yours, which mentioned that the Russian Minister at Naples had spoke to you, about a force of Frigates being sent to watch the French Frigate and Brigs at Genoa. I did not fail, before I left the Mediterranean in July, to point out to the Admiralty the necessity of having a Squadron of Frigates to watch those gentry, which their Lordships approved of; and when they are pleased to direct a proper force for all the services required, your Excellency may rest assured they shall be properly applied. I hear the Enemy have launched the Line-of-Battle Ship at Genoa, and that she is got to Toulon, where is also the Hannibal, and another, making the number three. If this is so, a force is necessary of Line-of-battle Ships and Frigates to attend them.

The Russians are in such great force that I ought to have no fears to the Eastward of Sicily, or, indeed, anywhere the Russian Troops may be afloat. The Enemy's force at Cadiz, ready for sea, is thirty-five or thirty-six Sail of the Line. I have twenty-three with me, and six occasionally at Gibraltar and Tetuan, to get supplies; and to keep an eye upon the Ships at Carthagena. The French have left one of their old Seventy-fours for the Spaniards to repair, and put their men into the Santa Anna, of 112 guns. From my soul I hope they will soon come forth. Twenty-five days was my extent, from the Victory to the Victory, and I own I want much more rest; but it was thought right to desire me to come forth, and I obeyed. I felt much rejoiced that the Excellent had not been removed, and I shall certainly not order her away until I can replace her. Amazon will be with me in about one month. Lord Minto I saw several times: he is very well. I beg my most dutiful and humble respects may be presented to my benefactors, their Sicilian Majesties. Only assure them that neither time, distance, or situation,

can shake my sincere attachment to them, their family, and Kingdoms; and, with my best respects to Mrs. Elliot, believe me ever your most obliged friend and humble servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

[From Lord Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 100.]

Victory, October 1st, 1805.

My dearest Emma,

It is a relief to me, to take up the pen, and write you a line; for I have had, about four o'clock this morning, one of my dreadful spasms, which has almost enervated me. It is very odd; I was hardly ever better than yesterday. Fremantle[1] stayed with me till eight o'clock, and I slept uncommonly well; but was awoke with this disorder. My opinion of its effect, some one day, has never altered. However, it is entirely gone off, and I am only quite weak. The good people of England will not believe that rest of body and mind is necessary for me! But perhaps this spasm may not come again these six months. I had been writing seven hours yesterday; perhaps that had some hand in bringing it upon me.

I joined the Fleet late on the evening of the 28th of September, but could not communicate with them until the next morning. I believe my arrival was most welcome, not only to the Commander of the Fleet, but also to every individual in it; and, when I came to explain to them the '*Nelson touch*,' it was like an electric shock. Some shed tears, all approved —'It was new—it was singular—it was simple!'; and, from Admirals downwards, it was repeated— 'It must succeed, if ever they will allow us to get at them! You are, my Lord, surrounded by friends whom you inspire with confidence.' Some may be Judas's; but the majority are certainly much pleased with my commanding them[2].

[1] Captain Fremantle, of the Neptune.

[2] If the following Letters from the King and Queen of Naples, the former in answer to a letter to His Majesty of the 18th of June, and the latter in reply to his letter to Her Majesty of the 21st July (Vide vol. vi., pp. 460, 480) reached Lord Nelson—they were the last he ever received from them.

"Mon bien digne Milord,—Je profite avec empressement pour écrire cette lettre, et vous remercier de celle que vous m'avez écrite le 21 Juillet, de Gibral-

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, SECRETARY FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 429.]

October 1st, 1805.

My Lord,

The far greater part of the Combined Fleets is in the Harbour, and indeed none can be called in the Bay of Cadiz; they lie in such a position abreast of the Town, and many entirely open, over the narrow strip of land, that Congreve's rockets, if they will go one mile and a half, must do execution. Even should no Ships be burnt, yet it would make Cadiz so very disagreeable, that they would rather risk an Action than remain in Port. I do assure your Lordship, that myself and many thousands in the Fleet will feel under the greatest obligations to Colonel Congreve. But I think, with your Lordship's assistance, we have a better chance of forcing

tar. Je ne puis, mon cher Amiral, assez vous dire le plaisir que m'a causé de vous savoir plus près de nous, et je ne puis assez vous prier de ne point quitter la Méditerranée dans l'actuelle urgence où nous sommes. Le seul savoir notre héros Nelson dans la Méditerranée anime le courage de chacun, et contribue au bien de toutes les opérations qui vont avoir lieu. Je vous remercie pour les productions des endroits que vous avez parcourus; j'y ai vu une nouvelle preuve de vos inombrables attentions. Mes chers enfans, qui tous vous chérissent et respectent, me chargent de vous faire leurs complimens; nous ferons tous des vœux pour votre prosperité, gloire et bonheur. Je vous fais bien mon compliment de ce que après un si pénible voyage les santés des gens de votre escadre se soient si bien conservé; cela prouve bien votre attention et zèle. Je vois que la crise generale s'approche: Dieu veuille que ce soit en bien. Je vous prie bien de nouveau ne quittez point la Méditerranée, car toute notre confiance est en vous; et croyez moi pour la vie avec la plus sincère éternelle estime, confiance, et attachement, votre bien attachée amie,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Le 5 Septembre, 1805."

"Mio caro Duca, e 'stimabile Amico,—Ho ricevato la vostra lettera del 18 Giugno, e con vero piacere della medesima ho rilevato che siete ritornato nelle nostre vicinanze: la vostra presenza nei nostri mari è di una gran' tranquillità per me nelle difficili circostanze nelle quali si troviamo. Voi conoscete me ed i miei sentimenti, che sono invariabbili, e dureranno fin' che havrò vita; vi auguro dunque i massimi vantaggi e glorie, ma sempre in nostra vicinanza. Tutta la mia famiglia pensa come me, ed ugualmente vi augura tutti i possibbili e felici successi. Credetemi intanto, caro Milord, con vera stima, e riconoscenza sempre lo stesso, vostro costante, vero, affezzionato amico,

'FERDINANDO.

"Belvedere, 28 Agosto, 1805."

them out by want of provisions: it is said hunger will break through stone walls—ours is only a wall of wood. The French are sending provisions of all kinds from Nantes, Bordeaux, and other Ports in the Bay, in Danish Vessels, called of course Danish property, to Ayamonte, Conil, Algeziras, and other little Ports from Cape St. Mary's to Algeziras; whence it would be conveyed in their Coasting Boats without the smallest interruption to Cadiz, and thus the Fleets be supplied with provisions for any expedition. Vice-Admiral Collingwood has most properly directed their being detained and sent to Gibraltar, to be libelled in the Vice-Court of Admiralty. I have followed so good an example. I am able enough to see the propriety and necessity of the measure, without which the blockade of Cadiz is nugatory, and we should only have the odium of the measure, without any benefit to us, or real distress to our Enemies. There never was a place so proper to be blockaded, at this moment, as Cadiz. I have, therefore, to request that your Lordship will take the proper measures, that the Officers under my orders may not get into any pecuniary scrape by their obedience; and, should it be thought proper to allow the Enemy's Fleet to be victualled, that I may be informed as soon as possible. . . .I can have nothing, as an Admiral, to say upon the propriety of granting licences; but from what your Lordship told me of the intentions of Ministers respecting the Neutral trade, it strikes me, some day it may be urged that it was not for the sake of blockade, but for the purpose of taking all the trade into her own hands, that Great Britain excluded the Neutrals. Your Lordship's wisdom will readily conceive all that Neutral Courts may urge at this apparent injustice, and of might overcoming right.

I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 2nd October, 1805.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived off here on the evening of the

28th ult., where I found Vice-Admiral Collingwood with the Fleet, and on the morning following I took the Command from the Vice-Admiral, and received from him the several unexecuted Orders, &c. The Ships are getting short in their water and provisions: I shall, therefore, send Rear-Admiral Louis with six Sail of the Line[3] immediately to Gibraltar and Tetuan to complete in everything; and the moment he returns, I shall send others to those places, in order that the Fleet may be all prepared for service before the winter sets in. The Zealous having come out from England with a bad mainmast, which has been found, upon survey, to be sprung, and decayed in several places, is just ordered to Gibraltar to get a new one, and otherwise completed for immediate service. The Endymion must also go into Gibraltar, having this day joined the Fleet with her mainmast badly sprung. As I have had no Return from Rear-Admiral Knight, respecting the Disposition of His Majesty's Ships within the Mediterranean, and that of the Fleet off here being nearly the same as made in Vice-Admiral Collingwood's last Return, I shall not send their Lordships a Disposition of the Fleet at this time, being anxious to send the Nimble Cutter to England with the dispatches from Vice-Admiral Collingwood and Sir Robert Calder, which I detained in the Nautilus, off Cape St. Vincent, on her way home.

The Fleet is in very fair condition and good humour, and their Lordships may be assured that every exertion of mine shall be used to keep it so, and in a state to meet the Combined Fleet in Cadiz whenever they come out. Their

[3] "October 3rd. P.M. at 6, Queen, Canopus, Spencer, Zealous, Tigre, and Endymion, parted."—*Victory's Log*. Vice-Admiral Sir Francis Austen, who was then Captain of the Canopus, states that on that day "I had been dining with Lord Nelson on board the Victory, having accompanied my Admiral (Louis); and on taking leave in the evening, Admiral Louis said, 'You are sending us away, my Lord—the Enemy will come out, and we shall have no share in the Battle.' To which Lord Nelson replied,—'My dear Louis, I have no other means of keeping my Fleet complete in provisions and water, but by sending them in detachments to Gibraltar. The Enemy *will* come out, and we shall fight them; but there will be time for you to get back first. I look upon Canopus as my right hand (she was his second astern in the Line of Battle); and I send you first to insure your being here to help to beat them.'"

force is about thirty-six Sail of the Line, apparently ready for sea, with a number of Frigates and Corvettes, &c. It is said that there is a great scarcity of provisions at Cadiz, and if Government strictly enforce the prohibition of provisions from the environs of that place, in any bottoms whatever, the Enemy must soon be in distress, and consequently be forced to come out: otherwise, the blockade of Cadiz is perfectly nugatory. The Pickle Schooner joined the Fleet from Plymouth yesterday. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 2nd October, 1805.

Sir,

In consequence of the inclosed letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, requesting, for the reasons therein mentioned, that I will allow the Captains of His Majesty's Ships named in the margin[4], to return to England, you will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Captains of the Thunderer and Ajax[5] having signified to me their willingness to attend as evidences at the Court Martial required by the Vice-Admiral, I shall permit them to return with him to England, and appoint Acting Captains to their Ships till they rejoin them; and should Captain Durham, on the Defiance joining the Fleet, wish to return to England for the above purpose, I shall also permit him, and appoint an Acting Captain during his absence; but I do not feel authorised to order him, or any others, who may not

[4] Thunderer, Defiance, Ajax, Sirius.

[5] Captains William Brown of the Ajax, and William Lechemere of the Thunderer. These Officers returned to England, and thereby lost the honour of commanding their Ships at Trafalgar; which they must have lamented the more, as Sir Robert Calder's trial did not take place until December, and Captain Durham of the Defiance, who had declined to go home (Vide p. 84, post,) and was consequently in the Battle, arrived in time to be examined as a witness. Captain Lechemere has been before mentioned. Captain Brown died a Rear-Admiral of the White, while commanding in chief at Jamaica, in 1814.

wish to go home on this service, without their Lordships' direction, although I am at the same time satisfied that they would not deprive Sir Robert Calder of any evidence he might think necessary to have on the occasion. I trust their Lordships will approve of this measure, and send me such further direction as they may think necessary.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—The Sirius is daily expected from Gibraltar, when I shall determine upon sending Captain Prowse[6] home with the others.

TO RICHARD FORD, ESQ.[7], AGENT VICTUALLER AFLOAT.

[From the "Gentleman's Magazine," New Series, vol. vii. p. 158.]

Victory, October 2nd, 1805.

Dear Sir,

As I hear that Mr. Cutforth, the Agent Victualler at Gibraltar, is very much indisposed, so as probably to render him unable to go over to Tetuan, to settle several things with the Governor and English Vice-Consul at that place, I have therefore to desire that you will go to Gibraltar; and should Mr. Cutforth not be able to proceed to Tetuan, that you will carry my instructions to Mr. Cutforth into execution, marking to the Governor or Vice-Consul, that whatever I may allow for the guards, or any other purpose, is from myself, and not to be considered as a general tax; and you will consult with Mr. Cutforth upon the best mode of keeping these gentry in good humour, and that the Fleet may get liberal supplies without any further trouble.

I have the firmest reliance upon your abilities and zeal that this matter will be well terminated; and although no man wishes to be more economical of the Public money than myself, yet in our present state, and with the sort of people with whom we have to manage these matters, care must be taken not to be *penny wise* and *pounds* foolish. I need not

[6] Captain William Prowse was made a Companion of the Bath in 1815, and died a Rear-Admiral, in March, 1826.

[7] Mr. Ford died on the 8th of January, 1836.

say more, but that I am sure I shall be content with whatever you do; and I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

You must not be many hours at Gibraltar, but ask Admiral Knight for a conveyance to Tetuan; for Admiral Louis, with a Squadron, will leave the Fleet this day.

N. AND B.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 3rd, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

If you have any particular attachment to your Surgeon in the Dreadnought, he must of course go with you; but if you found him in the Ship, perhaps his removal is a matter of indifference. Dr. Felix[8], of the Royal Sovereign, I removed from the Belleisle to that Ship, and I suppose he is coming out in her. I only mention the circumstance if the removal is indifferent to you, for I cannot be very particularly interested about Dr. Felix. He was the oldest Surgeon in the Fleet, and of good character. Pray is the order for the sending home the senior Subaltern of the Marines given out? If not, I shall give a General Memorandum. The Cutter[9], I suppose, is gone to Gibraltar. Endymion's bowsprit was so bad that nothing could be done with it at sea.

Most faithfully yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To .....[1]

[From the Naval Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 37.]

Victory, off Cadiz, October 3rd, 1805.

The reception I met with on joining the Fleet caused the

[8] Dr. Matthias Felix, Surgeon of the Royal Sovereign. He appears to have died between 1809 and 1814.

[9] The Entreprenante: she joined the Fleet the next morning from England.

[1] The name of the person to whom this letter was addressed is not given.

sweetest sensation of my life. The Officers who came on board to welcome my return, forgot my rank as Commander-in-Chief in the enthusiasm with which they greeted me. As soon as these emotions were past, I laid before them the Plan[2] I had previously arranged for attacking the Enemy; and it was not only my pleasure to find it generally approved, but clearly perceived and understood. The Enemy are still in Port, but something must be immediately done to provoke or lure them to a Battle. My duty to my Country demands it, and the hopes centered in me, I hope in God, will be realised. In less than a fortnight expect to hear from me, or of me, for who can foresee the fate of Battle? Put up your prayers for my success, and may God protect all my friends! I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VISCOUNT STRANGFORD, LISBON.

[From the Memoirs of Lord Collingwood, vol. i. p. 302.]

Victory, October 3rd, 1805.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you that I have taken the command of His Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean station; and I am very sorry that I must begin my correspondence by a complaint against the conduct of the Portuguese Government at Lagos. They say, at least by their conduct, that, by their secret treaty with Spain, they are to throw every obstacle in the way of our remaining in their Ports, or on their Coasts, by refusing us water and refreshments; but in such a manner as is disgraceful to the Portuguese Government which offers, or the British Government which allows.

[2] His Plan of Attack does not appear to have been issued until the 9th or 10th of October (Vide p. 89—91 post), but it was, perhaps, explained to his Captains some days sooner. It is said that shortly before Lord Nelson left England, he dined with his friend Lord Sidmouth, and after dinner, sitting near a small table, he drew out his Plan upon it, saying, "I shall attack in two lines, led by myself and Collingwood, and I am confident I shall capture either their Van and Centre, or their Centre and Rear." The table was afterwards marked with an inscription by Lord Sidmouth.—*Life of Lord Hill*, by the Rev. Edwin Sidney, p. 368.

Great Britain can have nothing to do with their infamous or degrading treaties: she looks to her treaty being fulfilled in the most liberal manner.

I shall state my complaint of the circumstances which generally happen at Lagos. A Ship of War goes there for water and refreshments, which, by treaty, she has a right to: from her communications she seems placed under the direction of the Consul of one of our Enemies, and very improper language is held by our Enemies to the British Officers and Seamen, and inducements held out to them to desert. The Enemy's Consul then directs that only so many cabbages, or bullocks, or sheep, shall go on board—and, at his will and pleasure, so much water: and it has been carried so far, that a Captain, whose Ship was complete with water, giving his proper water to wash the linen, on sending ashore for more, was threatened by the Portuguese sentry to be fired upon, if they presumed to attempt to take a drop. To this degradation no Nation can submit. Now, what I demand is, that our Officers and Men, whilst in the Neutral Port, shall be under the protection of the Neutral Flag, and not be permitted to be insulted by the interference, either secret or open, of our Enemies; and that every Ship which goes into Lagos, or other Ports, shall have such refreshments as are reasonable. And, as to water, I never before heard that any limited quantity was allowed, much less, that if a dirty shirt was washed, any French or Spanish Consul should be allowed to say, 'You English shall either wear a dirty shirt, or go without water to drink;' and that a sentinel of a Neutral Power should presume to threaten to fire, if an Ally presumed to take water! I shall send a Ship or Ships to take in water at Lagos. They shall wash, or let it run overboard, if they please; and I rely that the Portuguese Government will direct that our Enemies shall not insult our people, much less dictate to the Portuguese Governor for his treatment of us. However degraded the Portuguese may allow themselves to become, it is hardly fair that they should expect us to be insulted by our Enemies on their Neutral ground; for if, by words, or any other mode of warfare, they do permit it, I shall certainly retaliate. I should get

warm was I to go any farther, therefore I shall leave the business in much better hands—those of your Lordship; only repeating, that all we want is, that when our Ships go to Lagos, we may not be allowed to be insulted by our Enemies (unless we have permission to retaliate); that we shall take either one ton, or one thousand tons of water, as we please, and be allowed the free use of the markets, as by friendship we had a most unquestionable right to expect; and that the Portuguese Governor may be called to a most severe account for his conduct, in allowing a sentinel to threaten to fire on an English boat going for water, or any other purpose, to the shore of friendly Powers.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 3rd, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I have not the smallest wish about Dr. Felix[2], beyond what I told you: it is very reasonable and proper that your Surgeon should go with you. You will see what I have said about the Marine Officers; and I will endeavour so to act respecting them that, not to offend the Admiralty, we may not be left without proper Marine Officers. I shall expect you with much pleasure to-morrow morning; being ever, my dear Coll.,

Your attached friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Eurydice is gone under Cape St. Mary's.

[2] Vide p. 66, *ante*.

TO CAPTAIN DUFF[4], H. M. SHIP MARS.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 434.]

4th October, 1805.

As the Enemy's Fleets may be hourly expected to put to sea from Cadiz, I have to desire that you will keep, with the Mars, Defence, and Colossus, from three to four leagues between the Fleet and Cadiz, in order that I may get the information from the Frigates stationed off that Port, as expeditiously as possible. Distant Signals to be used, when

[4] Captain George Duff, of the Mars. When Rear-Admiral Louis quitted the Fleet for Gibraltar, Lord Nelson appointed Captain Duff to command the inshore squadron, consisting of four Sail of the Line, which was stationed between the Frigates watching the Enemy in Cadiz, under Captain Blackwood, in the Euryalus, and the main body of the Fleet. This able Officer was killed at Trafalgar. "There was a French Ship on each side of the Mars; and a Spanish Ship, a First-rate, on her bow, and a fourth Ship also within range of shot. The Ship on her starboard quarter, the Fougueux, was soon disabled, and it was thought she had struck, but her colours had only been shot away, as she had never ceased to fire. The Captain of Marines [Norman, who was likewise slain] on the poop, seeing that the Fougueux, in dropping to leeward, was getting into a position which would enable her to rake the Mars, and that she was preparing to do so, came down to the quarter-deck to mention it to Captain Duff. The want of wind rendered it impossible to alter the position of the Mars, nor could it with safety be attempted in regard to the Enemy's other Ships. Captain Duff, therefore, said to the Captain of Marines, 'Do you think our guns would bear on her?' He answered, 'I think not, but I cannot see for smoke.' 'Then,' replied the Captain, 'we must point our guns at the Ships on which they can bear. I shall go and look, but the men below may see better, as there is less smoke.' Captain Duff went to the end of the quarter-deck to look over the side, and then told his Aide-de-camp, Mr. Arbuthnot, to go below, and order the guns to be pointed more aft, meaning against the Fougueux. He had scarcely turned round to go with these orders, when the Fougueux raked the Mars. A cannon shot killed Captain Duff, and two seamen who were immediately behind him. The ball struck the Captain on the breast, and carried off his head. His body fell on the gangway, where it was covered with a spare colour, an Union-jack, until after the Action.—*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xv. p. 272. His son, Mr. Norwich Duff, then only thirteen years old, (now a Post Captain,) had joined the Mars a few weeks before the Battle; and a relative, Mr. Alexander Duff, acting Lieutenant of that Ship, was killed. The following extracts from Captain Duff's letters to his wife, will be read with interest:—

"October 1st.—On Saturday night we were joined by Lord Nelson, with the Victory, Ajax, Thunderer, and the Euryalus, when I had the happiness of re-

Flags, from the state of the weather, may not readily be distinguished in their colours. If the Enemy be out, or coming out, fire guns by day or night, in order to draw my attention. In thick weather, the Ships are to close within signal of the Victory: one of the Ships to be placed to windward, or rather to the Eastward of the other two, to extend the distance of seeing; and I have desired Captain Blackwood to throw a Frigate to the Westward of Cadiz, for the purpose of an easy and early communication. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

ceiving yours, my ever dearest wife, of the 8th September, and the papers up to the 7th. Many, many thanks! I dined with his Lordship yesterday, and had a very merry dinner. He certainly is the pleasantest Admiral I ever served under. I hope the Austrians and Russians will make quick work with Buonaparte, and let us get to our homes once more; when I expect to be an Admiral before I am called upon again."

"October 10th.

"I am just returned from dining with Browne, of the Ajax, *one of my Squadron*. He is a very old acquaintance of mine, ever since 1780, when we were in the West Indies together, and have met frequently since on service. I am sorry the rain has begun to-night, as it will spoil my fine work, having been employed for this week past to paint the Ship *à la Nelson*, which most of the Fleet are doing. He is so good and pleasant a man, that we all wish to do what he likes, without any kind of orders. I have been myself very lucky with most of my Admirals, but I really think the present the pleasantest I have met with: even this little Detachment is a kind thing to me, there being so many senior Officers to me in the Fleet, as it shows his attention, and wish to bring me forward; but I believe I have to thank my old friend Collingwood for it, as he was on board the Victory when I was sent for."

"October 18th.

"You ask me about Lord Nelson, and how I like him. I have already answered that question as every person must do that ever served under him. When we want anything we shall go to Gibraltar, as there is a dockyard and stores there; and I suppose we shall remain off here, till the Combined Fleet gives us the slip. This place is easy to blockade during the summer, but *no place* can be blockaded in the winter; and although every look-out possible will be kept, I have little doubt of their getting off, if they wish it, during the winter."

"Monday morning, October 21st, 1805.

"My dearest Sophia,

"I have just time to tell you we are going into Action with the Combined Fleet. I hope and trust in God that we shall all behave as becomes us, and that I may yet have the happiness of taking my beloved wife and children in my arms. Norwich is quite well and happy. I have, however, ordered him off the quarter-deck. Yours ever, and most truly, GEORGE DUFF."—*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xv. pp. 289, 291-293.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 4th October, 1805.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 16th ult., together with the inclosure therein mentioned from Mr. Huskisson, Secretary to the Treasury, relative to the specie on board the Ships named in the margin[5], being landed on their arrival in Port, and delivered to the Collector of Customs. In answer thereto, I beg you will be pleased to submit to the Lords Commissioners, that as those Ships are not likely soon to return to England, and having understood at the Treasury that an order would shortly be sent out to land it in this Country, where specie was particularly wanted for various services, whether it would be proper that it should be landed at Gibraltar under the directions of the Vice-Admiralty Court or otherwise, as may be judged fit, or sent to England by the first opportunity. You will therefore be good enough to acquaint me with their Lordships' further direction on this subject as early as possible. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 4th October, 1805.

Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 16th ult. respecting my having given orders to the Ant Cutter, I must request that you will be so good as acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that her name was on the list of Vessels to be under my command, which I received from Lord Barham's Secretary, a copy of which my Secretary took in the Admiralty, and left the original with Mr. Thomson's[6] Clerk, to be delivered to me on my return to the Admiralty, and I pre-

[5] Canopus, Conqueror, Excellent, Leviathan.

[6] Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty.

sume her name will be found on the said list, as I omitted to call for it from Mr. Thomson. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD, H. M. SHIP EURYALUS.

[From "Blackwood's Magazine" for July, 1833.]

Victory, October 4th, 1805, Cadiz, East 17 leagues.

My dear Sir,

I have received from Rear-Admiral Louis, your information respecting the intended movements of the Enemy, which strengthens my conviction that you estimate, as I do, the importance of not letting these rogues escape us without a fair fight, which I pant for by day, and dream of by night. I am momentarily expecting the Phœbe, Sirius, Naiad, and Niger, from Gibraltar; two of them shall be with you directly as I get hold of them; and if you meet them, and there is any way of sending information and their dispatches from Gibraltar, keep Naiad and Phœbe. Juno is a fixture between Cape Spartel and Gibraltar; Mars, Colossus, and Defence, will be stationed four leagues East from the Fleet, and one of them advanced to the East towards Cadiz, and as near as possible in the latitude. The Fleet will be from sixteen to eighteen leagues West of Cadiz; therefore, if you throw a Frigate West from you, most probably, in fine weather, we shall communicate daily. In fresh breezes Easterly, I shall work up for Cadiz, never getting to the Northward of it; and in the event of hearing they are standing out of Cadiz, I shall carry a press of sail to the Southward towards Cape Spartel and Arrache, so that you will always know where to find me. I am writing out regular instructions for the Frigates under your orders, but I am confident you will not let these gentry slip through our fingers, and then we shall give a good account of them, although they may be very superior in numbers. The Royal Sovereign and Defiance were to sail after the 24th. Belleisle, too, is ordered here. I send you two papers; I stole them for you.—Ever, my dear Blackwood, most faithfully your friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 4th October, 1805.

Sir,

I have this day received your letter of the 18th ult., acquainting me that the money which was intended to be sent out in the Renommée and Melpomené is ordered to be divided amongst the Ships named in the margin[7], and signifying to me their Lordships' direction to cause it to be forwarded to the place of its destination. In answer thereto you will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that due attention shall be paid to their instructions on this subject, and that the money on board the two Ships of the Line shall be sent to Malta as soon as a Frigate can be spared for that service. At present there are only three, instead of eight Frigates with the Fleet, the others not having joined.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 4th October, 1805.

Sir,

By the Entreprenante Cutter, which joined the Fleet this day from Portsmouth, I have received your letter of the 16th ult., acquainting me that a detachment of Royal Marine Artillery was to be sent out to the Mediterranean by the first opportunity, to serve on board the Thunder Bomb, in room of the detachment of Royal Artillery; and you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I shall give the necessary directions for the Royal Marine Artillery being embarked on board the Thunder Bomb on their arrival, and that her detachment of Royal Artillery is already landed at Gibraltar; and I have to beg

[7] Royal Sovereign, Defiance, Renommée.

that a detachment of Royal Marine Artillery may likewise be sent out to the Ætna Bomb as early as possible.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—I have taken the Entreprenante under my command, agreeably to their Lordships' order of the 16th ult.

TO LORD BARHAM, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 431.]

5th October, 1805.

My dear Lord,

The French and Spanish Ships have taken the Troops on board, which had been landed on their arrival, and it is said that they mean to sail the first fresh Levant wind; and as the Carthagena Ships are ready, and when seen a few days ago, had their topsail-yards hoisted up, it looks like a junction. The position I have taken for this month is from sixteen to eighteen leagues West of Cadiz; for although it is most desirable that the Fleet should be well up in the Easterly winds, yet I must guard against being caught with a Westerly wind near Cadiz, as a Fleet of Ships with so many Three-deckers would inevitably be forced into the Straits, and then Cadiz would be perfectly free for the Enemy to come out with a Westerly wind, as they served Lord Keith in the late War. I am most anxious for the arrival of Frigates; less than eight, with the Brigs, &c. as we settled, I find are absolutely inadequate for this service, and to be with the Fleet, and Capes Spartel, Cantin, or Blanco, and the Salvages, must be watched by fast-sailing Vessels, in case any Squadron should escape. I have been obliged to send six Sail of the Line to water and get stores at Tetuan and Gibraltar, for if I did not begin, I should be very soon obliged to take the whole Fleet into the Straits. I have twenty-three Sail with me, and should they come out I shall immediately bring them to Battle. But although I should not doubt of spoiling any voyage they may attempt, yet I hope

for the arrival of the Ships from England, that as an Enemy's Fleet they may be annihilated. Your Lordship may rely upon every exertion. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 431.]

5th October, 1805.

I have only two Frigates to watch them, and not one with the Fleet. I am most exceedingly anxious for more *eyes*, and hope the Admiralty are hastening them to me. The last Fleet was lost to me for want of Frigates; God forbid this should. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 431.]

5th October, 1805.

Perhaps with an Easterly wind you could anchor a Frigate between Cadiz and the Pedro shoals, taking care that she did not anchor until two hours after dark, and that she weighed two hours before day. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 432.]

[About the 5th October, 1805.]

I am sorry ever to trouble their Lordships with anything like a complaint of a want of Frigates and Sloops; but if the different services require them, and I have them not, those services must be neglected to be performed. I am taking all Frigates about me I possibly can; for if I were an Angel, and attending to all the other points of my Command, let the

Enemy escape for want of the *eyes of the Fleet*, I should consider myself as most highly reprehensible. Never less than eight Frigates, and three good fast-sailing Brigs, should always be with the Fleet to watch Cadiz; and to carry Transports in and out to refit it, would take at least ten and four Brigs, to do that service well. At present I have only been able to collect two, which makes me very uneasy. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 5th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

Britannia, Temeraire, Achille, Bellerophon, Polyphemus, and Donegal are the next Ships for Gibraltar and Tetuan. The first I shall strip of her water, but I must have an Admiral with the Squadron: therefore dispose of the water in the Ships of your Division as you please. I intend one for each Division. Anything else she may have, dispose of it as to you seems best. They have not joined, and I may be premature in my wishes about them. I will lay-to, but make one of your Ships take the Transport in tow, and send Officers and men to clear her; and these fine nights they can work as well as the day. Louis will be a good look-out Squadron for us whilst this Easterly wind lasts, and I have sent Pickle to Blackwood off Cadiz, until I get more Frigates. I send you the last papers. Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

October 5th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I send you my first letter, as it mentions the Ships going to Gibraltar, but there seems wine enough and more than enough for the whole Fleet; and as the Transports have stores in, which you sent for, do you call the Ships about you, and make the arrangements. If it comes on to blow fresh I

shall make the signal for Boats to repair on board, when the Transports must keep to windward. I shall lay to patiently. Ever yours faithfully;

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

October 5th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

Don't load the Ships with more wine than they can conveniently stow; let it stay in the Transport: so I have ordered Calder. Ajax shall go up to windward and look out, and send the three Ships down. Yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the Nelson papers.]

Victory, 1 P.M., October 5th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

The Ajax must go and take Colossus's place to windward. The Mars' and Defence's wine must be given to the other Ships, or they may come down at last and take the remainder out of the Transports. If you do not want Ajax to take wine, hoist the Assent flag and the Victory's pendants, and I will make her signal to close and order Captain Browne to windward. I see Ships are wanted everywhere, but the watching of the Fleet in Cadiz is my first object.

Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 428.]

[About the 5th October, 1805.]

I think your Highness will be glad to hear of my return to the command of His Majesty's Fleets in the Mediterranean: and I rely that nothing will ever be permitted to happen which can interrupt the most perfect harmony and

good understanding which exists between your Highness and the Regency, and the British Nation. I am confident that your Highness will give orders for the most friendly reception of British Ships in all the Ports in your Dominions, and that they shall be furnished, for their money, with every article they may want to purchase. I shall be very anxious for the return of the Frigate, that I may know the state of your Highness's health; and I beg that your Highness will be assured of the most high esteem of

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 5th October, 1805.

Sir,

Captain Morris[8] of His Majesty's Ship Colossus having communicated to me the particular loss he would sustain in his present First Lieutenant[9] becoming junior, in consequence of their Lordships having appointed Lieutenant George Moubray[1], who from his rank is senior to him; you will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, from a most thorough knowledge of the justness of Captain Morris' statement, and the very great good derived to His Majesty's Service from Captains being allowed confidential Officers as their First Lieutenants, and their Lordships having removed several Lieutenants of the Colossus that the present might continue First, I have, conceiving it to be their Lordships' wish, suffered the said First Lieutenant to remain in that situation, and appointed Lieutenant George Moubray to the Polyphemus, in consequence of Lieutenant Alexander Gordon[2] of that Ship having been

[8] Captain, afterwards Sir, James Nicoll Morris, was severely wounded in command of the Colossus, at Trafalgar. He died a Vice-Admiral of the Red, and a Knight Commander of the Bath, in April 1830.

[9] Lieutenant Thomas Richard Toker, now a Post Captain, which rank he obtained in December 1813.

[1] Now Captain of the *Victory* at Portsmouth.

[2] Lieutenant Gordon was made a Commander in January, 1806; Posted in February, 1814, and died in 1841 or 1842.

yesterday invalided, and found unfit for His Majesty's Service in this Country, as appears by a copy of the Report of Survey herewith transmitted, which I trust, for the reasons before mentioned, their Lordships will be pleased to approve. Lieutenant Gordon was First of the Polyphemus, and therefore Lieutenant Moubray will still be Senior. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, G.C.B.]

Victory, 16 leagues West from Cadiz, October 6th, 1805.

My dear Mr. Rose,

Your two letters of September 17th [have arrived], and I feel much obliged by your kind intentions for my dear Mr. Bolton, and I think Mr. Pitt will do what he can to oblige me. I verily believe the Country will soon be put to some expense for my account, either a Monument, or a new Pension and Honours; for I have not the very smallest doubt but that a very few days, almost hours, will put us in Battle; the success no man can ensure, but the fighting them, if they are to be got at, I pledge myself, and if the force arrives which is intended. I am *very, very, very* anxious for its arrival, for the thing will be done if a few more days elapse; and I want for the sake of our Country that it should be done so effectually as to have nothing to wish for; and what will signify the force the day after the Battle? it is, as Mr. Pitt knows, annihilation that the Country wants, and not merely a splendid Victory of twenty-three to thirty-six,—honourable to the parties concerned, but absolutely useless in the extended scale to bring Buonaparte to his marrow-bones: numbers can only annihilate. I think, not for myself, but the Country, therefore I hope the Admiralty will send the fixt force as soon as possible, and Frigates, and Sloops of War, for I am very destitute. I do not mean this as any complaint, quite the contrary; I believe they are doing all they can, if interest does not interfere; therefore, if Mr. Pitt would hint to Lord Barham, that he shall be anxious until I get the force proposed, and plenty of Frigates and Sloops in order to watch them

closely, it may be advantageous to the Country: you are at liberty to mention this to Mr. Pitt, but I would not wish it to go farther. I am ever, my dear Mr. Rose,

Your most obliged and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

The Treasury should order me to land the money, 150,000 dollars in Spanish, in the Mediterranean. I mentioned it to Mr. Pitt, but I am ordered to land it in England, and the Ships are here.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD[2].

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 6th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I send you Blackwood's letters, and some for the Admiralty for you to read. How I long for the Frigates! but Admiral Louis will be a good look out for the next twenty-

[2] Vice-Admiral Collingwood replied to this Letter on the same day:—

"To VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B.

"Dreadnought, October 6th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"We shall have those fellows out at last: I firmly believe they have discovered that they cannot be subsisted there—their supply from France completely cut off. I proposed the including the Western Ports in the Blockade, soon after their arrival here. A copy of the letter I send.

"The wine supplies go on pretty well. I urge expedition unceasingly, and hope all the Ships will have finished this afternoon. I think at 5, or at 4, the Boats will be better in. There is no great inconvenience in keeping a Transport astern. Colossus, I am sure, will soon be done, and I will send him to your Lordship; but he will make the Signal when he is ready to make sail. I think some Frigate will certainly come through the Straits to-day. In the meantime, the Seventy-four's active and vigilant men will not let your Lordship feel the want of them. Now, my Lord, I will give your Lordship my ideas on the subject of them.—If they are to sail with an easterly wind, they are not bound to the Mediterranean, and your Lordship may depend upon it, the Carthagena Squadron is intended to join them. If they effect that—and with a strong easterly wind they may—they will present themselves to us with forty Sail. If by any good fortune Louis was to fall in with that Squadron, I am sure he would turn them to leeward: for they would expect the whole Fleet was after them; and a French Ensign might bring them to us for protection. Whenever the Carthagena people were expected, they lit the Lighthouse. Captain Blackwood should look to that as a signal.

four hours. Mars and Defence shall come down when we are likely to finish with these Transports; and with this swell, I think we had better, at half-past four or five o'clock, make the signal for all Boats to repair on board, and to keep the wind under, three topsails and foresail for the night, and direct the Ships with the Transports in tow, to keep to windward this clear night. We need not mind the Order of Sailing, even if we want to wear in the night. I shall be glad to hear that your Division have made great progress. Should the swell get up before the evening, telegraph me, and the Boats shall be hoisted in, and we will make sail. If I can, the Bittern shall go to-day, but certainly to-morrow.

Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I send you a key: keep it. I shall send you dispatches, &c., occasionally to read, and it will save the trouble of packets. Put your letter in it, and send it back with my letters when read.

TO JAMES GAMBIER, ESQ., CONSUL AT LISBON.

[Autograph in the possession of Captain Gambier, R.N.]

Sir, Victory, October 7th, 1805.

I have only an instant to acknowledge the favour of your letter, which I will answer when more at leisure. Seamen will be most desirable for the Fleet, and if Captain Lobb[3] would go, or send and get the men from the Northern parts of Portugal, he would render a most essential service; and if they are to be had, and the Bittern could get soon there, and be sure of the men when he arrives, it would be most desirable: but I fear they would know they would not go to England in her, therefore one of the Lisbon Squadron would more completely do the service. Chests of lemons will be

"The parading of the Gun-Vessels has been long the practice whenever a Ship got near in sight, and they were always ready. I am ever, my dear Lord, your most faithful humble servant, CUTHB. COLLINGWOOD."—*Autograph* in the Nelson Papers.

[3] Captain William Granville Lobb: he died Commissioner of Sheerness Dock Yard, in July 1814.

most acceptable for the Fleet. I shall desire Captain Louis[4] to load the Bittern. I am, with great respect, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I shall write you by way of Faro. Will you have the goodness to make my apology to Mr. Hunter for not writing to him by this opportunity, and also, if you see him, my friend Admiral Donald Campbell[5] of the Portuguese Service.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 7th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I was just sat down to dinner when your packet and letter arrived. Distribute what is wanted amongst the Ships, and what you destine for the Starboard Division send me, or Calder word, and the orders shall be delivered. Wine or any part of the salt provisions not wanted, shall go to Gibraltar, and be taken into store. You have done right. Twenty-six Sail of the Line was not to be left to chance, and if you had, for want of such precaution, been forced to quit the vicinity of Cadiz, England would not have forgiven you.

The weather I think will be fine and smooth to-morrow: if not, the coppered Transports sail better than the Fleet. Defence I have told to keep to windward, and to take his wine when the water gets smooth. Naiad made the signal for bullocks: you are to give them to the Ships longest out. I have not yet read your packet, therefore I can say nothing about Mr. Gambier[6]. Ever, my dear Coll., faithfully yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Telegraph upon all occasions without ceremony. We are one, and I hope ever shall be.

[4] Now Rear-Admiral Sir John Louis, Bart.

[5] Vide vol. vi. p. 431.

[6] In a letter dated "Dreadnought, October 7th, 1805," Vice-Admiral Collingwood said,—"I enclose also Mr. Gambier's letter, and a correspondence which he had with the Captain of the Poulette, Captain Dunbar. Mr. Gambier seems to be apprehensive that his conduct should not be approved, whilst nothing can be more highly meritorious than the active part he takes in everything that relates to the supply of the Fleet."—*Autograph.*

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 7th October, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the monthly Disposition of the Fleet under my command, in the best state that the information I have yet received of them would enable me. You will likewise receive a Paper containing the number of Frigates and Sloops required for the various services therein mentioned, together with the number of both at present on this station, and intended to be sent out from England, which I request you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for their consideration and direction. His Majesty's Ship Defiance[7] joined the Fleet this morning from Portsmouth. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—The Amphion has this moment joined from Lisbon.

[7] Commanded by the late Admiral Sir Philip Charles Henderson Durham, G.C.B., who informed the Editor that, "on going on board the Admiral's Ship, he said, 'Durham, I am glad to see you, but your stay will be very short, for Sir Robert Calder sails to-morrow, and takes with him all the Captains who were in his Action, to give evidence on his Court Martial. I am sorry to part with you, but you will have to leave your Ship under the command of your First Lieutenant—but go on board and settle that with Sir Robert.' Captain Durham went on board Sir Robert Calder's Ship, and saw the Captains who had left their Ships to go home with him, but when he found the Admiralty Order only said the Captains were to go home 'if willing,' he refused, and declined signing a public letter applying for leave to quit his Ship. In a few days, the Enemy's Fleet being reported to be on the move, Captain Durham sent to Lord Nelson to remind him that he had a large sum in dollars on board the Defiance, and to inquire what was to be done with them. Lord Nelson replied, 'if the Spaniards come out, fire the dollars at them, and pay them off in their own coin.' However, in a few days, he sent the Honourable Captain Bouverie, who commanded a Frigate, for the money, and he carried it to Minorca. Shortly afterwards, the Combined Fleets came out, and the battle of Trafalgar took place. A few days after the Action, Captain Hardy looked into the cabin of the Defiance, where Captain Durham was laying on a sofa, wounded; and said, 'I hope you are not badly wounded, I have a word of comfort for you: one of the last things Nelson said, before the Action began, was 'Hardy, what would poor Sir Robert Calder give to be with us now! Tell your friend Durham he was the most sensible man of the party, to stick to his Ship.' Captain Durham attended Nelson's funeral, bearing the banner of the deceased as a Knight of the Bath."

[Inclosure 1.]

LIST OF FRIGATES AND SLOOPS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN STATION, AND ORDERED FROM ENGLAND.

	Frigates.	Sloops.
Including every Frigate and Sloop at present on the station, the Jalouse, Childers, and Merlin, being unfit for the service of this Country, are ordered home with the first Convoy to be repaired, and therefore are not included	14	8
In England, intended to be sent out	7	3
Total in this Country, and under orders to come out, as above	21	11
Wanted for the service of this Country as stated on the other side	22	16
Deficient of the number actually wanted for this Country	1	5

I have presumed, from conceiving it to be my duty, to lay the above statement before their Lordships; and if the force of Frigates and Sloops required, can be spared, with great vigilance, I am of opinion that the important services of the Mediterranean may be fully carried into effect. But their Lordships may be assured, that whatever force can be spared I shall do all in my power to make the most of them, and to meet their expectations as far as is practicable; and therefore my having transmitted this statement will, I humbly hope, be viewed as springing from an anxious desire for the good of the Service, and not unnecessarily to press for what may be impossible to grant.

Dated on board the Victory, off Cadiz, the 7th October 1805.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[Inclosure 2.]

LIST OF FRIGATES AND SLOOPS ACTUALLY WANTED FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN STATION, OUT AND INSIDE THE STRAITS.

	Frigates.	Sloops.
To be constantly with the Fleet off Cadiz, 8 Frigates and 2 Sloops. 2 Frigates and 2 Sloops to go to and from Gibraltar with Convoys, and to relieve the others to refit; and the 2 Sloops to go occasionally to Lisbon with dispatches, and for Purser's necessaries	10	4

	Frigates.	Sloops.
To be stationed constantly off Cape St. Mary's	1	0
To be stationed off Cape Spartel	1	0
To be stationed off the Salvages	1	0
To be constantly stationed off Cape St. Vincent		1
To be stationed off Cape Cautine		1
For the service of Gibraltar garrison, and to protect our Trade passing and repassing the Straits, against the Enemy's numerous Gun-boats and Privateers	2	3
To be stationed off Cape Carthagena	1	1
Most essentially necessary for the service in the upper part of the Mediterranean	2	2
Wanted for the service of Malta, to take the Trade to and from the Adriatic, Archipelago, Naples, Messina, and, with the assistance of the Cutters and Small Vessels, to protect the Island, and convey the Bullock-Vessels to Valetta harbour	1	4
Attached to General Sir James Craig's Expedition	3	0
Total	22	16

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 8th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

The Donegal has not one billet of wood. If you arrange the disposition of it, I wish Donegal to be ordered ten, fifteen, or twenty chords, as the wants of other Ships will allow.

Faithfully yours,

Nelson and Bronte.

When your Transports, any of them, are cleared, make them hoist their Ensign at the mast-head, as a signal they are ready to receive empty casks and staves, and condemned provisions.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 8th, 1805.

Sir,

I have read the correspondence between Captain Dunbar[8] and Mr. Gambier, Consul at Lisbon. The conduct of Mr.

[8] Captain James Dunbar: he was Knighted in 1810, made a Baronet in 1814, and died in 1836.

Gambier was most highly proper, in wishing to detain such a Ship as the Malabar to bring the provisions for the Fleet; and I only wish he had kept his temper with Captain Dunbar, by again urging the necessity of sending the Malabar to the Fleet, as of far greater importance than her going with the Convoy. But I do consider the conduct of Captain Dunbar as very reprehensible; and I shall transmit the correspondence to the Admiralty for their decision, which I think will be a censure of Captain Dunbar's conduct. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I have kept the correspondence to send to England.

TO THE HON. BRIGADIER-GENERAL STEWART[9].

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 434.]

[About October 8th, 1805.]

I have thirty-six Sail of the Line looking me in the face; unfortunately there is a strip of land between us, but it is believed they will come to sea in a few days. The sooner the better, I don't like to have these things upon my mind; and if I see my way through the fiery ordeal, I shall go home and rest for the winter, and shall rejoice to take you, my dear Stewart, by the hand. Some day or other, that Buonaparte, if he lives, will attempt the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. The making our Volunteers and Militia, Soldiers, was a wise plan, and we were very near having occasion to use them. Good Captain Hardy is still with me.—Believe me ever your most sincere and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD, H. M. SHIP EURYALUS.

[From Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1833.]

Victory, October 8th, 1805.

My dear Sir,

I send Naiad to you, and will Phœbe and Weazle, as I can lay hands upon them. I am gratified (because it shows your

[9] Afterwards General the Honourable Sir William Stewart, G.C.B., who commanded the Troops in the Expedition against Copenhagen in 1801. (Vide vol. iv. p. 298.)

soul is in your business) and obliged by all your communications. I see you feel how much my heart is set on getting at these fellows, whom I have hunted so long; but don't, my dear Blackwood, be angry with any one; it was only a laudable anxiety in Admiral Louis, and nothing like complaining.

The Portuguese is a rogue, but I have desired the bullocks to be bought, and threatened him the next time. Defiance has joined. Royal Sovereign has signalized[1]. If there are letters you shall have them; but I fear the Cutter will never beat up to you. I wish I may be able to keep the Pickle with you; she will be very handy to protect your Boats, &c., in the night. Believe me ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—Sir John Duckworth comes out in the London, Sir Robert Barlow[2] in Barfleur, *vice* Geo. Martin, very ill, but this is all; therefore you will give due weight to the report. The Canal of St. Pedro is a good speculation for Boats in the night. Several Ships and Brigs are coming from Tariffa.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 8th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

Bayntun[3] seems come out loaded: he will move about till he has supplied the wants of his friends. He will tell you all the Gibraltar news. I have nothing worth sending from thence by the Naiad, and not a word by Leviathan. Eurydice[4] has captured a very fine Privateer of two 24-pounders, and taken some Craft, but in doing it Eurydice got on shore,

[1] The Royal Sovereign, which was intended for Vice-Admiral Collingwood's Flag, joined the Fleet from England on that day.

[2] The Battle was fought before either of those Officers arrived.

[3] Captain Henry William Bayntun, of the Leviathan: he died an Admiral of the Blue, and a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, in December 1840.

[4] The Eurydice, Captain William Hoste. His official report of these captures, dated on the 7th of October, is in the "London Gazette" of the 9th November, 1805.

and was got off principally by the exertion of our friend Captain Thomas[5]; but as Ætna has lost all her anchors but one, she is going to see the Gun-vessel into Gibraltar, and get others. I hope we shall soon lose this nasty Levanter, and get smooth water to clear the Transports. Patienza!

Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I have mislaid Mr. Setero's letter, but I send you the invoice of the Malabar[6].

MEMORANDUM.

[Autograph draught in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir George Mundy, K.C.B., except the words in Italics, which were added by Mr. Scott, Lord Nelson's Secretary; and the Original, issued to Captain Hope, of the Defence, now in the possession of his son, Captain Hope, R.N.]

(Secret.) *Victory, off Cadiz, 9th October*, 1805.

Memorandum.

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a Fleet of forty Sail of the Line into a Line of Battle in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the Enemy to Battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have therefore made up my mind to keep the Fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the First and Second in Command) that the Order of Sailing is to be the Order of Battle, placing the Fleet in two Lines of sixteen Ships each, with an Advanced Squadron of eight of the fastest sailing Two-decked Ships, *which* will always make, if wanted, a Line of twenty-four Sail, on whichever Line the Commander-in-Chief may direct.

The Second in Command will[7], after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his Line to make the attack upon the Enemy, and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

[5] Now a Rear-Admiral of the White. He was for many years Lord Collingwood's Flag-Captain, and was honoured with his Admiral's esteem and regard.

[6] The letter and the invoice alluded to, were sent to Lord Nelson by Vice-Admiral Collingwood on the 7th.

[7] Lord Nelson originally wrote here, but deleted, "in fact command his Line and"

If the Enemy's Fleet should be seen to windward in Line of Battle, and that the two Lines and the Advanced Squadron can fetch them[8], they will probably be so extended that their Van could not succour their Rear.

I should therefore probably make[9] the Second in Command's signal to lead through, about their twelfth Ship from their Rear, (or wherever he[1] could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced); my Line would lead through about their Centre, and the Advanced Squadron to cut two or three or four Ships a-head of their Centre, so as to ensure getting at their Commander-in-Chief, on whom every effort must be made to capture.

The whole impression of the British Fleet must be to overpower from two or three Ships a-head of their Commander-in-Chief, supposed to be in the Centre, to the Rear of their Fleet. I will suppose twenty Sail of the Enemy's Line to be untouched, it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British Fleet engaged, or to succour their own Ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the Ships engaged[2].

Something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a Sea Fight beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes; but I look with confidence to a Victory before the Van of the Enemy could succour their Rear[3], and then that the British Fleet would most of them be ready to receive their twenty Sail of the Line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off.

If the Van of the Enemy tacks, the Captured Ships must run to leeward of the British Fleet; if the Enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the Enemy and the

[8] Lord Nelson originally wrote here, but deleted ("I shall suppose them forty-six Sail in the Line of Battle.")

[9] Originally "Your," but deleted.

[1] Originally "You," but deleted.

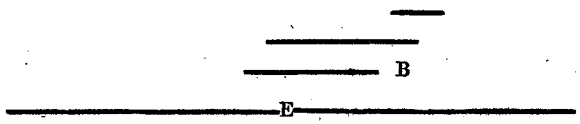
[2] In the upper margin of the paper Lord Nelson wrote, and Mr. Scott added to it a reference, as marked in the text,—"the Enemy's Fleet is supposed to consist of 46 Sail of the Line, British Fleet of 40. If either is less, only a proportionate number of Enemy's Ships are to be cut off; B. to be ⅓ superior to the E. cut off."

[3] Originally "friends."

Captured, and disabled British Ships; and should the Enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

The Second in Command will in all possible things direct the movements of his Line, by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular Line as their rallying point. But, in case Signals can neither be seen or perfectly understood, no Captain can do very wrong if he places his Ship alongside that of an Enemy.

Of the intended attack from to windward, the Enemy in Line of Battle ready to receive an attack,



The divisions of the British Fleet will be brought nearly within gun shot of the Enemy's Centre. The signal will most probably then be made for the Lee Line to bear up together, to set all their sails, even steering sails[4], in order to get as quickly as possible to the Enemy's Line, and to cut through, beginning from the 12 Ship from the Enemy's Rear. Some Ships may not get through their exact place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends; and if any are thrown round the Rear of the Enemy, they will effectually complete the business of twelve Sail of the Enemy.

Should the Enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the twelve Ships composing, in the first position, the Enemy's Rear, are to be *the* object of attack of the Lee Line, unless otherwise directed from the Commander-in-Chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the Lee Line, after the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief, is [*are*] signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the Admiral commanding that Line.

The remainder of the Enemy's Fleet, 34 Sail, are to be left to the management of the Commander-in-Chief,

[4] In the upper margin of the paper, and referred to by Lord Nelson as in the text,—"Vide Instructions for Signal, yellow with blue fly, Page 17, Eighth flag, Signal Book, with reference to Appendix."

who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the Second in Command are as little interrupted as is possible.

NELSON AND BRONTE[5].

TO ABBÉ CAMPBELL, NAPLES.

[Autograph in the possession of Mr. William Long.]

Victory, October 9th, 1805.

My dear Abbé,

Many, many thanks for your kind letter, which unfortunately did not find me at Merton, but off Cadiz, watching these fellows as a cat would a mouse. I was just twenty-five days from the Victory, and expected to have laid my wearied bones quiet for the winter; but I ought, perhaps, to be proud of the general call which has made me to go forth.

I thank you for your news from Naples in the great line. Do not tell those little arrangements which raise a smile, or give a pang. I have had very kind letters from both the good King and Queen. I beg that you will remember me most kindly to the Marquis Circello, and apprise him of my sincere esteem; and believe me ever, my dear Abbé,

Most faithfully yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I have letters from dear Lady Hamilton of September 20th. I am sure you will forgive her writing, when you consider all she suffered upon my tour to the West Indies. Dr. Scott desires his best respects, and my brother hopes I shall meet the Enemy's Fleet, that some how or other he may be a *Lord*.

[5] The Signature does not occur to the draught, but was affixed to the originals issued to the Admirals and Captains of the Fleet. To the Copy signed by Lord Nelson, and delivered to Captain George Hope of the Defence, was added—"N. B. When the Defence quits the Fleet for England you are to return this Secret Memorandum to the Victory." Captain Hope wrote on that Paper:—"It was agreeable to these Instructions that Lord Nelson attacked the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805, they having thirty-three Sail of the Line, and we twenty-seven."

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 9th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

The Master of the Lord Duncan has brought his invoice, which I send you. There is also 392,000 lbs. of bread at Gibraltar. The bread dispose of, and whatever else is wanted in your Line from this Ship. I have not got the account of what is embarked in the Shield, except some stores for the Canopus, and Ships in your Line. To-morrow will be fine.

Yours faithfully,
NELSON AND BRONTE.

Malabar's bread, of course, take out of her, and the other good things[6].

[6] Vice-Admiral Collingwood wrote to Lord Nelson on the 9th of October :—

"Dreadnought, October 9th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"I have a just sense of your Lordship's kindness to me, and the full confidence you have reposed in me inspires me with the most lively gratitude. I hope it will not be long before there is an opportunity of showing your Lordship that it has not been misplaced. I am going as soon as possible on board the Royal Sovereign. I have had a little distress about two Lieutenants being senior to my First Lieutenant, Clavell, who is, indeed, my right arm, and the spirit that puts everything in motion. But I hope your Lordship will appoint them to this Ship—their names are Palmer and Hewson—and then I will take my Signal Lieutenant, whose name is Brice Gilliland, and who is very desirous to go into the Sovereign.

"I had made the distribution which would have filled the Ships complete from the Lord Duncan, but this morning they have sent to tell me all the bread, which was on his invoice, was taken out at Gibraltar. I will hasten this business as much as possible. I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant, CUTHB. COLLINGWOOD.

"As soon as the Officers get their appointments, they will move. Mr. Clavell wants none, as his Commission moves with me."—*Autograph* in the Nelson Papers.

ORDER OF BATTLE AND SAILING.

[From a Copy in the possession of Miss Bolton, of Burnham.]

VAN SQUADRON.

No.	Ships' Names.	Captains, &c.	
1	*Temeraire	Captain Eliab Harvey.	Starboard Division.
2	Superb	,, Richard G. Keats.	
3	*Victory	The Commander-in-Chief. Captain Thomas M. Hardy.	
4	*Neptune	,, Thomas F. Fremantle.	
5	Tigre	,, Benjamin Hallowell.	
6	Canopus	Rear-Admiral Thomas Louis. Captain Francis W. Austen.	
7	*Conqueror	,, Isaac Pellew	
8	*Agamemnon	,, Sir Edward Berry, Bart.	
9	*Leviathan	,, Henry W. Bayntun.	
10	Prince of Wales	Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Captain William Cumming.	
11	*Ajax	,, William Brown.	
12	*Minotaur	,, Ch. J. M. Mansfield.	
13	Queen	,, Francis Pender.	
14	Donegal	,, Pulteney Malcolm.	
15	Spencer	,, Honourable R. Stopford.	
16	*Spartiate	,, Sir Francis Laforey.	
17			
18			
19			
20			

Repeating Frigates.

REAR SQUADRON.

No.	Ships' Names.	Captains, &c.	
1	*Prince	Captain Richard Grindall.	Larboard Division.
2	*Mars	,, George Duff.	
3	*Royal Sovereign		
4	*Tonnant	,, Charles Tyler.	
5	*Bellerophon	,, John Cooke. (1)	
6	*Colossus	,, James N. Morris.	
7	*Achille	,, Richard King.	
8	*Polyphemus	,, Robert Redmill.	
9	*Revenge	,, Robert Moorsom.	
10	*Britannia	Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk. Captain Charles Bullen.	
11	*Swiftsure	,, William G. Rutherford.	
12	*Defence	,, George Hope.	
13	*Orion	,, Edward Codrington.	
14	Zealous	,, John O. Hardy.	
15	*Thunderer	,, William Lechemere.	
16	*Defiance	,, Philip Ch. Durham.	
17	*Dreadnought	Vice-Admiral Collingwood. Captain Edward Rotherham.	
18			
19			
20		Given on board the Victory.	

Repeating Frigates.

* The Ships thus marked by the Editor were in the Battle of Trafalgar on the 21st, together with the Belleisle, Captain Hargood, who joined the Fleet the 10th, and the Africa, Captain Digby, who joined on the 14th of October.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

I have sent you, my dear Coll., a letter, which you may send or not to Mr. Gambier. He was too warm—but it was on this occasion well meant. I don't know this Captain Dunbar, but he has acted most exceedingly wrong, as far as my judgment goes.

Victory, October 8th, 1805.

The Royal Sovereign is very deep. She has eleven cables, three of which shall go to Gibraltar, and the money will go on board of a Frigate. I am sure you will admire her as a far better Ship than the Victory. You need not hurry yourself, but change at your leisure.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[From the "Naval and Military Gazette," vol. .... p. 57.]

Victory, October 9th, 1805.

My dear Coll,

I send you Captain Blackwood's letter; and, as I hope Weazle has joined, he will have five Frigates and a Brig: they surely cannot escape us. I wish we could get a fine day, and clear our Transports, at least of the bread, and by that time water will come. Niger is with the Transports. Sovereign's cables can go into the Malabar. I shall be glad to see you mounted in her. I send you my Plan of Attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the Enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll., have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our Enemies, and getting a glorious Peace for our Country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you: and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P. S.—Keep Blackwood's letter: the Schooner goes off Cadiz from you, and if you have not disposed of the Paper of the 23rd, send them to Blackwood.

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD, H. M. SHIP EURYALUS.

[From Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1833.]

Victory, October 9th, 1805, A.M., Cadiz, due East, 19 leagues.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of yesterday. Let us have them out. The Weazle, I hope, has joined, although you don't mention her. Keep the Schooner[7]; she will be useful in the night close in shore; and as Weazle sails faster, you can send her to me with accounts when you can't communicate by signals; I should never wish to be more than forty-eight hours without hearing from you. Hydra you can victual and water out of the other Frigates, who are all full. There were no letters for you in the Royal Sovereign; at least none came to the Victory. Collingwood has got the Paper of the 23rd; if he has not lent it, I have desired him to send it to you. Agamemnon, Belleisle, and very probably London, are at this moment on their passage; therefore, if Mr. Decrés[8] means to come forth (if he would take my advice, which I dare say he won't), he had better come out directly. Those who know more of Cadiz than either you or I do, say, that after those Levanters, come several days of fine weather, sea-breezes Westerly, land wind at night; and that if the Enemy are bound into the Mediterranean they would come out at night, which they have always done, placing Frigates on the Porpoises and Diamond, and the Shoal off Cadiz, run to the Southward, and catch the sea-breezes at the Mouth of the Gut, and push through whilst we might have little wind in the offing. In short, watch all points, and all winds and weathers, for I shall depend upon you. Remember me to Capel, Parker, Mundy, and Captain Prowse[9], and be assured I am ever

And always yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[7] The Pickle Schooner. This Vessel brought to England the dispatch announcing the Battle of Trafalgar.

[8] The Minister of Marine, who was supposed to have intended to take the command of the Combined Fleets at Cadiz.

[9] Captains of the Phœbe, Amazon, Hydra, and Sirius, under Captain Blackwood's orders.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Dr. Beatty's "Narrative of the death of Lord Nelson," p. 96.]

Wednesday, October 9th.

Fresh breezes Easterly. Received an account from Blackwood, that the French Ships had all bent their top-gallant sails. Sent the Pickle to him, with orders to keep a good look-out. Sent Admiral Collingwood the Nelson touch[5]. At night wind Westerly.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 10th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

The Enemy's Fleet are all but out of the harbour—perhaps, this night, with the Northerly wind, they may come forth, and with the Westerly sea-breeze to-morrow go into the Mediterranean. I hope we shall have got as much out of the Transports to-day as we want—not that I am in any hurry to send them away. They must take their chance when we pursue. If the weather is fine, and we have plenty of drift, I shall lay to all night. I believe I mentioned before, when any of the Transports are done with emptying, they should hoist their Ensign at the mast-head, that the Ships may send empty wine-pipes, hoops, staves, and condemned provisions.

The Master of the Shields Transport has not been near me, nor do I know what he has got in, besides the few stores for Canopus, Revenge, Prince, Achille, &c. Perhaps, he has gone to you as a countryman[6]; if so, it is well, and you can dispose of him. The bread of course will all be taken, and what other things are wanted, salt provisions, including flour, to about four months: the rest will go into Gibraltar. Malabar, I suppose, will be the best Ship to take Royal Sovereign's cables. Ever, my dear Collingwood, your most sincere friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

[5] In Dr. Beatty's Narrative "the Nelson *truth*," and he says that "it is to be presumed his Lordship meant the Instructions" in p. 89 *ante*. The letter in p. 60 *ante*, proves that the word is properly corrected in the text.

[6] Admiral Collingwood was a native of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was born on the 26th of September, 1750, just eight years before Nelson.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a Report of Survey on Captain Sutton, of His Majesty's Ship Amphion, which was held upon his state of health this day; and I am sorry to find from the Surveying Officers, that the health of so good an Officer has suffered so much from persevering in the command of the said Ship, and much apprehend it will be many months before he is able again to go afloat. I have in consequence of Captain Sutton's being invalided removed Captain Hoste into the Amphion [7], and appointed Captain

[7] It has been already stated that this highly distinguished Officer was a protégé of Nelson, and that Hoste always entertained the most reverential esteem and affection for his great patron. Writing to his father on the 1st of October, Captain Hoste said, "I am now on board the Victory, and have seen Lord Nelson, who is as good and as friendly as ever;" and to his mother, "I dine with Lord Nelson to-day, and, I understand, I am to be appointed to a larger Ship; he is as good a man as ever lived." On the 13th, he wrote to his father, "I am this day appointed to the Amphion, one of the finest and most desirable Ships on this station." The Amphion was sent to Algiers with presents to the Dey, and on her arrival at Gibraltar, on the 9th of November, Captain Hoste heard of the Battle, and of the death of Lord Nelson. His feelings were thus expressed in a letter to his father:—"I have just time to say that I am as well as a man can be who has lost the best friend he ever possessed. I know not how to begin. I believe I said in my last I was ordered to Algiers, by that ever-to-be-lamented man, with presents to the Dey. I left the Fleet on the 15th, and on the 21st the battle was fought. Not to have been in it, is enough to make one mad; but to have lost such a friend besides, is really sufficient to almost overwhelm me. I sail instantly to join Admiral Collingwood, who is off Cadiz. I will write to you more fully in my next, when matters are more settled: at present I am not fit for anything. I like my Ship very much; as the last gift of that excellent man, I shall ever consider her, and stay in her during the War.....I am low indeed, and nothing but a good Action with a French or Spanish Frigate will set me up again."

To his mother, on the 15th of November, he said, "Admiral Collingwood perfectly understands how and in what manner I have gained my present rank, and the footing I was on with that poor, good, great man, Lord Nelson.....I cannot get over the loss of our late noble Commander-in-Chief in so short a time. Never shall we find his equal, and never will the Navy of Great Britain furnish a man with half his abilities. I never saw such firmness, such decision, in any man in my life before. His last words to Captain Hardy were, 'to sink rather than strike his flag, and that he died happy in having seen that day.'" To his father he soon afterwards wrote, "What will Mr. Coke say to the Victory?

Sir William Bolton (late of the Guerrier) to the Eurydice in his room, which I trust their Lordships will be pleased to approve of.

I beg here to take the liberty of recommending Captain Sutton as a most valuable Officer, and very justly entitled to their Lordships' notice for employment, when his health is sufficiently recovered for that purpose.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you a Letter from Captain Hoste, of His Majesty's Ship Eurydice, dated the 5th inst., relative to the circumstances attending an Imperial Vessel detained by the said Ship, and sent into Malta, as therein set forth, which I beg you will be so good as to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for their information, that such directions may be given as will remedy the very serious evil Captain Hoste complains of; and to prevent in future, Vessels, detained under similar circumstances, from being liable not only to unnecessary detention, but also from being

O that I had been there! it would have been some consolation to have witnessed the last heroic feats of that man, whose memory will ever be held sacred by every British seaman." Early in 1806 he said to his sister, "The wretched remains of the French and Spanish Fleets are still there, and exhibit a striking example of what British valour can perform, when aided by the genius and bravery of a Nelson. Poor man! I have every day sufficient cause to lament his loss. At any rate, he has left us an example; and, for my own part, though I never expect to attain to the high honours he so deservedly held, yet it will be my first and earnest endeavour to follow his footsteps." That Hoste fulfilled this intention was amply shown by his memorable action off Lissa, on the 13th of March, 1811, when he showed that NELSON was uppermost in his thoughts by the telegraphic signal "REMEMBER NELSON," and by his letter to his father, written on the 29th of that month: "It is gratifying to me, indeed I feel it so truly, to observe the regard they all have for my dear old Amphion. She was the last gift of my poor Lord Nelson. I hope I have not disgraced his memory in the care of her, though she is cruelly knocked about."—*Memoirs of Sir William Hoste*, vols. i. pp. 246—248, 251, 253, 255, 261, and ii. p. 77.

saddled with expenses that appear to me in no point of view proper, and most particularly calculated to deter Officers from seizing or detaining any suspicious Vessel; by which means the Enemy may trade to a considerable extent, as no Captain, unless upon thorough conviction of either Ship or cargo being Enemy's property, would detain any Vessel they might meet with. At Gibraltar I understand this line of conduct is not observed, and that an opinion may be immediately had without detention of the Ship, or expense to the Captor. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you an extract of a letter just received, dated the 26th August last, from Dr. Sewell, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Malta, relative to his having taken the sole charge of the Spanish detained Vessels sent into Malta, prior to the 11th January last, out of the hands of Patrick Wilkie, Esq., Agent Victualler, whom I had, in obedience to their Lordships' order, dated the 1st of February last, thought proper to appoint on behalf of the Crown. I must here beg to mention, that a copy of their Lordships' said order was also sent to Mr. Wilkie; but Dr. Sewell, in his second reason, seems to question their authority. I cannot conclude this letter without repeating to their Lordships the very extraordinary interferences that have been made at Malta and Gibraltar on this occasion, and the disregard that has been paid to their Lordships' authority, and to the power delegated to me by their said order, which reflects upon the dignity of the Admiralty, and lowers the consequence of the Admiral in the Mediterranean.—I am, Sir, &c., NELSON AND BRONTE.

P. S.—I have directed Mr. Wilkie to consider my order in full force till their Lordships' pleasure is signified.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that His Majesty's Ship Belleisle joined the Fleet this afternoon from Plymouth, and that I have taken her under my command agreeably to their Lordships' order of the 20th of last month. I have likewise, in compliance with their direction, signified to me in your Letter of the 25th ult., ordered Mr. George Hurst[8], Midshipman, to be discharged from the Britannia into the Virginia, and to be sent home by the first opportunity. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—The Confounder Gun-brig arrived this evening, and has gone to Gibraltar in company with the Ætna Bomb-vessel.

STANDING ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED BY HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AND VESSELS UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 490—495.]

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS AND COMMANDERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AND VESSELS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN STATION.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is my directions that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my command, do send me a copy of their Log when they join (with any other remarks that they may have occasion to make), instead of a Journal, usually given after separation.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[8] Mr. George Hurst was made a Lieutenant in 1810, and is now one of the Naval Knights of Windsor.

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TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

The Ships and Vessels of the Fleet under my command are directed not to show their Colours on joining, unless the Commander-in-Chief should show his.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is my particular directions that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my command, who may purchase bullocks, fresh beef, lemons, onions, or any other species of provisions or refreshments for their respective Companies, whether such purchase is for a particular Ship, or for the Fleet in general, and whether it is made by my order or otherwise, that a Voucher of the fresh beef, bullocks, &c., so procured for the individual Ship or Fleet, is transmitted to me, immediately the Ship making such purchase shall join the Fleet.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is my directions that whenever any men are sent to the Hospital, a statement of their case is sent with them, that the Medical Gentlemen belonging to the Hospital may know what has been done in order to remove the diseases.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

Having frequently known that onions have been purchased on account of Government when in Port, where the Pursers

could and ought to purchase vegetables to put into the Ships' Companies' soup, and that the onions so purchased by Government for recruiting the health of the Ships' Companies, have been used for the benefit of the Purser, by putting these vegetables into the soup, which the Purser should be obliged to purchase when to be procured; it is, therefore, my positive directions that the Pursers are obliged to purchase vegetables for the Ships' soup when it is possible to procure them; and that the Government onions are not used for the soup, if the Purser has the power of obtaining onions or other vegetables, as he is bound to do.

And it is my further directions, that whenever fresh provisions can be procured on reasonable terms, that it is purchased; but that onions, for the account of Government, are not purchased without my orders. Ships, absent for any length of time from me, are at liberty to purchase the gratuitous onions of Government for the recruiting the health of their Ships' Companies, who may have been long fed upon salt provisions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is the directions of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my command do not purchase any article of stores whatever at Lisbon, unless such purchase shall be absolutely and unavoidably necessary; but apply, if it can be done, to the Naval Officer at Gibraltar or Malta, for the supply of such stores as they may be in want of, and can be furnished by the said Officers. You are, therefore, hereby required and directed to pay the most strict obedience to their Lordships' instructions above mentioned; and on no account or consideration purchase stores of any description at Lisbon (or at any other Port in the Mediterranean), unless absolute necessity renders such purchase indispensably necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is the direction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my command respectively, have their Muster-Books in readiness when the Naval Officers at Gibraltar and Malta go on board to muster their Ships' Companies, and that on failure of attending to the instructions on this head their Accounts will be stopped.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

When in presence of an Enemy, all the Ships under my command are to bear white Colours[9], and a Union Jack is to be suspended from the fore top-gallant stay.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

As frequent and very serious mistakes happen on receiving provisions, it is my particular directions, that when any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels under my command go into Port, to complete their provisions and necessaries, on their coming on board, the Masters take a regular account of each species, &c., which they are to compare with the Bills of Lading sent with such provisions from the Agent Victualler,

[9] As Lord Collingwood was a Vice-Admiral of the *Blue*, his Division bore *blue* Ensigns; but in consequence of this Order all the Fleet *properly* wore *white* Ensigns in the Battle. It may be hoped that the time is not distant when the anomalous distinctions of *Blue*, *White*, and *Red*, Admirals will be abolished, so that St. George's Banner will be the only flag borne by *all* British Admirals, instead of its being confined, as at present, to those who are absurdly called Rear, Vice, or Admirals of the *White*!

or Contractor, previous to their entering them in the Log-Book (which is to be done immediately); and afterwards such Bills of Lading, or final Receipts, are to be compared with the Log-Book, before the Captain and signing Officers put their signatures to them, in order that every particle of the provisions so signed for may be actually on board, that Government may not, either from the neglect or mistake of individuals, be defrauded, or the Ships' Companies in want of those species, considered to be *bona fide* on board.

It is also my particular directions, that every pound of fresh beef, whether received from Agent Victuallers or Contractors, is weighed on its coming on board, in the presence of a Lieutenant, the Master (or one of his Mates, in his absence on duty), that it is immediately after entered in the Log-Book, and the above instructions duly attended to, before the final Receipts are signed for it accordingly.

The same strict regard to be had to the receipt of fresh beef, or any species of provisions which may be purchased for the use of the Ships' Companies under my command; and on no account whatever to sign Vouchers for such provisions till they are authenticated, and found correct, as the Officers above mentioned will be held answerable for any neglect in the due execution of these instructions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Whereas several Supernumeraries may be sent on board His Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Mediterranean station under my command, You are therefore hereby required and directed to bear all such Supernumeraries, as may from time to time be sent on board His Majesty's Ship under your command, from any other of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels, impressed Men, Marines, Invalids, Men from Hospitals, &c., at whole allowance of all species of provisions, the same as the Ship's Company; and Soldiers and Prisoners at two-thirds allowance accordingly.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

The Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy having acquainted me that many difficulties occurred during the late War, as well to individuals as to their Office, for want of the Ships' Muster-Books being sent regularly home, it is therefore my positive directions that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my command, attend strictly to this important circumstance; and that they do send home their Monthly Muster-Books, with all other Accounts and Papers, to the Public Boards, as soon as possible after they become due, that His Majesty's Service may not be subject to any inconvenience from the Books and Papers above mentioned being kept back.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is my particular directions that the name and family of every Officer, Seaman, and Marine, who may be killed or wounded in Action with the Enemy, on board any of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my command, be returned to me as soon after the circumstance happens, as the Service will admit of, agreeable to the annexed Form, in order that I may transmit it to the Chairman of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee-house, that the case of the relations of those who may fall in the cause of their Country may be taken into consideration.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN KILLED OR WOUNDED ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP THE OF , 180 , IN AN ENGAGEMENT WITH

No. on S. B.	Names.	Quality.	Killed or wounded.	Time when.	Place where.	Remarks.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

It is expected in fine weather that the Ships in Order of Sailing do not keep more than two cables' length from each other.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Mem.

As gales of wind increase so suddenly in this Country, the Ships of the Fleet are directed, particularly in the night, to shorten sail, and get top-gallant yards and masts down, and take such other precautions as the Captains may judge necessary, without waiting for the Admiral's motions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

Sir,

By the Royal Sovereign, which joined the Fleet on the 8th inst. from Portsmouth, I received their Lordships' secret orders, dated the 21st ult., together with the inclosure therein referred to from the Right Honourable Lord Castlereagh, directing me, after providing effectually for the blockade of Cadiz, to keep in view the object of covering such operations as Sir James Craig may undertake from the Enemy's Naval Force in the Mediterranean, and for this purpose to keep a constant communication with that Officer, so as to be regularly apprized of any movements he may make.

In answer to which I request you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that due regard shall be paid to their order above mentioned; and with respect to the Naval Force required to watch the Enemy

at Toulon and Genoa, I beg to refer you to my letter of the 6th inst. I shall as frequently as possible communicate with General Sir James Craig; but I must here beg leave to mention for their Lordships' information, that to keep up a constant communication, as directed by their said order, would require three Brigs or Sloops for this particular service, and I could then only expect to hear from the General once a month. Their Lordships may however be assured that every means I have at present in my power shall be used to comply with their direction, until a reinforcement of Sloops are sent out. This additional service will require three Sloops to be added to the number deficient, as mentioned in my Return of the 7th instant.[1] I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

October 10th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

All shall be done about changes that you wish, whether you are in Royal Sovereign or Dreadnought, the one or the other take a station next you, and then you will not be hurried. There are some vacancies for Lieutenants in Sovereign at present: you will find Lieutenants who you may wish. Perhaps Lieutenant Hewson[2] would waive his rank to be in a Flag Ship. He is a very good Officer, I have always heard. Palmer[3] lost the Berwick when Littlejohn was killed. If it will suit your convenience, will you dine here at half-past

[1] Vide p. 85, ante.

[2] Lieutenant George Hewson, who was made a Commander in December 1807, was Posted in 1817, and is still living. It appears that he would not "waive his rank," and was consequently removed to the Dreadnought.

[3] Lieutenant Nesbitt Palmer, who was made a Commander in December 1805, he was First Lieutenant of the Berwick, Captain Littlejohn, when that Ship was captured in March, 1795. (Vide vol. ii. p. 11.) Captain Palmer commanded the Alacrity in her discreditable Action off Corsica, in May 1811, when, it is painful to state, she was captured by l'Abeille, a Brig of equal force!

two? Do as you like. The bread being taken out is provoking. We want that more than anything.

Yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Give me Blackwood's letter when we meet, as I keep all the reports of Cadiz. All the stores for Gibraltar had better go on board the Malabar.[4]

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 10th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

You will receive the Commission and Order as you desired. I think we are near enough, for the weather if it is fine, [the wind] serves, and we are in sight, they never will move; and should it turn bad, we may be forced into the Mediterranean, and thus leave them at liberty to go to the Westward, although at present I am sure Mediterranean is their destination. I shall make the signal at half-past four or five for Boats to repair on board, and make sail under topsails, and perhaps fore-sail; supposing the wind to remain, stand into the latitude of Cadiz, and then wear to the Southward for the night.

Should the Enemy move, I have directed the Vessels coming with the information, to fire a gun every three

[4] In reply to this letter, Vice-Admiral Collingwood wrote:—

"Dreadnought, October 10th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"This is a delightful day for our business, and I hope much will be done in clearing the Transports. I find the bread which was in the Duncan, is removed to the Shields, and they are taking it out, but I have no account from him..... There is a little mistake in Mr. Gillisland's commission, as he is removed by it from the Sovereign to the Dreadnought, instead of from the Dreadnought to the Sovereign. I have sent to Mr. Hewson to ask him if he will waive his right of seniority, and stay in the Ship he is—if he does I shall be glad.....I really think these people in Cadiz are about to move, and wish to Heaven we were done with the Transports, and could get a little nearer to them; and now I have only to assure your Lordship that I will hasten everything as much as I possibly can; and have the honour to be, &c., CUTHB. COLLINGWOOD."—*Autograph* in the Nelson Papers.

minutes, and burn a rocket from the mast-head every half-hour. It is then probable that I shall make the signal, bear up, and steer for the entrance of the Straits.

I will settle the account with the Purser of Eurydice. I am not a little troubled about Sir Robert Calder. Durham has refused voluntarily to go home.—Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Cadiz, N. 71 E. 15 leagues.

Malabar, I fear, will not be able to take heavy cables on the wine. Why not put them in her between decks? If you sent me the Dispenser's letters I have mislaid them, but I don't want them. Ætna goes direct to Gibraltar with the mails.[5]

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD, H. M. SHIP EURYALUS.

[From "Blackwood's Magazine" for July, 1833.]

Victory, October 10th, 1805. Cadiz, East, 13 Leagues.

My dear Blackwood,

Keep your five Frigates, Weazle and Pickle, and let me know every movement. I rely on you, that we can't miss

[5] "To Lord Viscount Nelson and Bronte.

"Dreadnought, October 10th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"While this Transport business is going on, we cannot be better placed, and I suppose the Ships to leeward are in sight to communicate their first motion. I wish I could go on board the Victuallers; for they go on exceedingly slow. They will never have such another day. I shall go on board the Sovereign as soon as I have dined. My baggage has been long there. I send your Lordship the Agent of the Hospital's letter. I thought I had put them into the last trunk. I have had all the gratuitous medicines surveyed some time past, and demands gone to Gibraltar; but the Dispenser came out in the last Convoy, and was not there to supply them at the time. The first Ship, I dare say, which arrives from Gibraltar, will make all complete in that department. I think Sir Robert Calder had better not urge Durham, if he declares that he cannot be useful to him. It makes my heart ache. Whenever the Malabar is cleared of provisions I will manage the cables somehow. I am told the Sovereign has a great quantity of other stores, as tar, sugar, &c., which can well be distributed in the Fleet, when I have time to look round. The Achille wanted caulking much. I ordered a gang on board of her to shut her up before the wet weather comes.

I send your Lordship the letter I received just now from the Admiralty, because I think it will give you pleasure to find my proceedings approved. I have the honour, &c., Cuth. Collingwood."—*Autograph.*

getting hold of them, and I will give them such a shaking as they never yet experienced; at least I will lay down my life in the attempt. We are a very powerful Fleet, and not to be held cheap. I have told Parker, and do you direct Ships bringing information of their coming out, to fire guns every three minutes by the watch, and in the night to fire off rockets, if they have them, from the mast-head. I have nothing more to say, than I hope they will sail to-night.

Ever yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR ALEXANDER JOHN BALL, BART., MALTA.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 439.]

11th October, 1805.

I have five Frigates, a Brig, and a Schooner watching them closely, an Advanced Squadron of fast-sailing Ships between me and the Frigates, and the body of the Fleet from fifteen to eighteen leagues West of Cadiz. I am aware there will be moments when it might be wished we were closer; but I have considered all possible circumstances, and believe there will often be times, in strong gales of Westerly wind, when we may often wish ourselves farther off, as we shall be in danger of being driven into the Mediterranean; when, if they choose to go Westward, they will have no interruption. However, whether I am right or wrong, I act from the best of my judgment. Admiral Murray is in England, settling the affairs of his father-in-law, lately dead: he might have had his Flag, if he pleased, in this Fleet. Hardy is much recovered. I have pressed the necessity of two Sail of the Line, two Frigates, and two Sloops, to scour the Mediterranean from Toulon, Genoa, &c., &c., and to preserve Sardinia—round the Southern end of it to Toulon again, as a fixture. For Malta, and the Convoys to the Adriatic, &c. one small Frigate, four good Sloops of War, and the four Vessels commanded by Lieutenants. I am, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR ALEXANDER JOHN BALL, BART., MALTA.

[Autograph in the possession of Sir William Keith Ball, Bart.]

Victory, October 11th, 1805.

My dear Ball,

From the tenor of the letter addressed to you, you will see that I have had much communication with His Majesty's Ministers upon the subject of preventing Sardinia from falling into the hands of the French, which will be a severe blow upon us, for in that case, if the Enemy's Fleet get into Toulon, all the British Force in the Mediterranean must be occupied in turning them out of it, that our Fleet might have a place to resort to in order to watch Toulon, but I much fear that at this moment it may be lost. I hope something permanent may be soon, in concert with Russia, settled about that most important of all stations. I want that we should have a great weight in the Mediterranean; and although I believe I have made a very considerable impression on the minds of Mr. Pitt, Lords Mulgrave and Castlereagh, of the very great importance of fixing ourselves in the Mediterranean, yet perhaps that may wear off by absence; however, I must say they received all my little knowledge with much attention. The sum entrusted to my disposal is small, but perhaps enough to show the Country that a British Admiral can assist them if they are disposed to resist the French, but at this distance I may never have occasion to use any of the money; but as I wrote to His Royal Highness the Viceroy by the Thunder, telling him that I had mentioned his want of money to His Majesty's Ministers, I shall hear what he says when that Vessel returns, and communicate it to you. And believe me ever, with the highest respect and esteem, my dear Ball, your most faithful and obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 11th October, 1805.

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that His Majesty's Ship Renommée joined

the Fleet under my command yesterday evening, and that the moment L'Aimable joins, I shall order the money on board the Royal Sovereign and Defiance [6] to be put on board the said two Frigates, and direct them to proceed to Gibraltar, where a proportion of it will be put on board the Aurora, and the said three Frigates be directed to proceed to Malta with the Convoy under their charge. I shall, the moment they are ready, order an Admiral with a Squadron of the Line to see them safe past Carthagena, when I shall consider them perfectly free from all danger of capture by the Enemy; and the instant the money is landed at Malta, I shall direct Sir Thomas Livingstone[7], with the Renommée and L'Aimable, to return and join me immediately, bringing with him any Trade that may be ready, within two or three days, under his protection to Gibraltar. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 12th October, 1805.

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that in consequence of the Britannia and Prince having left England a Lieutenant short of their complements, I have appointed Mr. John Barclay [8] to the former and Mr. John Bingham [9] to the latter; and in consequence of my having appointed Lieutenant Moubray (who was intended for the Colossus) to the Polyphemus in the room of Lieutenant Alexander Gordon invalided, as mentioned in my letter to you of the 5th inst., I have given an order to Mr. William Forster [1], Midshipman of this Ship, to be Acting-Lieuten a in the Colossus; and as those three gentlemen are Admiralty recommendations, I hope their Lordships will be pleased to

[6] Vide p. 84, ante.

[7] Captain Sir Thomas Livingstone, Bart., now a Vice-Admiral of the White.

[8] Mr. John Barclay, now a Retired Commander.

[9] Lieutenant John Bingham, now a Retired Commander.

[1] Mr. William Forster, a first cousin of Captain Sir Edward and Lady Berry: he died of wounds received at Trafalgar; vide vol. v. p. 259.

approve of and confirm their appointments. I have likewise, at Captain Fremantle's wish, and the request of Lieutenant Green[2] of the Eurydice, removed that Officer into the Neptune, she being also a Lieutenant short of her complement, and given Mr. Henry Jones[3], Master's Mate of the Victory, an order to act in the Eurydice in his room; and as this is a very valuable Officer of great abilities and merit, I venture to solicit their Lordships' attention to him, and to request that you will be pleased to move them to confirm his appointment. I am, Sir, &c., NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 12th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

Sir John Thomas Duckworth comes out in the Acasta Frigate, to hoist his Flag, of course in the Prince of Wales, which Ship was ordered for Sir Richard Bickerton. I have wrote fully to Sir Robert on the subject, and have begged Commissioner Otway to carry it, in case Sir Robert chooses to open: he has an ordeal to pass through which I fear he little expects.

The Admiralty could not do less than call your conduct judicious. Every body in England admired your adroitness in not being forced unnecessarily into the Straits. I send you the last papers: return them, as I mean to send them to Ball. Sutton is invalided: he is very unwell. Hoste has Amphion, and Sir William Bolton, Eurydice. Amphion will take Royal Sovereign's money to Gibraltar, and put it on board the Aurora, and then proceed to Algiers with the letters and presents.

L'Aimable will take the money from Defiance, and with Renommée go to Malta with the Aurora's Convoy; and whatever Admiral is in the Mediterranean will be directed to

[2] Now Captain Sir Andrew Pellett Green, K.C.H., Naval Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. This gallant Officer was afterwards Flag-Captain to Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, G.C.B., who commanded the Neptune at Trafalgar.

[3] Lieutenant Henry Jones was made a Commander in 1809, and died in that rank about 1829.

see them safe clear of Carthagena. Defence, if she has done with the Transports, will go and relieve Mars and Colossus.

Ever yours faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

Signal will be made when Royal Sovereign is to send the money; probably not to-day. If I find Prince and Britannia cannot move faster, I shall direct them to keep to windward, then the Lee Line can be kept up. I am sure you felt for poor Dreadnought's movements yesterday[4].

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

My dear Coll., October 12th, 1805.

Hope[5] tells me that he has all the provisions except a few casks of oatmeal, which they do not want: therefore I sent him to relieve Mars and Colossus. They have both things in the Belleisle. If you will take the trouble of ordering the tar and blocks to be delivered to the Ships, I shall be glad. The tar may soon be disposed of; and if you find the blocks troublesome to deliver, send them into Gibraltar. There are some ridiculous forms in the Sick and Hurt Department. The Survey may not be necessary, but as the Dispenser has desired it, I think he will not comply with the demand without knowing the remains. I have just received the Surgeon's very improper letter, and I send you a public answer. Ever, my dear Coll., yours faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

[4] In reply to this letter, Vice-Admiral Collingwood wrote on the same day:—

"Dreadnought, October 12th, 1805.

"I am grieved whenever I think of Sir Robert Calder's case. I think he must be aware of his situation, and feels more about it than he chooses should appear. I wish he was in England, because I think he wants a calm adviser" . . . . . In reference to Lord Nelson's disparagement of the Dreadnought, the gallant Admiral, with true nautical affection for the Ship in which he happened to serve, said in her defence:—"The Dreadnought certainly sails very ill, but it is her only fault; for no Ship is better manned, and in every respect better conditioned."

[5] Captain George Hope, of the Defence: he died a Rear-Admiral of the Red, and a Knight Commander of the Bath, in May 1818.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

My dear Coll., Victory, October 13th, 1805.

As Ships go into Gibraltar, their sails and rigging will be made good: therefore, although a few stores may be sent for, sails in particular, for those we cannot do without, yet it is impossible to comply with Ships' demands out at sea. As the Ships arrive, more will be sent in. All French Pilots to be sent to England. The Rochefort Squadron has been seen in Latitude 41° 43′ near Oporto, with several Prizes with them. If they cannot get to Vigo I should not be [surprized] if they push for the Mediterranean, or try to get into Cadiz, unless they go[6] into Lisbon. Upon looking at the chart I see they can get into Vigo. The Oporto Convoy is, I fear, taken, and Agamemnon and L'Aimable had a narrow chance. Ever, my dear Coll., yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Sails, canvass, and twine is almost the only thing we can desire at the approaching season to be sent out, or some other trifling things. Swiftsure must soon go in to water.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Sir, Victory, off Cadiz, 13th October, 1805.

I have received by the Agamemnon your letter of the 1st inst., acquainting me that the Transports appointed to convey the Forty-second and Seventy-eighth Regiments to Gibraltar, are intended to bring back three Regiments at present in that Garrison, and signifying to me their Lordships' direction to furnish a proper Convoy for the said Transports on their return to England. In answer to which you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admi-

[6] The following note was written on this letter, and apparently by Lord Collingwood:—"A look-out Brig reconnoitered the Squadron while the Rochefort Ships were at no great distance without. They wished to get into Cadiz, but would not venture to pass the Fleet."

ralty that a proper Convoy shall be appointed for the said Transports agreeably to their Lordships' direction. I am, Sir, &c., NELSON AND BRONTE.

P.S.—I have received their Lordships' duplicate Secret Order, dated the 21st ult., with its inclosure.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 13th October, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a Letter from Captain Hoste of the Eurydice, dated the 7th inst., together with the list of Vessels captured as therein mentioned. I am much pleased with Captains Hoste and Thomas for their exertions in getting the Eurydice so expeditiously off the shoal, particularly so as she is stated to have received no damage. I am, Sir, &c., NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 13th October, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you a letter from Captain Sir Edward Berry[7], of His Majesty's Ship Agamemnon, dated the 10th inst.,

[7] The Agamemnon sailed from England on the 2nd of October, having on board Lord Robert Fitzgerald, Minister at Lisbon; and she joined the Fleet on the 13th of October. When the Agamemnon was signalled, Lord Nelson rubbed his hands, and exclaimed with glee, "Here comes Berry; now we shall have a Battle." Sir Edward Berry's report of his masterly escape from the Rochefort Squadron was as follows:—

"My Lord,

"This morning, at half-past three, Cape Finisterre bearing S. 70 W. distance 20 leagues, I discovered eight Sail to windward. At four, one of them bore down towards the Agamemnon. I immediately made the Private Night-signal to her, which was not answered. I kept steering my course, S. by W., full and by, all sail set, except studdingsails. At daylight I made the Private Signal, which was not answered. The Ship that bore down to us I soon made out to be a Three-decker, with five Ships of the Line, two Frigates, and a Brig, evidently French. The Three-decker was within gun-shot of us at day-break, and crowded all sail to get alongside of us; as did an eighty-gun Ship on our lee quarter. I ordered all the water on the lower decks (there being a butt before the breast of every

giving an account of his having on the morning of that day fallen in with a French Squadron off Cape Finisterre, which you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for their information. I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, Victory, October 13th, 1805.

Many, many thanks for your kind and affectionate note. I should have much rejoiced to see you, but I was called away, and I obeyed. I am vexed you should have had such a fag upon my account. Sir Edward Berry has had a narrow chance from the Rochefort Squadron. I hope Sir Robert Calder will escape them; and some happy day I hope to get at their Fleet, and nothing shall be wanting on my part to give a good account of them. My dear Lady Hamilton has told me of your kindness. You will do the needful about my

gun) to be started, and the casks thrown overboard, to be clear for battle. At 9 A.M. I had the satisfaction to perceive that we gained from the Three-decker, but the eighty-gun Ship gained on the Agamemnon. I was determined not to keep away, and I could not tack without the certainty of a broadside from the Three-decker, and being raked by the eighty-gun Ship when in stays. I, therefore, kept the Ship steady to her course, furling the top-gallant sails, and hauling down the staysails in the squalls, and setting them occasionally. At 10 the main-top-gallant sheet was carried away. I then let fly the top-gallant sheets, and fired guns until it was bent. The eighty-gun Ship still gained on us. I ordered the weather quarter-boat to be cut away, and ran out the stern chasers. At eleven the French Admiral relinquished the chase, bore up, and called in the eighty-gun Ship, at which time she was within random shot of us. I immediately hoisted the colours, and shortened sail. The Enemy's Squadron also hoisted English colours. During the chace we ran per log seventy miles. Perceiving a Frigate to leeward, evidently English, kept No. 5 flying, and fired guns repeatedly. I feel it my duty to express to your Lordship my approbation of the exemplary conduct of every Officer and individual in the Ship; but it would be injustice to the First Lieutenant, Mr. Hugh Cook, not to bear testimony to his very judicious conduct and most able counsel, to whom I ascribe the saving of His Majesty's Ship in this retreat.

"In the afternoon, I interchanged signals with His Majesty's Ship, L'Aimable, the Frigate to leeward, and in the evening communicated with the Hon. Captain Bouverie. He informed me that he had, some days ago, dispatched a Sloop to the Hon. Admiral Cornwallis, and to England, with the intelligence of the Rochefort Squadron being out. I therefore deemed it unnecessary to interfere with his former orders.—I have, &c. "E. BERRY, Captain."

accounts, and settle with Mr. Chawner for what is going on at Merton. I have not a moment more, than to say I am ever most faithfully yours, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Sir, Victory, off Cadiz, 13th October, 1805.

You will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that His Majesty's Ships Agamemnon and L'Aimable joined this forenoon, and that the Prince of Wales[8], bearing the Flag of Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder,

[8] Lord Nelson's generous motive for allowing Sir Robert Calder to return to England in his own Ship, the Prince of Wales, appears in a Letter in p. 56 ante; and there are in the Nelson Papers the following letters from that unfortunate Officer. If Lord Nelson was correct in thinking, as some of his biographers assert, that Calder was one of the only two enemies he ever had in the Service (vide vol. ii. p. 337), his conduct towards him, on this occasion, must have been painfully felt.

To VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B.

"(Private.) "Prince of Wales, the 10th October, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"I send you three letters for your inspection and determination thereon. I have only to remark, that in conformity to your Lordship's opinion, as well as that of Vice-Admiral Collingwood's, and my own, I have summoned Captain Durham to attend on my inquiry, as I mean to do Rear-Admiral Stirling, and all the Captains who were under my orders, when in presence of the Enemy, between the 22nd and 24th of last July—conceiving it proper, for the satisfaction of the Public Service, as well as to clear my character as an Officer. I am sorry to put any Officer to any difficulties, but the Service must not suffer. As the Royal Sovereign has joined, I am in hopes your Lordship will now very soon allow me to proceed to England, as my mind, you are well assured, must be distressed to a degree, until such time as I have an opportunity to clear my character fully to the world. I shall flatter myself to have the honour of paying to you my respects, and to thank you in person for all your kindnesses to me since I have been under your command, and to wish you every possible success. I have the honour to be, my Lord, with very great respect, and true regard, your obliged and faithful humble servant, "ROB. CALDER.

"The Prince of Wales can spare to any ship a month's bread and salt provisions, if it meets with your Lordship's approbation. R. C."—*Autograph* in the Nelson Papers.

"(Private.) "Prince of Wales, at Sea, the 11th October, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"Captain Durham having declined to attend me to England, on the inquiry solicited on my part, into my conduct, unless he has a positive order so to do, I beg your Lordship will not give yourself any further trouble upon the occasion,

leaves the Fleet this evening with orders to proceed direct to Spithead. The Vice-Admiral takes with him the Captains of His Majesty's Ships Thunderer and Ajax, whom I have permitted to accompany him, for the purpose of attending the Court requested by that Officer on his late conduct between the 22nd and 25th of July last, which I hope, for the reasons I have before stated, their Lordships will be pleased to approve of. I am, Sir, &c., NELSON AND BRONTE.

as his evidence can be of no moment to the Public Service; and, as to myself, I am willing to relinquish my private consideration on my own account. My reasons for having summoned him in the first instance were, that I might not have been suspected to have collected only such as were my supposed friends, and thereby occasioned the inquiry to be called a *packed* business. This matter being now settled respecting Captain Durham, permit me to repeat to your Lordship my strong wishes to return to England, without further loss of time, in the Prince of Wales, that my mind may be put at ease, and for the re-establishing of my health, which has suffered so very seriously from my severe and long services. I have the honour to be, my Lord, with very great respect, and true regard, your Lordship's much obliged and faithful humble servant, ROB. CALDER."—*Autograph.*

"(Private.) "Prince of Wales, at Sea, the 12th October, 1805.

"My Lord,

"I am this instant honoured with your Lordship's letter: I own I was not prepared for its contents. Believe me, they have cut me to the soul, and, if I am to be turned out of my Ship, after all that has passed, I have only to request I may be allowed to take my Captain, and such Officers as I find necessary for the justification of my conduct as an Officer, and to be put into such Ship with them, and Captains Lechemere and Browne, as your Lordship shall deem proper for my passage to England, and that I may be permitted to go without a moment's further loss of time. My heart is broken; and I can only say I have the honour to be, my Lord, with all due respect, your Lordship's obliged and faithful humble servant, ROB. CALDER.

"P.S.—I hope and trust I shall not be kept here until Vice-Admiral J. T. Duckworth arrives. This would be heaping an additional distress upon me. Adieu."—*Autograph.*

"(Private.) "Prince of Wales, at Sea, the 12th October, 1805, 6 P.M.

"My dear Lord,

"I have this instant been honoured by your favour by Captain Otway, who has been so good as to take the friendly part which he has done. I have only to thank your Lordship, and to say I feel as I ought to do upon the very friendly communication you have been pleased to communicate to me this evening, and for which I shall ever feel grateful. I can have no objections to your Lordship's forwarding all the correspondence, both public and private, that has passed between us, since I have had the honour to be under your Lordship's command. I have not it in my power to say more at present, as I cannot keep Captain Otway, as it is growing dark. I shall hope to have the honour of paying my respects to your Lordship before I leave this, and to receive your commands. Until when, I have the honour to be, your Lordship's ever much obliged and faithful humble Servant, ROBERT CALDER."—*Autograph.*

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 14th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

Perhaps, as the weather is fine, and the business of the Transports nearly closed (except water, almost for the winter), you will come on board this forenoon, that I may tell you all I know, and my intentions. I am glad Sir Robert Calder is gone; and from my heart I hope he will get home safe, and end his inquiry well. I endeavoured to give him all the caution in my power respecting the cry against him; but he seemed *too wise*. Africa[9] did not see the Rochefort Squadron, but heard of them, and sent the Cheerly Gun-brig with information. Ever yours most truly,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD, H.M.S. EURYALUS.

[From Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1833.]

Victory, October 14th, 1805.

My dear Sir,

I approve most highly of your care of the Store Ship; but if it should so happen that you could not spare a Frigate for that service, the Ship might be safely ordered up to the Fleet. The Guard boat has not joined us—the swell has been probably too great—but I would not recommend accounts of great consequence to be sent by them; a few words might be wrote by telegraph. Sir Richard Strachan was certainly in sight of the French Squadron. I wish he was stronger, but I am sure he will spoil their cruizing.

I hope we shall soon get our Cadiz friends out, and then we may (I hope) flatter ourselves that some of them will cruize on our side; but if they do not come forth soon, I shall then rather incline to think they will detach Squadrons; but I trust, either in the whole, or in part, we shall get at them.

I am confident in your look-out upon them. I expect three stout Fire-Ships from England; then, with a good

[9] "October 14th.—Prince of Wales parted. H.M. Ship Africa joined from England."—*Victory's Log.*

breeze, so that the Gun-Boats cannot move, and yet not so much but that a Gig can with ease row out, I should hope that at the least the gentry may be disturbed; and I should not be surprised if Mr. Francis and his catamarans were sent, and Colonel Congreve and his rockets—but all this keep to yourself, for Officers will talk, and there is no occasion for putting the Enemy on their guard. When these arrive, we will consult how to manage them, and I shall have the two Bombs ready by that time. Ever, my dear Sir, I am yours most faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

Do you send your letters—they shall be taken care of. Would you like them to go by Lisbon packet when I send mine?

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Dr. Beatty's "Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson," p. 96.]

Monday, October 14th.

Fine weather: Westerly wind. Sent Amphion to Gibraltar and Algiers. Enemy at the harbour's mouth. Placed Defence and Agamemnon from seven to ten leagues West of Cadiz, and Mars and Colossus five leagues East of the Fleet, whose station is from fifteen to twenty West of Cadiz; and by this chain I hope to have a constant communication with the Frigates off Cadiz.

TO CAPTAIN GEORGE HOPE, H. M. S. DEFENCE.

[Autograph in the possession of Captain Hope, R. N.]

Victory, Oct. 15th, 1805.

Sir,

You will, with the Agamemnon, take a station West from Cadiz from seven to ten leagues, by which means, if the Enemy should move, I hope to have instant information, as two or three Ships will be kept, as at present, between the Fleet and your two Ships; and it seems thought by Captain Blackwood that a Ship or two may attempt to drive the Frigates off, and if that should be the case you will be at hand to assist. I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR ALEXANDER JOHN BALL, BART., MALTA.

[Autograph in the possession of Sir William Keith Ball, Bart.]

Victory, October 15th, 1805.

My dear Ball,

I send you our last newspapers. The combined Fleets are all at the Harbour's Mouth, and must either move up again, or move off, before the winter sets in. I trust we shall be able to get hold of them. I want to send ten Sail of the Line, two Frigates, and two Sloops, off Toulon, Genoa, and that Coast, to cover our Army and to prevent any stores, provisions, &c., from moving along shore, and to save Sardinia; but as yet I have not the means; but when the Ships are released from the Expedition, and the Frigates carrying the money return, I shall have a very respectable Squadron in that part of the Mediterranean—probably under our friend Keats, if he will accept it, and give up the certainty of fighting with the Fleet, as my second[1]. Ever, my dear Ball, yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE BOATSWAINS OF H. M. SHIPS VICTORY, AJAX, AND NEPTUNE.

[From a Copy in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 15th October, 1805.

Captain Lechemere of His Majesty's Ship Thunderer, having on the 25th September represented to me that Mr. Richard Keefe, Boatswain of that Ship, had left his duty, and not having returned previous to her sailing from Cawsand Bay, was 'Run' upon the Ship's Books on the 17th of that month, at the same time requested that I would appoint another Boatswain in his room, which was complied with, by the nomination of Mr. James Sympson, Boatswain of the Euryalus; and it having been yesterday represented to me by Lieutenant Stockham, in the absence of Captain Lechemere, that the said Mr. Richard Keefe returned to the Thunderer by the Agamemnon; and as it is possible Mr. Keefe did not leave his duty with an intention to desert, although his

[1] *i. e.* Next to the Victory in the Line of Battle.

conduct is very reprehensible, and rather wears the appearance of embezzlement of His Majesty's stores, You are therefore hereby required and directed to repair immediately on board His Majesty's Ship Thunderer, and in the first instance you will call for and most strictly examine the actual charge of stores he had by his Indents from Plymouth Dockyard, together with every article which the said Boatswain may have received from any other quarter, and *actually* remained on board on the 17th September, the day on which the said Boatswain appears to have been 'Run.' You will then examine the Expense and Supply Books from that day until the 25th September, when Mr. Sympson took charge of the Thunderer, and when the stores that may have been expended or supplied to any Ship are added to the quantity remaining on the 25th September, it will then appear, by comparing this last account with the actual remains on the 17th September, whether any embezzlement or deficiency of stores have taken place in Mr. Keefe's time. As this is a service of very great importance, I must desire that you will strictly examine into every particular before mentioned, and that you do actually *see* every article of stores at present on board the Thunderer, and likewise compare the Expense Book during the short time Mr. Sympson has been Boatswain, which stores you will deliver from his charge into the charge and custody of Mr. Richard Keefe, the former Boatswain. And the more effectually to carry this order into execution, it is my directions that the Master and Captain's Clerk of the Thunderer attend most strictly to this service, and that they not only see every article of stores in company with the Surveying Officers, but also render them every assistance and facility in their power, and put their names as witnesses to the said Survey, reporting to me from under your hands a most clear and distinct account of your proceedings herein, stating particularly the deficiency of stores (if any), by mentioning on a separate list the quality and quantity which may appear so deficient, and by what means it happened.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

N.B. The Boatswains are to remain on board the Thunderer till the Survey is over.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN HAMOND, H. M. S. LIVELY.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir Graham Eden Hamond, Bart., K.C.B.]

Victory, October 15th, 1805.

Sir,

Not having a copy of your orders, only hearing that the Lively is attached to Sir James Craig's expedition, I find it impossible to give you any precise directions. I suppose you are to see them safe landed in Italy, and the Transports returned to Malta, or such part of them left with the Army as they may require. The Seahorse I have ordered to join me, which I desire may be complied with as expeditiously as possible, if she is not already sent; and if more Ships are wanted, you have my leave to take the Aurora in her place. When the General has no further occasion for your services, or for those of the Ambuscade and Aurora, I beg that you will join me, in order that I may place a strong Squadron off Toulon and Genoa, in order to prevent the Enemy from moving their stores and provisions coastways. This letter you will be so good as to communicate to Sir James Craig. And be assured I am, with the greatest esteem, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN HAMOND, H. M. S. LIVELY.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir Graham Eden Hamond, Bart.]

Victory, October 15th, 1805.

My dear Hamond,

I am very sorry to hear such a very indifferent account of your health. As soon as you have done with the Expedition, you had better make haste to us, and you will get well. I had the pleasure of seeing your good father[2] several times for the few days I was in England. I think he was very well, considering how his mind has been tormented by the Earl and his crew[3], but I am confident he will stand the trial with

[2] Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Comptroller of the Navy.

[3] The Inquiry into Naval Abuses instituted by the Earl of St. Vincent.

honour. Sir Robert Calder has just left us to stand his trial, which I think of a very serious nature. God send him a good deliverance.

Your father wished you home in your Ship, something about a Law-suit with Captain Lawford: in that, as in everything else in which I can with propriety meet your wishes, you may always rely upon the attention of, my dear Hamond, your very sincere friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Dr. Beatty's "Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson," and Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 441.]

Wednesday, 16th October.

Moderate breezes, Westerly. All the forenoon employed in forming the Fleet into the Order of Sailing. At Noon fresh breezes W.S.W. and squally; in the evening fresh gales. Enemy as before, by signal from Weazel[4].

October 17th.

Moderate breezes, North Westerly. Sent the Donegal to Gibraltar to get a ground-tier of casks. Received accounts by the Diligent Store-ship, that Sir Richard Strachan was supposed in sight of the French Rochefort Squadron, which I hope is true. At midnight the wind came to the Eastward.

October 18th.

Fine weather, wind Easterly; the Combined Fleets cannot have finer weather to put to sea.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 18th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

I send you Blackwood's letter, and the very interesting intelligence from Lieutenant Lloyd of the Diligent Store-ship. The Eurydice did not speak her, as Sir William Bolton re-

[4] Commanded by Captain, afterwards Sir Peter Parker, Bart., who was killed in command of the Menelaus on the Coast of America, in 1814.

ports to me that he chased off a Guernsey Privateer Schooner, who had with her a Re-capture, one of the Lisbon Fleet, loaded with cloths, and the Frenchmen in her. His Excellency Governor Bligh, family, and all the good folks for New South Wales, have been taken in the Calcutta [5]; but I think Sir Richard Strachan will either spoil their cruize or block them up in Vigo. I wish he had a good Three-decker with him. Donegal being obliged to go into the Mole for two days, I have advanced her. I hope the Westerly wind has carried the Convoy above Carthagena, and that it will bring Admiral Louis out of the Mediterranean: at all events the Niger and water. Ever, my dear Coll., yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE [6].

[5] The Calcutta, 50, Captain Daniel Woodriffe, was captured, after a very gallant resistance, by a French Squadron, near Scilly, on the 26th of September.

[6] "TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, DUKE OF BRONTE, &c.

"Royal Sovereign, October 18th, 1805.

"My dear Lord,

"I am much obliged to your Lordship for the intelligence, and very sorry it should be so well-founded. If it is true that the Freneh Squadron consisted of one Line-of-Battle, and four Frigates, it is a new Squadron, which has relieved the Rochefort people. Between them, I am afraid, they will do infinite mischief. The Master of the Diligent seems to have mistaken his dates, or his account to have been copied incorrectly. He could not have left Sir R. Strachan the 16th, and been off Cape St. Vincent on the 13th. I rather think he left Sir Richard Strachan on the 11th or 10th. It is very extraordinary the people in Cadiz do not make some movement; if they allow the War to begin in Italy, they cannot hereafter make up for the want of the assistance they might give in the first instance. Have we any Ships off Toulon or Genoa, which may check and prevent the conveyance of Troops along shore? I shall be glad to see the Water-Ships, as many of the Fleet are getting low. The Colossus and Defence want as much as any. The Temeraire, Prince, the Neptune, Minotaur, and Spartiate, are the Ships shortest, and I suppose your Lordship would wish the Three-deckers to be filled up well. The Britannia has 180 tons to-day: perhaps on some fine day you would order the Prince to receive a little from her. The Prince has 81 tons to-day. The other Ships going in, are low enough.

"The Memorandum relative to Surveys on infirm Officers and Seamen with the Rendezvous, 168, I will distribute as soon as the Memorandum is copied for each Ship. I hope your Lordship continues in good health, and have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"CUTHB. COLLINGWOOD.

"I return your Lordship three books. I should suspect Mr. Twist has got a *twist* in his head."—*Autograph.*

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 18th October, 1805.

Sir,

Captain Lechmere of the Thunderer having acquainted me on the 25th September last, that Mr. Richard Keefe, Boatswain of that Ship, had left her previous to her sailing from Plymouth, and was 'Run' upon the Books on the 17th of that month, and at the same time requesting that I would appoint a Boatswain in his room; you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in consequence of the above circumstances I appointed Mr. James Sympson, Boatswain of the Euryalus, to the Thunderer. But on the Agamemnon's arrival, I received a letter from the Commanding Officer of the Thunderer, acquainting me that the said Mr. Keefe had joined; and conceiving that his having absented from that Ship was not with a view to desert, although it left on my mind some suspicion of embezzlement of stores, I judged it proper that the most strict investigation of every circumstance should take place, previous to his taking charge of the Thunderer as Boatswain, and therefore gave an order for that purpose, a copy of which, together with the Report of Survey, and an account of the surplus and deficient stores accompany this, which you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for their information; and at the same time acquaint their Lordships, that although there appears some deficiencies on the said list, yet it is well known to the Sea Lords that many stores are used in fitting out a Ship which (from the various duties carrying on, and the Boatswain being frequently absent on service) are omitted to be duly expended. It also appears that there are some surplus stores, which perhaps may be accounted for in the same way.

I am, Sir, &c.,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.]

Victory, October 19th, 1805.

My dear Coll.,

For 16th read 10th in Mr. Lloyd's letter. We have letters from the Cæsar. It was the Rochefort Squadron that took the Calcutta. She was homeward-bound: so Governor Bligh has escaped, and all the damsels, which were to go out in her, from being ravished by the French. Yesterday, by the Guernsey man, we had the French Officer on board. He belonged to the Magnanime. He says they should have taken the Agamemnon in the night, but they fancied the Oporto and Lisbon Convoy were Ships of War. Four West-Indiamen, some Whalers, and the Calcutta, with very few of the Lisbon Convoy, is the fruit of their cruize. The First-rate sails faster than any of them: five Sail of the Line, three Frigates, and two Brigs. Sir Richard has five Sail; but I think he will have enough upon his hands, and from my soul I wish him well over it.

I am a little afraid that Louis[1] had got a certain distance with the Malta Convoy, but not far enough to secure them from the gentlemen at Carthagena; but I desired him to consider that other Ships wanted water, and that an Easterly wind must not be lost. I therefore hope, if that is the case, he will bring them back to the Rock, and the Earl[2] must see them safe when his water is completed.

When I get Ships I want to place Ships in the upper part of the Mediterranean; but at present I have them not. Leviathan shall relieve Defence; and Colossus we can call in, when we see the Niger. Neptune will make a large hole in one Transport, and Colossus and Defence in the other. What a beautiful day! Will you be tempted out of your Ship? If you will, hoist the Assent and Victory's pendants

Ever, my dear Coll., yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

[1] Rear-Admiral Louis.—Vide p. 63 ante.

[2] Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, whose Flag was on board the Britannia.

I had a letter from Sir James Saumarez yesterday, of October 1st. He sent me some Papers. I take it very kind of him[2].

About the 28th of September (the day on which Lord Nelson joined the Fleet), orders reached Vice-Admiral Villeneuve to put to sea with the design of passing the Straits, landing Troops on the Coast of Naples, sweeping the Mediterranean of our Ships, and then to go to Toulon. The Spanish Ships were, it is presumed, intended to join their seven Sail of the Line at Carthagena, but a favourable opportunity for sailing did not present itself until the morning of the 19th of October. The Combined Fleet[3] consisted of thirty-three Sail of the Line, eighteen being French and fifteen Spanish, viz.: the *French* of four eighty-gun Ships and fourteen seventy-fours, under Vice-Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure of 80 guns, and two Rear-Admirals, Dumanoir le Pelley and Magon; and the *Spanish* of one Ship, the Santissima Trinidada, of 130 guns, two of 112 guns, one of 100 guns, two of 80 guns, eight of 74, and one of 64 guns; under Admiral Gravina in the Principe de Asturias, a Vice-Admiral, Alava, and two Rear-Admirals, Cisneros and Escano. The French had also five Frigates and two Brigs; the Spaniards none. The British Fleet under Lord Nelson's command likewise consisted of thirty-three Sail of the Line; but six having been sent to Gibraltar, the *actual force* off Cadiz on the 19th and 21st, was twenty-seven Sail of the Line, four Frigates, a Schooner, and a Cutter, viz., three Ships of 100 guns, four of 98 guns, one of 80 guns, sixteen of 74 guns, and three of 64 guns, under Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson in the Victory, Vice-Admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign, and Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk in the Britannia. The superiority of the Enemy was consequently *six* Sail of the Line.

The Combined Fleet began to get under weigh at 7 A.M. on Saturday the 19th of October, with a light breeze at N. by E., but from the want of wind, twelve Ships only succeeded in quitting the Harbour on that day. The movement of the Enemy was soon perceived by the Euryalus, Captain Blackwood, and the other look-

[2] On this Letter Lord Collingwood wrote the following Note: "Before the answer to this letter had got to the Victory, the signal was made that the Enemy's Fleet was coming out of Cadiz, and we chased immediately."

[3] The Names of the Ships of both Fleets, and of their Captains, will be found in page 141, post.

[4] The following extract from Capt. Blackwood's letter to his wife, written on the 19th of October, is interesting:—"What think you, my own dearest love? At this moment the Enemy are coming out, and as if determined to have a fair fight; all night they have been making signals, and the morning showed them to us getting under sail. They have 34 Sail of the Line, and five Frigates. Lord Nelson, I am sorry to say, has but 27 Sail of the Line with him; the rest are at Gibraltar, getting water. Not that he has not enough to bring them to close

out Frigates in shore, and being signaled to the Advanced Squadron, under Captain Duff in the Mars, that Ship at half-past nine repeated the signal that "the Enemy are coming out of Port." At that moment the Victory, with the main body of the Fleet, was about fifty miles W.S.W. of Cadiz, having the wind very light and Southerly. The signal was instantly made for a "General Chase, S.E." *i.e.*, towards the Straits of Gibraltar, to prevent the Enemy from entering the Mediterranean. At three[5] o'clock, the Colossus made the signal that "The Enemy's Fleet is at sea." Towards the evening, Lord Nelson gave a remarkable proof of his sagacity. The hoops round the masts of the Enemy's Ships were, he knew, painted black; the whole of the lower masts of all his own Ships were painted yellow, with the exception of those of the Belleisle and Polyphemus, who had recently joined; and as several large black circles on the masts formed an obvious mark by which to distinguish the Enemy from our own Ships, in the smoke and confusion of Battle, he not only ordered the Belleisle and Polyphemus, by telegraph, to paint the hoops of their masts like those of the other British Ships, but fearing, from the lateness of the evening, that the signals might not have been distinctly seen, he sent the Entreprenante Cutter to them, to repeat his directions[6].

The twelve Sail of the Enemy which had left Cadiz harbour, lay becalmed until the early part of the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up from the W.N.W., and they stood on the larboard tack to the Northward, being followed closely to windward by our Frigates the Euryalus and Sirius.

About noon on this day (the 19th), when a Battle appeared certain, Lord Nelson wrote the following Letters to Lady Hamilton and his daughter, neither of which has been before printed. The disposition of his Squadron during the night of the 19th is described in his Diary (p. 132 post).

Action; but I want him to have so many as to make the most decisive Battle of it that ever was, which will bring us a lasting Peace I hope, and some prize-money. Within two hours, though our Fleet was at sixteen leagues off, I have let Lord N. know of their coming out, and I have been enabled to send a Vessel off to Gibraltar, which will bring Admiral Louis and the Ships in there, out. At this moment we are within four miles of the Enemy, and talking to Lord Nelson by means of Sir H. Popham's signals, though so distant, but repeated along by the rest of the Frigates of this Squadron. You see also, my Harriet, I have time to write to you, and to assure you that to the last moment of my breath, I shall be as much attached to you as man can be, which I am sure you will credit. It is very odd how I have been dreaming all night of my carrying home dispatches. God send so much good luck! The day is fine, the sight of course beautiful. I expect before this hour to-morrow to have carried General Décres on board the Victory in my barge, which I have just been painting. God bless you. No more at present. In my last, which I was hurried to send off, I forgot to inclose you the two letters of Lord N. I shall not make the same mistake now." *Autograph* in the possession of the Honourable Lady Blackwood.

[5] Lord Nelson's Diary. Dr. Beatty says, "about two."

[6] Beatty's Narrative, p. 8.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

[Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Smith.]

Victory, October 19th, 1805, Noon, Cadiz, E.S.E., 16 Leagues.

My dearest beloved Emma, the dear friend of my bosom. The signal has been made that the Enemy's Combined Fleet are coming out of Port. We have very little wind, so that I have no hopes of seeing them before to-morrow. May the God of Battles crown my endeavours with success; at all events, I will take care that my name shall ever be most dear to you and Horatia, both of whom I love as much as my own life. And as my last writing before the Battle will be to you, so I hope in God that I shall live to finish my letter after the Battle. May Heaven bless you prays your

NELSON AND BRONTE.

October 20th. In the morning, we were close to the Mouth of the Straits, but the wind had not come far enough to the Westward to allow the Combined Fleets to weather the Shoals off Trafalgar; but they were counted as far as forty Sail of Ships of War, which I suppose to be thirty-four of the Line, and six Frigates. A group of them was seen off the Lighthouse of Cadiz this morning, but it blows so very fresh and thick weather, that I rather believe they will go into the Harbour before night. May God Almighty give us success over these fellows, and enable us to get a Peace[8].

TO MISS HORATIA NELSON THOMPSON.

[Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Horatia Nelson Ward.]

Victory, October 19th, 1805.

My dearest Angel,

I was made happy by the pleasure of receiving your letter of September 19th, and I rejoice to hear that you are so very good a girl, and love my dear Lady Hamilton, who most dearly loves you. Give her a kiss for me. The Combined Fleets of the Enemy are now reported to be coming out of Cadiz; and therefore I answer your letter, my dearest Horatia,

[8] This letter was found open on Lord Nelson's desk, and was brought to Lady Hamilton by Captain Hardy, on his return to England.

to mark to you that you are ever uppermost in my thoughts. I shall be sure of your prayers for my safety, conquest, and speedy return to dear Merton, and our dearest good Lady Hamilton. Be a good girl, mind what Miss Connor says to you. Receive, my dearest Horatia, the affectionate parental blessing of your Father, NELSON AND BRONTE.

PRIVATE DIARY.

[From Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 441.]

October 19th.

Fine weather, wind Easterly. At half-past nine, the Mars, being one of the look-out Ships, repeated the Signal, 'that the Enemy was coming out of Port'—made the Signal for a 'General Chase S.E.'; wind at South, Cadiz bearing E.N.E. by compass, distant sixteen leagues. At three the Colossus, made the Signal, 'that the Enemy's Fleet was at sea.' In the evening directed the Fleet to observe my motions during the night, and for Britannia, Prince, and Dreadnought, they being heavy sailers, to take their stations as convenient; and for Mars, Orion, Belleisle, Leviathan, Bellerophon, and Polyphemus, to go ahead during the night, and to carry a light, standing for the Straits' Mouth.

At daylight on Sunday the 20th of October the remainder of the COMBINED FLEET weighed and put to sea with a light breeze from the S. E., while the Ships outside had the wind from S. S. W., but soon after the Enemy's Ships had cleared the harbour, the wind and thick weather baffled their progress. Between 2 and 3 P.M., the horizon cleared, and the wind shifted to the W. N. W., about which time it appears that the whole of the Combined Fleet was united: Mr. James says, "Whereupon Vice-Admiral Villeneuve ordered his Fleet to form in five columns[9], agreeably to a plan which he had previously communicated to his Flag-Officers and Captains. The Fleet accordingly divided itself into two parts. The first part, consisting of twenty-one Sail of the Line, and denominated the Line of Battle, then subdivided itself into three Squadrons of seven Ships each, of which the centre was commanded by M. Villeneuve himself, the Van by Vice-Admiral Alava, and the Rear by Rear-Admiral Dumanoir. The second part, or *corps de réserve*, divided itself into

[9] This agrees with the Spanish Official Report, but the "Monumens des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français" says, "three columns." *Vide* post.

two Squadrons of six Ships each: the first was under the orders of Admiral Gravina, and the second of Rear-Admiral Magon [1]."

By daylight on the 20th, the BRITISH FLEET had approached close to the Mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, but saw nothing of the Enemy. "The Fleet, therefore," says James, "wore and made sail to the N.W., with a fresh breeze at S.S.W. At 7 A.M. the Phœbe made the signal that the Enemy bore North; and by noon the Victory and Fleet were to the S.W. of Cadiz, and within eight or nine leagues of it, standing to the W.N.W., on the larboard tack. At 2 P.M. the Fleet was taken aback by a breeze from the W.N.W., and at 4 P.M. wore, and again came to on the larboard tack, steering North. At 5 P.M., just after [two hours after] the Euryalus[2]

[1] Naval History, vol. iv., p. 29.

[2] *Log* of H.M. *Euryalus*, Sunday, October 20th, 1805.—"P.M. Heavy rain and thick weather, wind W.S.W.—at 12.30 the weather clearing up a little, saw the Enemy to leeward under low-sail on the larboard tack; being close, wore ship, reefed topsails, and made all possible sail to look out for the English Fleet in the S.S.W., still keeping sight of the Enemy—at 1 more moderate; out reefs, set topgallant sails; saw Sirius to leeward of us and recalled her—at 2 saw the English Fleet in the S.S.W. standing to the Westward—at 2.10 made a telegraph message to the Sirius, 'I am going to the Admiral, but will return before night'—at 3 exchanged Ships' Nos. with the Fleet—at 3.20 made the telegraph message, 'The Enemy appears determined to push to the Westward,' with numeral pendant 30, N. by E., which the Admiral answered—saw an English Line-of-Battle Ship to leeward of the Fleet, with her maintopmast down—at 4 wore Ship, and stood to the Northward—at 4.40 the English Fleet wore—Enemy's Fleet on the larboard tack to the Northward—up mainsail—crossed the royal yards—at 5.20 observed some of the Enemy's look-out Ships reconnoitering us—tacked Ship—at 5.40 answered the Admiral's signal, 'I rely on your keeping sight of the Enemy'—at 6 ditto weather—Victory and Fleet to the Southward—Enemy's Fleet and Sirius N. b. E.—made several [blue?] lights and burnt false fires to show the Enemy's position to Lord Nelson and the Fleet. At 8.30 wore Ship. At 9.50 wore Ship, up mainsail, and kept upon the Enemy's weather beam, about two or three miles—made and shortened sail occasionally, fired guns, and burnt false fires as necessary. At 12 moderate breezes, the body of the Enemy's Fleet S.E. b. E. about 3 miles, and the light of the English Fleet to the Southward and Westward, 5 or 6 miles."

Log of H.M. Ship *Sirius*, Sunday 20th October, 1805.—"P.M. Strong breezes and squally, with heavy rain—12.40 fired 4 guns—saw a Line-of-battle Ship, supposed to be the Agamemnon—down jib and spanker—heard the report of four signal guns to windward. At 1 it cleared up—saw the Enemy's Fleet N.E. b. N.—1.20 made sail. 2.15 saw our Fleet from the mast-head—2.25 bore up. 3.15 came to the wind on the larboard tack—3.30 observed the Enemy's Fleet wear, and come to the wind on the starboard tack—handed topgallant sails and wore Ship. 5 the Enemy's Fleet N.N.E., part of our Fleet in sight, S.—one of the Enemy's Line-of-battle Ships and two Frigates chased us—at 5.50 they tacked, bearing N. ¼ E. 2¼ miles. At 6 light breezes and hazy—wore towards the Enemy's Fleet, bearing N.N.E. 6 or 7 miles, our Fleet S.W.—continued burning blue lights and rockets, as did the Phœbe, Euryalus, Naiad, and all our look-out Ships. 7.15 wore and set the courses, observed the French Admiral with a signal up E. b. N. 3 or 4 miles—7.40 wore, Enemy's Fleet from E.S.E. to N.E., making signals with guns, rockets, &c.—saw our Admirals S.W. b. S. 5 or 6 miles. 9.35 fired three guns and continued burning blue lights and rockets as before—came to the wind on the starboard tack—heard the report of six guns from our Fleet. At 10 set the spanker and mainsail—still reconnoitring the Enemy's Fleet, and making signals. 11.30 wore and hove-to—light airs, inclinable to calm—Enemy's Fleet East six miles, and both Fleets making signals—tried soundings, no bottom."

had telegraphed that the 'Enemy appeared determined to go to the Westward,' the Victory telegraphed that Lord Nelson relied upon Captain Blackwood's keeping sight of the Enemy during the night; and the Naiad shortly afterwards made the signal of thirty-one Sail of the Enemy, bearing N.N.E. At 8h. 40m., P.M., the British Fleet wore and stood to the S.W." [3]

Dr. Beatty in his Narrative says, "At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, the Victory hove to, and Admiral Collingwood, with the Captains of the Mars, Colossus, and Defence, came on board to receive instructions from his Lordship: at eleven minutes past nine they returned to their respective Ships, and the Fleet made sail again to the Northward. In the afternoon the wind increased, and blew fresh from the S.W., which excited much apprehension on board the Victory lest the Enemy might be forced to return to Port. The look-out Ships, however, made several signals for seeing them, and to report their force and bearings. His Lordship was at this time on the poop; and turning round, and observing a group of Midshipmen assembled together, he said to them with a smile—'This day, or to-morrow, will be a fortunate one for you, young men,' alluding to their being promoted in the event of a Victory. A little before sunset the Euryalus communicated intelligence by telegraph that 'the Enemy appeared determined to go to the Westward.' His Lordship, upon this, ordered it to be signified to Captain Blackwood by signal, that 'he depended on the Euryalus for keeping sight of the Enemy during the night.'

Log of H.M. Ship *Phœbe*, Sunday 20th October, 1805.—"P.M. Squally with heavy rain.—12.30 bore up. At 1 hauled our wind on the starboard tack—taken aback in a hard squall, braced round—observed a Line-of-battle Ship with his maintopmast carried away—tacked occasionally—repeated signals. At 4 set the courses and topgallantsails—made several signals to the Fleet—saw the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 34 Sail, bearing N. b. E. At 6 the Enemy's Fleet N. b. E., the British Fleet S.W. b. S.—mustered at quarters—6.30 the Ship made several signals to the Fleet—burnt blue lights and rockets occasionally. At 8 Cadiz Lighthouse E. b. N. about 5 leagues—wore Ship as occasion—burnt blue lights and rockets occasionally, which was answered by our Fleet. 12.20 spoke His Majesty's Ship Mars—Enemy's Fleet in sight. Monday 21st.—A.M. at 2 hove-to.—2.30 filled. At 4 light airs and variable."

Log of H. M. Ship *Naiad*, Sunday 20th October, 1805.—"P.M. Fresh breezes with rain—in 3rd reef topsails. At 4 moderate and cloudy—Enemy's Fleet on the lee bow, our Fleet on the weather quarter—Cadiz N.E. ½ E. 4 or 5 leagues. At 6 both Fleets in sight—at 6.30 saw 14 of the Enemy's Fleet to the Northward—repeated several blue lights and sky-rockets from the Phœbe and Sirius. At 8 ditto weather, 14 of the Enemy's Fleet in sight astern. At 12 ditto weather, Enemy's Fleet to leeward, ours ahead. Monday 21st.—A.M. At 1.30 spoke H.M. Ship Colossus—saw several lights to leeward, which we supposed the Enemy's Fleet, bearing S.S.E. At 4 light airs and cloudy."

Log of H. M. Schooner *Pickle*, Sunday 20th October, 1805.—"P.M. Strong breezes and squally—tacked and wore occasionally. At 2 answered a signal to reconnoitre in the N.W. At 3 discovered the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of thirty-three Sail of the Line, five Frigates, and two Brigs, bearing N. b. E. and standing to the S.W. Out reefs and made sail towards them. At 5 tacked from the Enemy—repeated several signals from the Sirius to the Fleet—tacked occasionally, keeping sight of the Enemy."

[3] James's Naval History, vol. iv., p. 31.

The night-signals were so clearly and distinctly arranged by his Lordship, and so well understood by the respective Captains, that the Enemy's motions continued to be made known to him with the greatest facility throughout the night: a certain number of guns with false fires and blue lights, announced their altering their course, wearing, and making or shortening sail; and signals communicating such changes were repeated by the look-out Ships, from the Euryalus to the Victory. The Enemy wore twice during the night, which evolution was considered by his Lordship as showing an intention on their part of keeping the Port of Cadiz open; and made him apprehend that on seeing the British Fleet, they would effect their retreat thither before he could bring them to a general Action. He was, therefore, very careful not to approach their Fleet near enough to be seen by them before morning[1]." During the night of the 20th the British Fleet stood to the S.W. under their topsails and foresails, anxiously expecting daylight.

MEMORANDUM.

[Original in the possession of Captain Hope, R.N.]

Victory, off Cadiz, 20th October, 1805.

Captain Blackwood to keep with two Frigates in sight of the Enemy in the night. Two other Frigates to be placed between him and the Defence, Captain Hope. Colossus will take her station between Defence and Mars. Mars to communicate with the Victory.

SIGNALS BY NIGHT.

If the Enemy are standing to the Southward, or towards the Straits, burn two blue lights together, every hour, in order to make the greater blaze. If the Enemy are standing to the Westward three guns, quick, every hour.

NELSON AND BRONTE.[2]

PRIVATE DIARY.

[Autograph in the possession of J. Wild, Esq.]

Sunday, October 20, 1805.

Fresh breezes SSW. and rainy. Communicated with Phœbe, Defence, and Colossus, who saw near forty Sail of Ships of

[1] Dr. Beatty's Narrative, pp. 8—11.

[2] This Paper was thus indorsed by Captain Hope: "This was signed by Lord Nelson the day before he fell, the last time I saw him. GEORGE HOPE."

War outside of Cadiz yesterday evening; but the wind being Southerly, they could not get to the Mouth of the Straits. We were between Trafalgar and Cape Spartel. The Frigates made the signal that they saw 9 Sail outside the Harbour; gave the Frigates instructions for their guidance, and placed Defence, Colossus, and Mars, between me and the Frigates. At noon fresh gales and heavy rain, Cadiz N.E. 9 leagues. In the afternoon Captain Blackwood telegraphed that the Enemy seemed determined to go to the Westward; and that they shall *not* do if in the power of Nelson and Bronte to prevent them[2]. At 5 telegraphed Captain B., that I relied upon his keeping sight of the Enemy. At 6 o'clock Naiad made the signal for 31 Sail of the Enemy N.N.E. The Frigates and look-out Ships kept sight of the Enemy most admirably all night, and told me by signals which tack they were upon. At 8 we wore, and stood to the S.W., and at four A.M. wore, stood to the N.E.

At 4 A.M., on MONDAY THE 21ST OF OCTOBER, the British Fleet wore, and steered under easy sail N. by E., having the wind from the W.N.W. The day having dawned, Cape Trafalgar bearing E. by S., distant about twenty-one miles, the Enemy were observed also bearing E. by S., between ten or twelve miles, formed in a close Line of Battle on the starboard tack standing to the Southward. At 6.40 the Victory made the signals to "Form the Order of Sailing in two columns;" and to "Prepare for Battle;" and at 6.50 to "bear up." The Victory then bore up to the Eastward, shook the reefs out of her topsails, set steering-sails, and royals, and cleared for quarters.

"Soon after daylight," says Dr. Beatty, "Lord Nelson came upon deck: he was dressed as usual in his Admiral's frock-coat, bearing on the left breast four stars of different Orders which he always wore with his common apparel[3]. He did not wear his sword in the Battle of Trafalgar; it had been taken from the place where it hung up in his cabin, and was laid ready on his table; but it is supposed he forgot to call for it. This was the only Action in which he ever appeared without a sword. He displayed excellent spirits, and, expressed his pleasure at the prospect of giving a fatal blow to the Naval power of France and Spain; and spoke with confidence of

[2] The continuation of the Diary is from a Fac simile Copy in the possession of Philip Toker, Esq., and Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 441.

[3] It is extraordinary that notwithstanding this clear and distinct statement, such ridiculous assertions should have been made by Clarke and M'Arthur, Southey, and other of Nelson's biographers, about Lord Nelson's having *purposely* put on his "fighting coat," and all his decorations, &c. Some remarks on this subject will be found in a subsequent page.

obtaining a signal Victory notwithstanding the inferiority of the British Fleet, declaring to Captain Hardy, that 'he would not be contented with capturing less than twenty Sail of the Line.' He afterwards pleasantly observed, that 'the 21st of October was the happiest day in the year among his family;' but did not assign the reason of this[4]. His Lordship had previously entertained a strong presentiment that this would prove the auspicious day; and had several times said to Captain Hardy and Doctor Scott, (Chaplain of the Ship, and Foreign Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, whose intimate friendship he enjoyed,) 'The 21st of October will be our day.' The wind was now from the West; but the breezes were very light, with a long heavy swell running[5]." Captain Blackwood, of the Euryalus, and the Captains of the other Frigates, were called by signal on board the Victory about eight o'clock in the morning. "At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st," says Captain Blackwood, "my signal was made to repair on board the Victory[6]. In a few minutes I went on board, and had the satisfaction to find the Admiral in good, but very calm spirits. After receiving my congratulations at the approach of the moment he so often and so long had wished for, he replied, 'I mean to-day to bleed the Captains of the Frigates, as I shall keep you on board until the very last minute.' His mind seemed entirely directed to the strength and formation of the Enemy's Line, as well as to the effects which his novel mode of attack was likely to produce. He seemed very much to regret, and with reason, that

[4] On the 21st of October, 1757, Lord Nelson's maternal uncle, Captain Suckling, in the Dreadnought, in company with two other Line-of-Battle Ships, attacked and beat off a French Squadron of four Sail of the Line, and three Frigates, off Cape François. See the Memoir of Captain Suckling, in the "Naval Chronicle," vol. xiv. p. 265.

[5] Dr. Beatty's Narrative, pp. 12, 13.

[6] The Euryalus' Log shows that Clarke and M'Arthur mistook the time when Captain Blackwood went on board the Victory; and it appears that none of the Captains of the other Frigates went to the Admiral before eight o'clock. Monday, 21st October.—"At daylight the body of the Enemy's Fleet, E.S.E. 5 or 6 miles—English Fleet, W.S.W. A.M. at 8 observed the British Fleet forming their lines, the headmost Ships from the Enemy's centre 8 or 9 miles—the Enemy's force consisting of thirty-three Sail of the Line, five frigates, and two Brigs. Light winds and hazy, with a great swell from the Westward—English Fleet, all sail set, standing towards the Enemy, then on the starboard tack. At 8.5 answered Lord Nelson's signal for the Captain, who went immediately on board the Victory—took our station on the Victory's larboard quarter, and repeated the Admiral's signals." *Euryalus' Log.* Before Captain Blackwood left his Ship for the Victory, he wrote to his wife the following note:—

"Monday Morning.

"The last 24 hours has been hard and anxious work for me; but we have kept sight of them, and are this moment bearing up to come to Action. Lord Nelson 27 Sail of the Line. French 33 or 4. I wish the six Sail we have at Gibraltar were here. My signal just made on board Victory; I hope, to order me to a vacant Line-of-Battle Ship. Adieu my dearest wife, your Henry will not disgrace his name; and if he dies, his last breath will be devoted to the dearest of dear wives. Take care of my boy; make him a better man than his father. Most affectionately and very [?] your husband, H. BLACKWOOD."—*Autograph* in the possession of the Honourable Lady Blackwood.

the Enemy tacked to the Northward, and formed their Line on the larboard, instead of the starboard tack, which latter line of bearing would have kept the Straits' Mouth open; instead of which, by forming to the Northward, they brought the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under our lee; and also, with the existing wind, kept open the Port of Cadiz, which was of infinite consequence to them. This movement was in a great degree the cause of Lord Nelson's making the signal to 'Prepare to Anchor', the necessity of which was impressed on his mind to the last moment of his life; and so much did he think of the possibility of the Enemy's escape into Cadiz, that he desired me to employ the Frigates, as much as I could, to complete the destruction of the Enemy, whether at anchor or not; and not to think of saving Ships or men, for annihilation to both was his first object, and capture but a secondary one[7]."

Dr. Beatty says, "the signal being made for bearing down upon the Enemy in two Lines, the British Fleet set all possible sail. The Lee Line, consisting of thirteen Ships, was led by Admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign; and the Weather Line, composed of fourteen Ships, by the Commander in Chief, in the Victory. His Lordship had ascended the poop to have a better view of both Lines of the British Fleet, and while there, gave particular directions for taking down from his cabin the different fixtures, and for being very careful in removing the portrait[8] of Lady Hamilton. 'Take care of my guardian angel,' said he, addressing himself to the persons to be employed in this business. Immediately after this, he quitted the poop, and retired to his cabin for a few minutes, where he wrote the following Prayer, and Codicil to his Will[9];"—

PRIVATE DIARY.

[Autograph, or fac simile Copy, in the possession of Philip Toker, Esq.]

Monday, October 21st, 1805.

At daylight saw the Enemy's Combined Fleet from East to E.S.E.; bore away; made the signal for Order of Sailing, and to Prepare for Battle; the Enemy with their heads to the Southward: at seven the Enemy wearing in succession. May the Great God, whom I worship, grant to my Country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious Victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after Victory be the predominant feature in the British Fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my

[7] Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii., p. 443. See also Captain Blackwood's letter after the Battle, in a subsequent page.

[8] This portrait is now in the possession of Mrs. Smith, of Twickenham.

[9] Beatty's Narrative, pp. 13, 14.

life to Him who made me, and may his blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my Country faithfully. To Him I resign myself and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen. Amen. Amen[3].

CODICIL TO LORD NELSON'S WILL.

[Autograph, or fac simile Copy, in the possession of Philip Toker, Esq.]

October the twenty-first, one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.

Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to our King and Country, to my knowledge, without her receiving any reward from either our King or Country;—first, that she obtained the King of Spain's letter, in 1796, to his brother, the King of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare War against England; from which Letter the Ministry sent out orders to

[3] The Editor is indebted for the following interesting anecdote respecting this beautiful, and, from the circumstances under which it was written, almost sublime composition, to Captain John Pasco, who, though *Senior* Lieutenant, acted as *Signal* Lieutenant of the Victory;—

About 11 A.M. of the 21st of October, Lieutenant Pasco had to make a report to Lord Nelson, and intended, at the same time to have represented to him that he considered himself very unfortunate, on so glorious an occasion, to be doing duty in an inferior station, instead of that to which his seniority entitled him. "On entering the Cabin," says Captain Pasco, "I discovered his Lordship on his knees writing. He was then penning that beautiful Prayer. I waited until he rose and communicated what I had to report, but could not at such moment, disturb his mind with any grievances of mine." Captain Pasco considers, that but for this delicacy on his part, he should have been directed to assume his position as *First* Lieutenant, and thereby have been made a Post Captain instead of a Commander for the Battle, as Lieutenant Quilliam, his junior in rank, who acted as *First* Lieutenant of the Victory, was Posted in December 1805, together with the two Lieutenants who commanded the Ajax and Thunderer, in the absence of their Captains. Mr. Quilliam's "good fortune," according to Marshall, (Naval Biography, vol. ii. p. 963,) "produced much mortification to those of Nelson's followers who were senior to himself, and whom the Hero had ordered to perform the duties of Junior Lieutenants, for no other reason than that of avoiding a constant succession of executive Officers—the whole of them being before Mr. Quilliam on his Lordship's list for promotion."

then Sir John Jervis, to strike a stroke, if opportunity offered, against either the Arsenals of Spain, or her Fleets. That neither of these was done is not the fault of Lady Hamilton. The opportunity might have been offered. Secondly, the British Fleet under my command, could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the Governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the Fleet being supplied with everything, should they put into any Port in Sicily. We put into Syracuse, and received every supply, went to Egypt, and destroyed the French Fleet. Could I have rewarded these services I would not now call upon my Country; but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Lady Hamilton, therefore, a Legacy to my King and Country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my Country my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only. These are the only favours I ask of my King and Country at this moment when I am going to fight their Battle. May God bless my King and Country, and all those who I hold dear. My relations it is needless to mention: they will of course be amply provided for.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Witness—Henry Blackwood.
T. M. Hardy.

BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

In the following particulars of the BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, the account given of it by Mr. James will be principally adopted; and it will be illustrated by the narrative of Dr. Beatty, the dispatches and private letters of Vice-Admiral Collingwood, a copy of the log of every British Ship present, the statements of Officers who served on the occasion, the French and Spanish accounts of the Battle, &c., and, in a word, by every fact which the Editor has been able to collect.

The following is a List of the BRITISH and COMBINED FLEETS, their force, and the names of their Commanders;—

BRITISH FLEET.

Gun-ship.		
100	Victory	Vice-Admiral (w) Lord Nelson, K.B. Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy.
	Royal Sovereign	Vice-Admiral (b) Cuthbert Collingwood. Captain Edward Rotheram.
	Britannia	Rear-Admiral (w) the Earl of Northesk. Captain Charles Bullen.
98	Téméraire	,, Eliab Harvey.
	Prince	,, Richard Grindall.
	Neptune	,, Thomas Francis Fremantle.
	Dreadnought	,, John Conn.
80	Tonnant	,, Charles Tyler.
74	Belleisle	,, William Hargood.
	Revenge	,, Robert Moorsom.
	Mars	,, George Duff.
	Spartiate	,, Sir Francis Laforey, Bart.
	Defiance	,, Philip Charles Durham.
	Conqueror	,, Israel Pellew.
	Defence	,, George Hope.
	Colossus	,, James Nicoll Morris.
	Leviathan	,, Henry William Bayntun.
	Achille	,, Richard King.
	Bellerophon	,, John Cooke.
	Minotaur	,, Charles John Moore Mansfield.
	Orion	,, Edward Codrington.
	Swiftsure	,, William George Rutherford.
	Ajax	Lieutenant John Pilford, } Acting[4].
	Thunderer	,, John Stockham, }
64	Polyphemus	Captain Robert Redmill.
	Africa	,, Henry Digby.
	Agamemnon	,, Sir Edward Berry.

Frigates, Euryalus, Naïad, Phœbe, and Sirius; Captains the Hon. Henry Blackwood, Thomas Dundas, the Hon. Thomas Bladen Capel, and William Prowse.

Schooner, Pickle, Lieutenant John Richard Lapenotiere; and *Cutter*, Entreprenante, Lieutenant Robert Benjamin Young.

[4] For Captains William Brown and William Lechmere, gone to England to attend as witnesses on Sir Robert Calder's court-martial.

ENEMIES' FLEET.

Gun-ship.			
		FRENCH.	
80	Bucentaure	Vice-Ad.	P. Ch. J. B. S. Villeneuve.
		Captain	Jean Jacques Magendie.
	Formidable	Rear-Ad.	P. R. M. E. Dumanoir le Pelley.
		Captain	Jean Marie Letellier.
	Neptune	Commodore	Esprit Tranquille Maistral.
	Indomptable	,,	Jean Joseph Hubert.
74	Algésiras	Rear-Ad.	Charles Magon.
		Captain	Gabriel Auguste Brouard.
	Pluton	Commodore	Julian Marie Cosmao Kerjulien.
	Mont-Blanc	,,	Guill. Jean Noël La Villegris.
	Intrépide	,,	Louis Antoine Cyprien Infernet.
	Swiftsure	Captain	C. E. L'Hospitalier Villemadrin.
	Aigle	,,	Pierre Paul Gourrège.
	Scipion	,,	Charles Berenger.
	Duguay-Trouin	,,	Claude Touffet.
	Berwick	,,	Jean Gilles Filhol Camas.
	Argonaute	,,	Jacques Epron.
	Achille	,,	Gabriel Denieport.
	Redoutable	,,	Jean Jacques Etienne Lucas.
	Fougueux	,,	Louis Alexis Beaudouin.
	Héros	,,	Jean Bap. Jos. Remi Poulain.

Gun-ship.			
		SPANISH.	
130	Santisima Trinidad	Rear-Ad.	don B. Hidalgo Cisneros.
		Commod.	don Francisco de Uriarte.
112	Principe de Asturias	Admiral	don Frederico Gravina.
		Rear-Ad.	don Antonio Escano.
	Santa Ana	Vice-Ad.	don Ign. Maria de Alava.
		Captain	don Josef Gardoqui.
100	Rayo	Commod.	don Enrique Macdonel.
80	Neptuno	,,	don Cayetano Valdés.
	Argonauta	,,	don Antonio Parejas.
74	Bahama	Captain	don Dionisio Galiano.
	Montanes	,,	don Josef Salzedo.
	San Augustin	,,	don Felipe Xado Cagigal.
	San Ildefonso	,,	don Josef Bargas.
	S. Juan Nepomuceno	,,	don Cosme Churruca.
	Monarca	,,	don Teodoro Argumosa.
	S. Francisco de Asis	,,	don Luis de Flores.
	San Justo	,,	don Miguel Gaston.
64	San Leandro	,,	don Josef Quevedo.

Frigates (all French), Cornélie, Hermione, Hortense, Rhin, Thémis; *Brigs*, Argus and Furet.

Mr. James says,—

"The near approach of the British Fleet rendering an Action unavoidable, the French Admiral, at 8h. 30m. A.M., made the signal for his Ships to wear together, and form the Line in close order upon the larboard tack; thereby to bring Cadiz on his lee bow, and to facilitate, if necessary, his escape to that Port. It was near 10 A.M. before the manœuvre was completed; and then, owing to the lightness of the wind, the partial flaws from off the land, the heavy ground swell, and the incapacity or inexperience of some of the Captains, the Franco-Spanish Line was very irregularly formed: so much so that, instead of being straight, it was curved or

crescent-like; and, instead of the Ships being in line ahead, some were to leeward, others to windward, of their proper stations. For the most part, indeed, the Ships were two, and in a few cases three, deep; thus accidentally presenting more obstacles to the success of the plan of attack decided upon by the British Admiral, than if each French and Spanish Ship had been in the wake of her leader. The Ships, generally, were under topsails and topgallantsails, with the main topsail shivering, and lay a point, or rather more, off the wind. Owing to the lightness of the breeze, the British Fleet, after bearing up, made very slow progress, scarcely going, with studding-sails set, three knots an hour[4].

"As the Victory drew near to the Enemy, (says Dr. Beatty), his Lordship, accompanied by Captain Hardy, and the Captains of the four Frigates, who had been called on board by signal to receive instructions, visited the different decks of the Ship. He addressed the crew at their several quarters, admonished them against firing a single shot without being sure of their object; and expressed himself to the Officers highly satisfied with the arrangements made at their respective stations. It was now plainly perceived by all on board the Victory, that from the very compact line which the Enemy had formed, they were determined to make one great effort to recover in some measure their long-lost Naval reputation. They wore in succession about twenty minutes past seven o'clock; and stood on the larboard tack, with their heads towards Cadiz. They kept a good deal of sail set, steering about two points from the wind, with topsails shivering. Their Van was particularly closed, having the Santissima Trinidada, and the Bucentaur the ninth and tenth Ships, the latter the Flag-Ship of Admiral Villeneuve; but as the Admirals of the Combined Fleets declined showing their flags till the heat of the Battle was over[5], the

[4] James's Naval History, vol. iv. p. 32.

[5] In this statement Dr. Beatty is supposed to have been mistaken. The following extracts from the Logs of the Frigates and Schooner, from *daylight* until *noon* of Monday, the 21st of October, shew what was recorded to have taken place during that time, in the two Fleets:

(For the *Euryalus'* Log from daylight until 10 o'clock on the 21st Vide p. 134, ante.) "At 10 observe the Enemy wearing, and coming to the wind on the larboard tack. At 11.40 repeated Lord Nelson's telegraph message, 'I intend to push or go through the end of the Enemy's Line, to prevent them from getting into Cadiz.' Saw the land bearing E. b. N. five or six leagues. At 11.56 repeated Lord Nelson's telegraph message, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' At noon light winds and a great swell from the Westward—observed the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Collingwood, leading the lee line, bearing down on the Enemy's Rear Line, being then nearly within gun-shot of them—Lord Nelson leading the weather line, bore down on the Enemy's centre. Captain Blackwood returned from the Victory—Cape Trafalgar S.E. b. E. about 5 leagues."—*Euryalus' Log.*

"A.M. at 4 light airs and variable—at 4.30 wore Ship. 5.40 saw the Enemy's Fleet to leeward. 6.30 wore Ship and made sail—set the royal and topgallant steering-sails. 7.30 beat to quarters. At 8 bearing down towards the Enemy in company with the Fleet. 9.30 Captain Capel went on board the Victory—repeated several signals from the Flag-Ship. At noon the Van of the British Fleet nearly within gun-shot of the Enemy's Centre. St. Sebastian's, N. 22 E. 6 or 7 leagues."—*Phœbe's Log.*

"A.M. at 4.45 wore Ship. 5.10 up mainsail, and bore up to close with the Enemy. At daylight observed the Enemy's Fleet form the line on the starboard

former of these Ships was only distinguished from the rest by her having four decks, and Lord Nelson ordered the Victory to be steered for her bow. Several Officers of the Ship now communicated to each other their sentiments of anxiety for his Lordship's personal safety, to which every other consideration seemed to give way. Indeed, all were confident of gaining a glorious Victory, but the apprehensions for his Lordship were great and general; and the Surgeon made known to Doctor Scott his fears that his Lordship would be made the object of the Enemy's marksmen, and his desire that he might be entreated by somebody to cover the stars on his coat with a handkerchief. Doctor Scott and Mr. Scott (Public Secretary) both observed, however, that such request would have no effect, as they knew his Lordship's sentiments on the subject so well, that they were sure he would be highly displeased with whoever should take the liberty of recommending any change in his dress on this account; and when the Surgeon declared to Mr. Scott, that he would avail himself of the opportunity of making his sick-report for the day, to submit his sentiments to the Admiral, Mr. Scott replied, 'Take care, Doctor, what you are about; I would not be the man to mention such a matter to him.' The Surgeon, notwithstanding, persisted in his design, and remained on deck to find a proper opportunity for addressing his Lordship, but this never occurred, as his Lordship continued occupied with the Captains of the Frigates, (to whom he was explaining his intentions respecting the services they were to perform during the Battle,) till a short time before the Enemy opened their fire on the Royal Sovereign, when Lord Nelson ordered all persons not stationed on the quarter-deck or poop, to repair to their proper quarters; and the Surgeon, much concerned at this disappointment, retired from the deck with several other Officers. The boats on the quarters of the Ship,

tack, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line, five Frigates, and two Brigs, our Fleet to windward of them about five leagues. 6.30 wore and hove-to, saw the land about Cape Trafalgar N.E. 7.45 Victory made our signal for a Captain. At 8 Captain went on board the Admiral—wore and hove-to—Admiral S.W. b. S. one mile—centre of the Enemy's Fleet S.E. b. E. four leagues, forming the line on the larboard tack—our Fleet running down under all sail."—*Sirius' Log.*

"A.M. Moderate breezes and cloudy. At 5 wore towards the Enemy, and up fore, and foretopsail yard, and made sail. At 8 the Enemy bore .... 4 or 5 leagues, the Commander-in-Chief W.S.W. 2 or 3 leagues. At 9 the Fleet made sail towards the Enemy, which had formed their line, and appeared ready for battle. At 10 the Commander-in-Chief made the signal to prepare for Action, with a number of other signals, which were answered by the Fleet. At noon the Commander-in-Chief was within about 2 leagues of the Enemy, which kept their former Station."—*Pickle's Log.*

"At daylight saw the Enemy in line of battle bearing from S.S.E. to East—our Fleet ahead, steering towards the Enemy. At 8 light winds—still continuing the same under all sail. At noon the centre of the Enemy's Fleet, bearing E.S.E. about six miles, consisting of one four-decker, two three-deckers, 30 two-deckers, six Frigates, and two Brigs, under the command of the French Admiral Villeneuve and Spanish Admiral Gravina."—*Naiad's Log.* The Naiad's Log, which contains the only minute account of the Signals made on the 21st of October that has fallen under the Editor's observation, shews that the following signals were made between 6 A.M. and Noon on that day:—

being found in the way of the guns, were now lowered down and towed astern. Captain Blackwood of the Euryalus, remained on board the Victory till a few minutes before the Enemy began the fire upon her. He represented to his Lordship that his Flag-Ship would be singled out, and much pressed by the Enemy; and suggested the propriety therefore of permitting one or two Ships of his Line to go ahead of the Victory, and lead her into Action, which might be the means of drawing in some measure the Enemy's attention from her. To this Lord Nelson assented, and at half-nine o'clock, he ordered the Téméraire and Leviathan by signal (the former of

No. Signal.	Telegraph, Admiralty, or accompanying Telegraph, or Pendants.	Purport.	By whom made.	To whom made.	At what time made.	Remarks.
					A. M.	
13	Admiralty	Prepare for battle	Commander-in-Chief	General	6h 40m	Answered by the Fleet immediately, which was complied with
76	Admiralty	Bear up, sail large on the course steered by Admiral, or that pointed out by Compass Signal	Victory	General	6 50	Answered and complied with immediately
	Naiad's pendant	Signal for Captain Dundas	Victory	. .	7 50	Ditto
76	Admiralty and Prince's pendant	Bear up, sail large on the course steered by Admiral, or that pointed out by Compass Signal	Victory	Prince	8 40	Answered by the Prince immediately
92	Admiralty, and S. pendant.	Shorten sail, and carry as little sail as possible	Victory	General	10 0	Answered and complied with immediately
420	Admiralty and R. Sovereign's pendant.	[The Enemy are coming out of Port, or getting under weigh.] Added by the Editor —no purport stated in the log	Victory	R. Sovereign	10 50	Ditto
642	Admiralty	The chase, or strange sail, is a Vessel of War	Victory	R. Sovereign	10 50	Ditto
307	Admiralty and S. pendant, red with white fly, over yellow	Make all sail possible with safety to the Masts	Victory	Not known, supposed Thunderer*	11 5	Repeated the Signal to the Thunderer, with her No. immediately
	Telegraph	England expects that every man will do his duty	Victory	General	11 35	Repeated by the Naiad immediately
63	Admiralty, preparative	Prepare to anchor	Victory	General	12 0	Repeated by the Naiad immediately, and complied with
3	. .	The above Signal to take place immediately after the close of day				

* The Pendants show that this signal was made to the *Africa*.

which Ships, being close to the Victory, was hailed by his Lordship,) to go a-head for that purpose; but from the light breeze that prevailed, they were unable, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to attain their intended stations. Captain Blackwood foresaw that this would be the case, and as the Victory still continued to carry all her sail, he wished Captain Hardy to acquaint his Lordship, that unless her sail was in some degree shortened, the two Ships just mentioned could not succeed in getting a-head previously to the Enemy's Line being forced. This, however, Captain Hardy declined doing, as he conceived his Lordship's ardour to get into battle would on no account suffer such a measure[7]."

Mr. James relates this circumstance rather differently:—

"Captain Blackwood undertook the delicate task of broaching the matter to the Admiral. He did so; and Lord Nelson, smiling significantly at Captain Hardy, replied, 'Oh yes, let her go a-head;' meaning, if she could. At about 9h. 40m. A.M. the Téméraire was accordingly hailed[8], to take her station ahead of the Victory. At about the same time Lieutenant John Yule, who then commanded upon the forecastle, observing that the lee or starboard lower studding-sail was improperly set, caused it to be taken in for the purpose of setting it afresh. The instant this was done, Lord Nelson ran forward, and rated the Lieutenant severely for having, as he supposed, begun to shorten sail without the Captain's orders. The studding-sail was quickly replaced; and the Victory, as the gallant Chief intended, continued to lead the column[9]."

But Captain Blackwood's own statement differs from both these accounts:—

"About ten o'clock, Lord Nelson's anxiety to close with the Enemy became very apparent: he frequently remarked that they put a good face upon it; but always quickly added, 'I'll give them such a dressing as they never had before,' regretting at the same time the vicinity of the land. At that critical moment I ventured to represent to his Lordship, the value of such a life as his, and particularly in the present battle; and I proposed hoisting his Flag in the Euryalus, whence he could better see what was going on, as well as what to order in case of necessity. But he would not hear of it, and gave as his reason the force of example; and probably he was right. My next object, therefore, was to endeavour to induce his Lordship to allow the Téméraire, Neptune, and Leviathan to lead into Action before the Victory, which was then the headmost.

[7] Beatty's Narrative, p. 18.

[8] "But not, it is believed, as stated in a popular little work, [Dr. Beatty's Narrative] "by his Lordship." To this Captain Chamier, the Editor of the last Edition of James's Naval History, has added,—

"When the Téméraire ranged up on the Victory's quarter in order to pass her and lead, Lord Nelson hailed her; and speaking, as he always did, with a slight nasal intonation, said, 'I'll thank you, Captain Harvey, to keep in your proper station, which is *astern* of the Victory."

[9] Naval History, vol. iv. pp. 32, 33,

After much conversation, in which I ventured to give it as the joint opinion of Captain Hardy and myself, how advantageous it would be to the Fleet for his Lordship to keep as long as possible out of the Battle, he at length consented to allow the Téméraire which was then sailing abreast of the Victory, to go a-head, and hailed Captain Harvey to say such were his intentions, if the Téméraire could pass the Victory. Captain Harvey being rather out of hail, his Lordship sent me to communicate his wishes, which I did; when, on returning to the Victory, I found him doing all he could to increase rather than diminish sail, so that the Téméraire could not pass the Victory: consequently when they came within gun-shot of the Enemy, Captain Harvey, finding his efforts ineffectual, was obliged to take his station astern of the Admiral[1]."

To these statements it may for the first time be added, that at fifteen minutes after Noon, the Téméraire was expressly ordered by signal to take her station astern of the Victory[2].

Mr. James proceeds: "The direction in which the Combined Fleet now lay, with a home-port scarcely seven leagues off on the lee bow, and the evident forging ahead of the Ships, whereby that distance was every minute diminishing, induced Lord Nelson to steer a trifle more to the northward, and to telegraph his Second in Command, 'I intend to pass through the Van of the Enemy's Line, to prevent him from getting into Cadiz.' The reserved order of that Line, in the prevailing state of the wind, had produced another danger to be guarded against: it had brought the shoals of San-Pedro and Trafalgar under the lee of both Fleets. Accordingly, at 11h. 30m. A.M.,[3] the Victory made the signal (No. 63, with the preparative) for the British Fleet to prepare to anchor at the close of day[4]."

"During the five hours and a half," says Captain Blackwood, "that I remained on board the Victory, in which I was not ten times from his side, he frequently asked me, what I should consider as a Victory? the certainty of which he never for an instant seemed to doubt, although from the situation of the land he questioned the possibility of the subsequent preservation of the Prizes. My answer was, 'That considering the handsome way in which the Battle was offered by the Enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the proximity of the land, I thought if fourteen Ships were captured, it would be a glorious result;' to which he always replied, 'I shall not, Blackwood, be satisfied with anything short of twenty[5].'"

[1] Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 445.

[2] "At 12.15 Victory 269, Téméraire, with the Victory's pendant."—*Conqueror's Log.*

[3] According to the Naiad's log, this signal was not made until 12 o'clock, nearly half an hour after the memorable telegraphic signal "England expects," &c.

[4] James's Naval History, vol. iv. p. 34.

[5] Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 443.

At thirty-five minutes past eleven[6], Lord Nelson ordered that Signal to be made to his Fleet, which will ever form the watchword of Englishmen, and be coexistent with the English language and the British Empire:—ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY[7]. There are several relations of the circumstances connected with this memorable Signal. Captain Blackwood says,

"I was walking with him, on the poop, when he said, 'I'll now amuse the Fleet with a signal;' and he asked me, 'if I did not think there was one yet wanting?' I answered, that I thought the whole of the Fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about, and to vie with each other who should first get nearest to the Victory or Royal Sovereign. These words were scarcely uttered, when his last well-known Signal was made, ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. The shout with which it was received throughout the Fleet was truly sublime. 'Now,' said Lord Nelson, 'I can do no more. We must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty[8].'"

Mr. James, after mentioning that the signal to prepare to anchor had been made at 11h. 30m., says,—

"This done, no other signal seemed wanting, when Lord Nelson remarked, that he must give the Fleet something by way of a fillip. After musing awhile, he said, 'Suppose we telegraph that "Nelson expects every man to do his duty?"' The Officer, whom he was then addressing, suggested whether it would not be better, 'England expects,' &c. Lord Nelson rapturously exclaimed, 'Certainly, certainly;' and, at 11h. 40m. A.M., up went to the Victory's mizen topgallantmast-head, the first flag of the celebrated telegraphic message, 'ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY;'[7] a signal which, the instant its signification became fully known, was greeted with three cheers on board of every Ship in the Fleet, and excited among both Officers and Men the most lively enthusiasm[9]."

[6] Naiad's Log.

[7] This glorious sentiment, so characteristic of every aspiration of Nelson's mind, was conveyed by Sir Home Popham's telegraphic code of signals, in the following manner:—

Nos. 253 269 863 261 471 958 220 374 4 21 19 24.
ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS D U T Y.

It is very surprising that the inheritors of Nelson's name and honours have not adopted the Hero's immortal words for their Motto. How much more significant, and with what far more glorious events is that Signal associated, than the anomalous palm-tree, growing out of the sea, in their Arms, and the punning Motto of "Palmam qui meruit ferat," which was *not*, as has been generally said, chosen for NELSON by his Sovereign, and which therefore loses all its prestige and interest. It is not too late to make the change.

[8] Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 443. [9] James's Naval History, iv. 34.

The following are, however, the real facts as they have been related by Captain John Pasco, who acted as Flag Lieutenant of the Victory, and who has been so good as to testify to their accuracy in a letter to the Editor:—

"His Lordship came to me on the poop, and after ordering certain signals to be made, about a quarter to noon, he said, 'Mr. Pasco, I wish to say to the Fleet, ENGLAND CONFIDES THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY;' and he added, 'you must be quick, for I have one more to make, which is for Close Action.' I replied, 'If your Lordship will permit me to substitute the *expects* for *confides* the signal will soon be completed, because the word *expects* is in the vocabulary, and *confides* must be spelt.' His Lordship replied, in haste, and with seeming satisfaction, 'That will do, Pasco, make it directly.' When it had been answered by a few Ships in the Van, he ordered me to make the signal for Close Action, and to *keep it up:* accordingly, I hoisted No. 16 at the top-gallant mast-head, and there it remained until shot away."

Captain Blackwood says, "When Lord Nelson found the shot pass over the Victory, he desired Captain Prowse of the Sirius and myself, to go on board our Ships, and in our way to tell all the Captains of Line-of-Battle Ships, that he depended on their exertions; and that if, by the mode of attack prescribed, they found it impracticable to get into Action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an Enemy. He then again desired me to go away; and as we were standing on the front of the poop, I took his hand, and said, 'I trust, my Lord, that on my return to the Victory, which will be as soon as possible, I shall find your Lordship well, and in possession of twenty Prizes.' On which he made this reply, 'God bless you, Blackwood, I shall never speak to you again[1].'"

The position of the two Fleets, shortly before the Battle commenced, is shown, with all attainable accuracy, by the plan prefixed to this volume. The Enemy were lying-to, with their heads to the Northward, and did not, as is generally supposed, form one line, converging slightly to leeward, but in many cases their Ships were doubled on each other, so as to form two irregular lines, extending from about N.N.E. to S.S.W.: the Spaniards and French being mixed together without any regard to the Nation to which they belonged. The British Fleet approached the Enemy in two columns, the weather led by Lord Nelson in the Victory, followed by the Téméraire, Neptune, Conqueror, Leviathan, Ajax, Orion, Agamemnon, Minotaur, Spartiate, and Britannia; and the Africa, which had been sent to look out, approaching from the Northward. The lee column was led by Vice-

[1] Clarke and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 446. See also Captain Blackwood's letter to his wife, of the 22nd of December, post.

Admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign, followed by the Belleisle, Mars, Tonnant, Bellerophon, Colossus, Achille, Polyphemus, Revenge, Swiftsure, Defence, Thunderer, Defiance, Prince, and Dreadnought. The wind was very light from the N.W., with a heavy ground swell from the Westward, and though all possible sail was set, our Ships did not advance at a greater rate than a mile and a half an hour. Cape Trafalgar at noon bore from the Victory about E. b. S. eighteen or twenty miles[2].

Mr. James says, "The Commander-in-chief in the Bucentaure, with the Santisima-Trinidad as his second ahead, was directly in front of the Victory, the leader of the weather column; and the Santa-Ana, the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Alava, was in the same direction from the Royal-Sovereign, the leader of the lee column. The Spanish Commander-in-chief, Admiral Gravina, in the Principe-de-Asturias, was the rearmost ship of the Fleet. Of the Frigates it may suffice to state, that they were ranged in an inner line considerably to leeward of the fighting line. One, however, in the centre, believed to have been the Rhin, was so near as to be seen by the Royal-Sovereign repeating signals; a circumstance that induced Vice-Admiral Collingwood, a few minutes before the action commenced, to telegraph Lord Nelson, that the Enemy's Commander-in-chief was on board a frigate."

"According to the average time noted down on board the different ships of the British Fleet, it was just at noon, the wind very light, the sea smooth with a great ground swell setting from the westward, and the sun shining, in a beautiful manner, upon the fresh painted sides of the long Line of French and Spanish ships, that the Fougueux, the second astern of the Santa-Ana, whose station was a little abaft the centre of the combined Line, opened by signal a fire upon the Royal-Sovereign, then bearing on the French ship's larboard bow, and considerably within gun-shot; also bearing from the Victory south-east, distant about two miles, and from her own second astern, the Belleisle, about west by south three quarters of a mile. Immediately the three British Admirals hoisted their respective flags, and the ships of both divisions of the Fleet, the white or St.-George's ensign; a measure adopted to prevent any confusion in the heat of battle, from a variety of National flags. As an additional mark of distinction, each British ship carried, or was ordered to carry, a Union-jack at her main topmast-stay, and another at her fore topgallant-stay[3]. At the Victory's main topgallantmast-head, also, was fast belayed Lord Nelson's customary signal on going into action, No. 16, 'Engage the Enemy more closely;' consisting of two flags, quarter red and white over blue, white, and red, or the Dutch republican ensign reversed[4]. At about

[2] Scarcely any two Ships' Logs agree in the Bearings and Distance at Noon on the 21st, and no Observation was taken.

[3] Vide p. 104, ante.

[4] Not so: the uppermost flag (No. 1) was white with a blue cross.

the same time that the firing commenced, the ships of the Combined Fleet hoisted their ensigns, and the Admirals (with the exception, to which we shall presently advert, of the French Commander-in-chief), their flags. In addition to her ensign, every Spanish ship also hung to the end of the spanker-boom a large wooden cross."

"At about 10 minutes past noon, having reached a position close astern of the Santa-Ana, the Royal-Sovereign fired into her, with guns double-shotted; and with such precision as, by the subsequent acknowledgment of the Spanish Officers, to kill or wound (incredible as it may appear) nearly 400 of her crew, and to disable fourteen of her guns. With her starboard broadside, similarly charged, the Royal-Sovereign raked the Fougueux, but, owing to the distance, and the smoke, with little if any effect. It was just as the Royal-Sovereign was passing between these two Enemy's ships, that Vice-Admiral Collingwood called out to his Captain: 'Rotheram, what would Nelson give to be here!' And, by a similar coincidence, Lord Nelson, the moment he saw his friend in his enviable position, exclaimed, 'See how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action.'"

"Having, in the most gallant manner, passed under the stern of and saluted the Santa-Ana in the way already mentioned, the Royal-Sovereign put her helm a-starboard, and, without any difficulty, ranged close alongside of her; so close that the guns were nearly muzzle to muzzle. Between the two three-deckers a tremendous cannonade ensued. But the Royal-Sovereign soon found that she had more than one opponent to contend with. The Fougueux, having bore up, raked her astern; and ahead of the English ship, at the distance of about 400 yards, lay the San-Leandro, who, wearing, raked her in that direction; while, upon the Royal-Sovereign's starboard bow and quarter, within less than 300 yards, were the San-Justo and Indomptable.

"So incessant was the fire kept up by all these ships, that the people of the Royal-Sovereign frequently saw the shots come in contact with each other. Aware, at length, of the injury which they were thus sustaining by their own cross fire, and observing that three or four British ships were fast approaching to the support of their gallant leader, the four two-deckers, one by one, drew off from the Royal-Sovereign, and left her to combat solely with the Santa-Ana; who, although in force rather more than a match for her antagonist, began already to exhibit proofs that, in practical gunnery, she was decidedly her inferior.

"For upwards of 15 minutes the Royal-Sovereign was the only British ship in close Action. At the end of that time, when the former had taken a position upon her opponent's lee bow, and was making the best possible use of it, the Belleisle, hauling up, fired a broadside into the lee quarter of the Santa-Ana, and then bore away towards the Indomptable. Owing to some of the ships astern of the Fougueux pressing forward to support the centre, while others remained with their sails aback or shivering, the Franco-Spanish line (if line we must call it) was becoming even

more irregular than it had been. The slanting direction in which, on account of this movement, the British lee column was obliged to advance, enabled the ships to discharge their starboard guns at the Enemy's rear; and an interchange of animated firing ensued, the smoke from which, for the want of a breeze to carry it off, spread its murky mantle over the combatants, and increased the confusion into which the rear of the combined Fleet had already been thrown by the crash at its centre.

"Lord Nelson had already, in a two-decker, evinced how little he dreaded coming in contact with a Spanish first-rate; and even the towering and formidable-looking four-decker at present in front of him had, on that very occasion, been driven from her purpose by his well-known prowess. But, although he directed the VICTORY'S

[5] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Victory*, from the morning of Monday, October the 21st, to Noon on Tuesday the 22nd, 1805.—"At 4 A.M. wore ship. At 6 observed the Enemy bearing E. by S., distance 10 or 11 miles—bore up to the Eastward—out all reef topsails—set steering-sails and royals. 6 cleared for quarters. At 8 light breezes and cloudy—body of the Enemy's Fleet E. b. S., distance 9 or 10 miles. Still standing for the Enemy's van—the Royal Sovereign and her Line of Battle steering for the centre of the Enemy's Line—the Enemy's Line extending about N.N.E. and S.S.W. At 11.40 Royal Sovereign commenced firing on the Enemy, they having begun firing at her at 11.30—at 11.50 the Enemy began firing upon us, and 12.4 opened our larboard guns at the Enemy's van. Light airs and cloudy—standing towards the Enemy's van with all sails set. P.M. At 12.4 opened our fire on the Enemy's van. In attempting to pass through their Line fell on board the tenth and eleventh Ships, when the Action became general. About 1.15 the Right Hon. Lord Nelson, K.B., and Commander-in-Chief, was wounded in the shoulder—at 1.30 the Redoutable having struck her colours, we ceased firing our starboard guns, but continued engaged with the Santissima Trinidada, and some of the Enemy's Ships on the larboard side—observed the Téméraire between the Redoutable and another French Ship, both of which had struck. The Action continued general until 3 o'clock, when several of the Enemy's Ships around us had struck—observed the Royal Sovereign with the loss of her main and mizen masts, and several of the Enemy's Ships around her dismasted. At 3.30 observed four Sail of the Enemy's van tack, and stand along our Line to windward—fired our larboard guns at those they would reach—at 3.40 made the signal for our Ships to keep their wind, and engaged the Enemy's van coming along our weather line. At 4.15 the Spanish Rear-Admiral to windward struck to some of our Ships which had tacked after them—observed one of the Enemy's Ships blow up, and 14 Sail of the Enemy's Ships standing towards Cadiz, and 3 Sail of the Enemy's Ships standing to the Southward. Partial firing continued until 4.30, when a Victory having been reported to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B., and Commander-in-Chief, he died of his wound. At 5 the mizenmast fell about 2 feet above the poop, the lower masts, yards, and bowsprit all crippled, rigging and sails very much cut. The Ships around us very much crippled—several of our Ships pursuing the Enemy to leeward—saw the Vice-Admiral's flag flying on board H. M. Ship Euryalus, and some of our Ships taking possession of the Prizes—struck topgallant-masts, got up runners and tackles to secure lower masts—employed clearing the wrecks of the yards and rigging—wore ship and sounded in 32 fathoms sandy bottom—stood to the Southward under the remnants of the foresail and main-topsail—sounded from 19 to 13 fathoms. Tuesday, 22nd, A.M. At 2 wore ship. At daylight saw our Fleet and Prizes, 43 Sail in sight, still closing with our Fleet. At 6 Cape Trafalgar bore S.E. by E., distance 4 or 5 leagues—at 6.30 saw three of the Enemy's Ships to leeward, standing towards Cadiz—fresh breezes and cloudy—employed knotting the fore and main rigging,

to be steered towards the bow of his old opponent, it was not with the intention of attacking her: a Spanish Rear-Admiral, whatever the force of his ship, was considered an unworthy object while a French Vice-Admiral commanded the Fleet. Lord Nelson did not feel a doubt, and the sequel proved he was correct, that M. Villeneuve was in one of the two or three ships next astern of the four-decker; and, knowing that, to fetch a ship laying to at a distance ahead, he must keep her on his lee bow, he ordered the Victory to be steered in the manner just related.

"Although every glass on board the Victory was put in requisition to discover the Flag of the French Commander-in-chief, all the answers to the repeated questions of Lord Nelson on the subject ended in disappointment. The four-decker's Flag at the mizen could be made out, and some signals were occasionally seen at the main of two or three of the ships, but no French Flag at the fore[6]. Often did the little man himself, with his remaining eye, cast an anxious glance towards the Franco-Spanish Line in search of the ship which he meant the Victory first to grapple with; and so lightly did Lord Nelson value personal risk, that, although urged more than once on the subject, he would not suffer those barriers from the Enemy's grape and musketry, the hammocks, to be placed one inch

and fishing and securing the lower masts—struck the foretopmast for a fish for the foremast, which was very badly wounded. At noon fresh breezes and hazy." —The Editor is indebted to Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, G.C.B., who commanded the Orion, at Trafalgar, for the following communication:—

"In Lord Nelson's Memorandum of the 9th of October, 1805 (Vide. p. 89, ante), he refers to 'an Advanced Squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked Ships,' to be added to either of the two lines of the Order of Sailing as may be required; and says that this Advanced Squadron would probably have to cut through, 'two, three, or four Ships of the Enemy's centre, so as to ensure getting at their Commander-in-Chief, on whom every effort must be made to capture;' and he afterwards twice speaks of the Enemy's van coming to succour their rear. Now I am under the impression that I was expressly instructed by Lord Nelson, (referring to the probability of the Enemy's van coming down upon us,) being in the Orion, one of the eight Ships named, that he himself would probably make a feint of attacking their van in order to prevent or retard it. I have no doubt of the Victory having hauled out to port for a short space, and of my calling the attention of my First Lieutenant Croft, to the circumstance of her having taken her larboard and weather studding-sails in, whilst she kept her starboard and lee studding-sails set and shaking, in order to make it clear to the Fleet, that his movement was merely a feint, and that the Victory would speedily resume her course and fulfil his intention of cutting through at the centre. In admiration of this movement I observed to Lieut. Croft, 'how beautifully the Admiral is carrying into effect his intentions,' and it was this exposure to the raking fire of several of the Ships ahead of the French centre, that occasioned the Victory being so much cut up before she reached her proposed position."

The Log of the Victory does not notice this preceeding, nor is it expressly mentioned in that of any other Ship; but the *Journal* of the Orion, in the Admiralty Office, shows that the impression on Sir Edward Codrington's mind is perfectly correct. (Vide p. 192, post.)

[6] "It was probably signals, made when the Victory was much closer, that gave rise to the following entry in the log of the Spartiate: 'Observed her bearing down between a Spanish four-decker and a French two-decker, with Admiral's flags at the main.'"—*James.*

higher than, to facilitate his view of objects around him, they were accustomed to be stowed. The Victory, meanwhile, was slowly advancing to a gun-shot distance from the Enemy's Line.

"At 20 minutes past noon, which was about 20 minutes after the Fougueux had opened her fire upon the Royal-Sovereign, and about 10 after the latter had passed under the stern of the Santa-Ana, the Bucentaure fired a shot at the Victory, then, with studding-sails set on both sides, steering about east and going scarcely a knot and a half through the water. The shot fell short. Two or three minutes elapsed, and a second shot was fired; which, the Victory then about a mile and a quarter distant, fell alongside. A third shot almost immediately followed, and that went over the ship. One or two others did the same, until, at length, a shot went through the Victory's main top-gallantsail; affording to the Enemy the first visible proof that his shot would reach. A minute or two of awful silence ensued; and then, as if by signal from the French Admiral, the whole van, or at least seven or eight of the weather-most ships, opened a fire upon the Victory, such a fire as had scarcely before been directed at a single ship. In a few minutes a round shot killed Mr. John Scott, Lord Nelson's public secretary, while he was conversing with Captain Hardy.

"Since the commencement of the firing the wind had gradually died away to a mere breath. Still the Victory, driven onward by the swell and the remains of her previous impetus, was going slowly ahead, in the direction, now, of the interval between the Santisima-Trinidad and Bucentaure: both of which ships, aided occasionally by the Redoutable astern of the latter, continued upon her a very heavy and destructive fire. To this heavy and unremitting cannonade the Victory neither did, nor from her position could, bestow any return. In a very few minutes, however, after the firing had opened upon her, one of the foremost guns on the starboard side went off by accident. In a private ship this would scarcely have been noticed; but, as happening on board the ship of the Commander-in-Chief, it excited the attention of the Fleet, and was minuted down in the log of one ship, the POLYPHEMUS[1], as a real commencement of the Action by the Victory.

[1] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Polyphemus*, from the morning of Monday the 21st, to Noon on Tuesday the 22nd of October 1805.—"A.M. At 5.45 saw the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line, 5 Frigates, and 2 Brigs, formed in a line ahead on the starboard tack. At 6.30 answered general signal 13—prepared for battle—saw the Enemy, in a confused state, forming a line on the larboard tack—the Victory made the general telegraph signal, 'England expects every man will do his duty,' which being told to the Ship's company, was answered with three cheers, and returned by the Dreadnought on our starboard beam—observed the Royal Sovereign break the Enemy's line in the centre, and placed herself alongside a Spanish three-decker, at the same time receiving a heavy fire on the starboard quarter from a French two-decker, and several others at the same time raking her—when the smoke cleared away a little, observed the Spanish three-decker and Sovereign had wore on the larboard tack, still keeping up a heavy fire—the Enemy's centre began a general firing on the Tonnant, Belleisle, and Bellerophon, who were standing on also to break the Enemy's line—saw one of their topmasts shot away—about 20 before 12 observed the Victory fired upon by the

"Seeing, by the direction of her course, that the Victory was about to follow the example of the Royal-Sovereign, the French and Spanish ships ahead of the British weather column closed like a forest. This movement, headed by the stoppage in the headway of the Santa-Ana, and by the bearing up of the two Spanish ships ahead of her in the manner already related, divided the Combined Line nearly in the centre, leaving, including the Redoutable from her station astern of the San-Leandro, 14 ships in the van, and 19 in the rear, with an interval between them of at least three quarters of a mile.

"Just as she had got within about 500 yards of the larboard beam of the Bucentaure the Victory's mizen topmast was shot away about two thirds up. A shot also struck and knocked to pieces the wheel; and the ship was obliged to be steered in the gun-room, the first Lieutenant (John Quilliam) and Master (Thomas Atkinson)

Enemy's van, which was returned with a few of her foremost guns on the starboard side—the Enemy shortly after shot away her mizenmast, when the Victory opened a heavy fire, which was joined by the Téméraire, who was shortly dismasted—lost sight of the Commander-in-Chief owing to the smoke. At noon the Dreadnought hailed us, and requested we would permit him to pass, as it was his wish to get alongside a Spanish three-decker, which was a little on our starboard bow, yawed to starboard a little, receiving a heavy fire from the three-decker and the two next Ships astern of her—altered our course, and stood for the sternmost Ship, which, finding we could not haul up to, for the Swiftsure being close on our larboard quarter, and the Belleisle, who was totally dismasted, and receiving a heavy fire from a French two-decker, in the smoke of which we lost sight of her—the Dreadnought exchanged fire with the Spanish three-decker—the Swiftsure ranged up on our larboard side, and fired athwart our hawse—hailed her, and requested him not to fire into us—they shot away our ensign halyards—in about 15 or 20 minutes after, we took in our steering-sails, and fired two broadsides into the stern of a Ship next to the Spanish three-decker, who returned it, not having any other Ship opposing her—hauled up to starboard a little, and fired on the three-decker who had been raking us, but was bearing up out of the Line—at 3 commenced firing into the stern of the French line-of-battle Ship—shortly shot away her mizenmast and a maintopmast—filled to get on her bow, seeing she wished to make to join the Enemy's Squadron that were forming to leeward—shot away her foreyard, and observed her on fire in the foretop, when she ceased firing, and waved a Union Jack at her cat-head—hauled out to relieve the Defence, who was engaged by a Spanish two-decker, who, on seeing our manœuvres, hauled in her colours, which were hanging over her stern, and waved an English Jack from her traffle—bore up to prevent two Ships which had struck from joining the Enemy's Squadron—they proved to be the Berwick and Argonauta—observed the Prince range alongside the Achille, who was on fire, and fired several broadsides into her, not supposing she had struck to us, which she returned—sent a party of men and a petty officer on board the Berwick, and a Lieutenant and a party of men on board the Argonauta—saw the Pickle and Guernsey Schooner picking up men from the Achille. At 4 ceased firing in the rear. At 6 the van ceased firing. At 7 the Achille blew up. Employed repairing damages. Tuesday 22nd A.M. Inclinable to calm. At 8 strong gales and thick weather—close reefed the topsails—saw Admiral Collingwood's Flag on board a Frigate—strong gales and heavy squalls—employed fishing the mainmast—several wrecks and Ships of [the Line] in our possession in sight—found on examination to have expended 24 pr. shot 1000 in number and 18 pr. do. 900 in number. Damages sustained in the Action were the mizenmast shot through, maintopmast wounded, the spanker boom part shot away, one of the lower-deck guns disabled by a shot—the standing and running rigging much cut, and several shot through the sails, and a number of shot in the hull: had two men killed and four wounded."

relieving each other at this duty. Scarcely had two minutes elapsed before a double-headed shot killed eight Marines on the poop, and wounded several others: on which the Admiral ordered Captain Adair to disperse his men round the ship, that they might not suffer so much from being together. Presently a shot, that had come through a thickness of four hammocks near the larboard chess-tree, and had carried away a part of the larboard quarter of the launch as she lay on the booms, struck the fore-brace bits on the quarterdeck, and passed between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy; a splinter from the bits bruising the left foot of the latter, and tearing the buckle from his shoe. 'They both,' says Doctor Beatty[8], 'instantly stopped, and were observed by the Officers on deck to survey each other with inquiring looks, each supposing the other to be wounded. His Lordship then smiled and said, 'This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long;' and declared that, through all the battles he had been in, he had never witnessed more cool courage than was displayed by the Victory's crew on this occasion."

"In a few seconds afterwards, as the Bucentaure slowly forged ahead, a large French ship was seen on her lee quarter, and another ship astern of the former, in the act of ranging up, as if with the intention of completely closing the interval. Now it was that Captain Hardy represented to Lord Nelson the impracticability of passing through the Line without running on board one of the ships. His Lordship quickly replied, 'I cannot help it: it does not signify which we run on board of. Go on board which you please: take your choice.' At this moment, such had been the effect of the heavy and unremitting fire to which she had so long been exposed, the loss on board the Victory amounted to 20 Officers and Men killed, and 30 wounded; a loss that would have been still more severe, had not the Enemy's guns been pointed at the rigging and sails, rather than at the hull of the ship. In consequence of this, every studding-sail boom on the foremast (the Victory, unlike other ships, had no booms rigged out upon her mainmast) had been shot off close to the yard-arm, and every sail, especially on the foremast, was like a riddle: her almost new foresail, indeed, had from 80 to 100 yards of it stripped from the yard. This clearly shows what an advantage the centre and rear had lost in not having opened an earlier fire upon the Royal Sovereign. 'Quel but avantageux,' says a French writer, 'offraient aux canonniers ces deux groupes de vaisseaux, dont chacun présentait une quantité de mâts et de vergues et une masse de cordages et de voiles, où pas un boulet ne devait être perdu[9].'

"At 1 P.M.[1] the 68-pounder carronade on the larboard side of the

[8] Dr. Beatty's Narrative will be found in a subsequent page.

[9] "Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi., p. 170." Vide a subsequent page.

[1] "According to the Victory's log, at four minutes past noon; but that would allow 14 minutes only for the Victory, with scarcely a breath of wind, to go a distance of at least a mile and a half. We know also that, owing to the death early in the action of the two persons whose places (in succession) it was to take minutes, the log entries were written the next day. Moreover the log of the Spartiate, one of the best kept in the Fleet, says: 'At 12h. 59m., Victory

Victory's forecastle, containing its customary charge of one round shot and a keg filled with 500 musket balls, was fired right into the cabin windows of the Bucentaure. As the Victory slowly moved a-head, every gun of the remaining 50 upon her broadside, all double, and some of them treble shotted, was deliberately discharged in the same raking manner. So close were the ships, that the larboard main yard-arm of the British three-decker, as she rolled, touched the vangs of her opponent's gaff: so close indeed, that had there been wind enough to blow it out, the large French ensign trailing at the Bucentaure's peak might, even at this early period of the action, have been a trophy in the hands of the Victory's crew. While listening, with characteristic avidity, to the deafening crash made by their shot in the French ship's hull, the British crew were nearly suffocated with clouds of the black smoke that entered the Victory's port holes; and Lord Nelson, Captain Hardy, and others that were walking the quarterdeck, had their clothes covered with the dust which issued from the crumbled wood-work of the Bucentaure's stern.

"Although the work of scarcely two minutes, and although not a mast or yard of the Bucentaure was seen to come down, the effects of the British three-decker's broadside upon the *personnel* of the French ship, as acknowledged a day or two afterwards by Vice-Admiral Villeneuve, and long subsequently by his Flag-Captain, M. Magendie, was of the same destructive character as the broadside poured by the Royal-Sovereign into the stern of the Santa-Ana. The amount which the Bucentaure's Officers gave, as the extent of their loss in killed and wounded by the Victory's fire, was 'nearly 400 men.' They represented, also, that twenty of their guns were dismounted by it, and that the Bucentaure was reduced to a comparatively defenceless state.

"Prevented by position, even had she not been incapacitated by loss, from returning the Victory's tremendous salute, the Bucentaure found an able second in the Neptune. This fine French 80, the moment the Victory's bows opened clear of the Bucentaure's stern, poured into them a most destructive fire. Among other damages occasioned by it, the flying jib-boom and sprit and sprit topsailyards were cut away; also the starboard cathead was shot completely off, notwithstanding its immense stoutness. The bower anchor, and a sheet anchor stowed near it, were also quite disabled: and a third anchor on that side was much injured. Several shot also entered the Victory's bows between wind and water, and the foremast and bowsprit were badly wounded.

commenced firing.'"—*James*. The Logs of other Ships vary as to the time when the Victory began the action, from 12.4 to 12.59, *i.e.* nearly an hour. But Mr. James, in relying on the Log of the Spartiate, seems to have overlooked a statement which was added to it, that the watch by which the minutes of the Action were taken "appears to have been too fast 34 minutes." (*Vide* p. 168, post.) The Victory was followed by the Téméraire, and her Log states that the Victory opened her fire at 25 minutes past noon; while the Log of the Neptune, the next Ship, says, at 4 minutes past noon, and that she herself began firing at 12.10. (*Vide* the Logs, post.) Such, however, are the discrepancies in all accounts of Battles!

"The Neptune, fearing, as the Victory advanced, that she intended to run on board of her, set her jib, and keeping away a little, ranged ahead; but, Captain Hardy having decided to run on board the ship on his starboard hand, and into which a broadside had been poured the instant it would bear with effect, the Victory put her helm hard a-port. This quickly brought her head in the direction of the Redoutable; who, with her foremost guns continued to aid the Neptune in raking the Victory, and with her aftermost ones fired occasionally at the Téméraire, as the latter drew out from the wake of her leader. Just, however, as the Victory was coming in contact with her, the Redoutable shut most of her lowerdeck ports, and fired from them no more. In about a minute after she had shifted her helm, the Victory ran foul of the Redoutable; the sheet anchor of the one striking the spare anchor of the other.

"Very soon afterwards, or at about 1h. 10m. P.M., the two ships dropped alongside of each other. This account corresponds with that given by the French. 'Nelson,' says M. Parisot, 'voyant qu'il (the Redoutable's Captain) n'était pas disposé à plier, fit venir le Victory au vent tout d'un coup, et le laissant tomber en travers, il aborda de long en long le Redoutable[2].' Owing to the slight impetus in the Victory, caused by the want of wind, the concussion of the firing would probably have separated her from the Redoutable, had not the Victory's starboard fore topmast studding-sail boom-iron, as the ships were in the act of rebounding off, hooked into the leech of the Redoutable's fore topsail. This held the ships together; and with the lowerdeck guns of the Victory touching the side of the Redoutable, and the latter's mainmast in a line about midway between the former's fore and main masts, the two ships fell off a few points from the wind.

"Almost immediately after the Victory had got hooked alongside the Redoutable, Mr. William Willmet, the boatswain of the former, found a ready means of clearing the French ship's gangways by firing the starboard 68-pounder carronade, loaded as the larboard one had been, right upon the Redoutable's decks. The guns of the middle and lower decks were also occasionally fired into the Redoutable, but very few of the 12-pounders, on account chiefly of the heavy loss among those who had been stationed at them. The Redoutable, on her part, fired her maindeck guns into the Victory, and used musketry, as well through her ports into those of the Victory, as from her three tops down upon the latter's deck. In her fore and main tops, also, the Redoutable had some brass cohorns, which, loaded with langridge, were frequently fired with destructive effect upon the Victory's forecastle. The larboard guns of the Victory were fired occasionally at the Bucentaure; but it was with little or no effect, the latter ship continuing to move to the northward, while the Victory and Redoutable kept inclining their heads to the eastward. The Santisima-Trinidad also received into her starboard or lee quarter and stern a portion of the Victory's fire.

"Never allowing mere personal comfort to interfere with, what

[2] "Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi., p. 171."

he considered to be, the good of the service, Lord Nelson, when the Victory was fitting to receive his Flag, ordered the large skylight over his cabin to be removed, and the space planked up, so as to afford him a walk amidships, clear of the guns and ropes. Here, along an extent of deck of about 21 feet in length, bounded abaft by the stancheon of the wheel and forward by the combings of the cabin ladder-way, were the Admiral and Captain Hardy, during the whole of the operations we have just detailed, taking their customary promenade. At about 1h. 25m. P.M., just as the two had arrived within one pace of the regular turning spot at the cabin ladder-way, Lord Nelson, who, regardless of quarterdeck etiquette, was walking on the larboard side[a], suddenly faced left about. Captain Hardy, as soon as he had taken the other step, turned also, and saw the Admiral in the act of falling. He was then on his knees with his left hand just touching the deck. The arm giving way, Lord Nelson fell on his left side, exactly upon the spot where his Secretary, Mr. Scott, had breathed his last, and with whose blood his Lordship's clothes were soiled.

"On Captain Hardy's expressing a hope that he was not severely wounded, Lord Nelson replied: 'They have done for me at last, Hardy.' 'I hope not,' answered Captain Hardy. 'Yes,' replied his Lordship, 'my backbone is shot through[4].' The wound was by a musket-ball, which had entered the left shoulder through the fore part of the epaulet, and, descending, had lodged in the spine. That the wound had been given by some one stationed in the Redoutable's mizen top was rendered certain, not only from the nearness (about 15 yards) and situation of the mizen top in reference to the course of the ball, but from the circumstance that the French ship's maintop was screened by a portion of the Victory's mainsail as it hung when clewed up. That the ball was intended for Lord Nelson is doubtful, because, when the aim must have been taken, he was walking on the outer side, concealed in a great measure from view by a much taller and stouter man. Admitting, also (which is very doubtful), that the French seaman or marine, whose shot had proved so fatal, had selected for his object, as the British Commander-in-chief, the best dressed officer[5] of the two, he would most probably have fixed upon Captain Hardy, or, indeed, such, in spite of Dr. Beatty's print, was Lord Nelson's habitual carelessness, upon any one of the Victory's Lieutenants who might have been walking by the side of him. Serjeant Secker of the marines, and two seamen, who had come up on seeing the Admiral fall, now, by Captain Hardy's direction, bore their revered and much lamented Chief to the cockpit.

"Previously to our entering upon the account of each ship's proceedings, we will endeavour to present a general view of the

[a] "This may be relied upon as correct, although completely at variance with the account published by the Victory's surgeon (Beatty, p. 32), and which, owing to its apparent authenticity, has been made the groundwork of every other published account, including that in the first edition of this work."—*James.*

[4] "Beatty's Narrative," p. 33.

[5] But the four stars on Lord Nelson's coat must have rendered him more conspicuous than any other Officer.

engagement, and of its immediate result. Soon after the first four ships of the British lee division had cut through between the centre and rear of the Franco-Spanish line, the remainder, successively as they came up, pierced the mass (for it could no longer be called line) of Enemy's ships, in various directions, and found opponents as they could. Meanwhile the leading ships of the weather division had begun to engage in a similar manner, a little ahead of the centre. The Action, which had commenced, as we have elsewhere shown, at noon, arrived at its height about 1h. 30m. P.M. At 3 P.M. the firing began to slacken, and, at about 5 P.M., wholly ceased. Of the 14 van-ships of the Combined Line, reckoning to the Redoutable inclusive, three only were captured in their places. The remaining 11 wore out of the line. Of these 11, three were captured, and eight escaped; four, by hauling to windward, and four by running into Cadiz. Of the 19 rear-ships, 12, including one burnt, were taken, and seven escaped into Cadiz; making, as the result of the first day's proceedings, nine French (including one burnt), and nine Spanish, sail of the Line captured, total 18, and nine French, and six Spanish, sail of the Line escaped, total 15: of which latter number four French ships got away to the southward, and 11, five of them French and six Spanish, and most of the ships much shattered, with all the frigates and brigs, reached the bay of Cadiz.

"So far as to the collective operations of the two fleets in the Trafalgar Battle. Our attention is now due to the individual exertions of the ships on each side; and we shall proceed to give the most accurate account that our researches, far and near, have enabled us obtain, taking the British ships of each division, in the order in which, according to the best judgment to be formed from the variety of times noted down in their logs, they successfully got into action.

"The ROYAL SOVEREIGN[4] we left just as, after 15 minutes of close

[4] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Royal Sovereign*, from the morning of the 21st to Noon on the 22nd of October, 1805.—"Moderate breezes and fine weather. At daylight discovered the Enemy's Fleet to leeward, bearing from E.S.E. to E. b. N. The signal was made to chase, and form the line of battle into columns, each Ship to engage her opponent. Set studding sails at 11.00. Brought the Ship under her courses at 11.50. Began to engage a Spanish Ship at noon—no other Ship in Action. P.M. Moderate breezes—still in Action. At 12.40 the Spanish three-decker struck her colours. At this time the Belleisle came up, and began to engage a Spanish 84, when we lost our mizen-mast—the whole Fleet came up in turn, and the Action became general. At 3.30 the main-mast went by the board. At 5.00 the firing ceased, when the Euryalus frigate came and towed us out of the line. Admiral Collingwood then went on board the Euryalus, and hoisted his Flag—then the French and Spanish Ships which [had] struck was nineteen, and one blown up at the close of the Action. Employed securing the foremast, clearing the decks, and securing the guns, &c. At 8 Cape Trafalgar bore S.E. b. E. 7 or eight leagues; cut the clinch off the cable, being nearly shot away, and bent them again. At 12 wore ship, rigged a jury main-mast.—Tuesday, 22nd October A.M., fresh breezes—unbent the foresail and cast off from the Euryalus, when the Neptune took us in tow. At noon, strong breezes, with four of the Fleet in sight. Neptune towing us." The *Journal* of the Royal Sovereign contains the following additional information:—"Moderate breezes—

action with three or four ships, the Belleisle had come to her relief. The latter, passing on to the eastward, left the Royal Sovereign upon the Santa Ana's starboard bow. In a short time the Spanish three-decker lost her mizen topmast; and, at the end of about an hour and a quarter from the commencement of the combat, her three masts fell over the side. At about 2h. 15m. P.M., after a hot, and with the exception of the Belleisle's broadside, an uninterrupted, engagement between the two ships from 10 minutes past noon, the Santa Ana struck to the Royal Sovereign.

"This occurrence took place just as the mizenmast of the Royal Sovereign came down, and when her fore and main masts, from their shattered condition, were ready to follow it. No sooner, indeed, did the Royal Sovereign, in order to put herself a little to rights, move a short distance ahead of her prize, then her mainmast fell over on the starboard side, tearing off two of the lowerdeck ports. The foremast, having been shot through in several places, and stripped of nearly the whole of its rigging, was left in a tottering state. Hence the English three-decker was reduced to almost, if not quite, as unmanageable a state as the Spanish three-decker, which she had so gallantly fought and captured.

"The French accounts say: 'Le vaisseau la Santa Ana, vaillamment attaqué par l'Amiral Collingwood, fut non moins vaillamment défendu par le Vice-amiral Alava; mais, accablé par le nombre, il dut céder;'[5] and yet out of the 26 remaining British ships, no ship except the Belleisle, and that with merely a broadside in passing, asserts that she fired into the Santa Ana. Here is the proper place to notice the modesty with which Vice-Admiral Collingwood, in his official dispatch, refers to the part taken by his own ship. 'The Commander-in-chief in the Victory,' he says, 'led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at 12 o'clock by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the Enemy's Line, the Commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, &c.' The Royal Sovereign is not again mentioned, except in reference to matters that occurred subsequently to the battle.

"The loss sustained by the Royal Sovereign was tolerably severe: she had one lieutenant (Brice Gilliland), her master (Willia—Chalmers), one lieutenant of marines (Robert Green), two midshipmen (John Aikenhead and Thomas Braund), 29 seamen, and 13 marines killed; two lieutenants (John Clavell and James Bashford), one lieutenant of marines (James le Vesconte), one Master's Mate

at 12.20 the Spanish three-decker struck. At 12.40 our mizen-mast fell—shortly after the Action became general. At 4.50 the firing ceased, and the Euryalus came and took us in tow; the Admiral hoisted his Flag—Lord Nelson having died of his wounds—and took command of the Fleet. Employed fishing the foremast, and clearing the deck.—22nd. At noon strong breezes with rain—four of the Fleet in sight." A fuller account of the Royal Sovereign's brilliant conduct will be found in the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. pp. 177—182.

[5] "Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi. p. 179."

(William Watson), four midshipmen (Gilbert Kennicott, Granville Thompson, John Farrant, and John Campbell), her boatswain (Isaac Wilkinson), 69 seamen, and 16 marines wounded.

"Respecting the Santa Ana's loss in killed and wounded, nothing is known beyond the amount already specified as the alleged effect of her opponent's raking fire. That the Spanish ship's loss must have been uncommonly severe may be inferred, as well from the length and closeness of the action, as from the fact, that her starboard side was nearly beaten in by the Royal Sovereign's shot. Among the Santa Ana's dangerously, if not mortally wounded, was Vice-Admiral Alava; and it was understood that her killed and wounded comprised a great proportion of officers.

"After having, for the space of 20 minutes, sustained the tremendous fire opened by the rear of the Combined Line, and after having suffered, in consequence, a loss of between 50 and 60 men in killed and wounded, the BELLEISLE[6], at about a quarter past noon,

[6] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Belleisle*, from the morning of Monday the 21st to Noon on Tuesday the 22nd October, 1805.—"At daylight saw the Enemy's Fleet bearing East, distant about nine miles, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line, 3 Frigates, and a Brig. At 4.40 answered the general signal to form the Order of Sailing. At 6 answered the general signal to bear up and sail large, and prepare for battle—threw overboard clearing the Ship for Action 7 butts, &c.—out all reefs and made sail bearing down on the Enemy. At 8 light airs—body of the Enemy S.E., six miles, forming in a line of battle—Royal Sovereign S.E. b. S. 1 mile—the Admiral made the Britannia, Prince, and Dreadnought signal to take station as most convenient—at 8.40 Royal Sovereign made signal for Larboard Division to make more sail. At 9 the Admiral made the general signal to alter one point to port—at 9.20 the Royal Sovereign made the Belleisle's and Tonnant's signal to exchange places in the Line of Battle, and the Belleisle's signal to make more sail—set the royals and studding-sails—at 9.30 the Royal Sovereign made the Belleisle's signal to bear S.W. of her—at 9.40 the Royal Sovereign made the Belleisle's signal to alter course one point to starboard. At 11.50 the Royal Sovereign made the Belleisle's signal to keep closer order—at 11.53 the Admiral made the general signal to prepare to anchor after close of day—at 11.55 the Enemy from centre to rear, opened their fire on the Royal Sovereign and Belleisle, which was returned by the Royal Sovereign, and the Admiral made the signal for close action. At noon, distant from the Enemy's Line three quarters of a mile, reserving all our fire, with all sail set to cut their Line. Distance from the Royal Sovereign two cables' length. Light airs, with a heavy swell. Cape Trafalgar, S.E. b. E. 5 leagues. P.M. Light airs and hazy, with a heavy swell. 0.4 Royal Sovereign cut the Enemy's Line astern of a Spanish three-decked Ship, bearing a Rear-Admiral's flag—0.5 opened our fire on the Enemy—0.13 set the Enemy's line astern of a French 80-gun Ship, second to the Spanish Rear-Admiral's Ship, at the same time keeping up a heavy fire on both sides—0.40 our main-topmast was shot away. At 1.0 a great Ship bore up to rake us, and a Ship on each side engaging us. At 1.10 the mizen-mast went six feet above the deck. At 1.20 the Enemy's Ship on our starboard side sheered off—at 1.30 the Enemy's Ship, which had laid itself athwart our stern, placed herself on our larboard quarter, at the same time a fresh Ship ranged up at our starboard side—kept up a heavy fire on them as we could get our guns to bear, the Ship being lately unmanageable, most of her rigging and sails being shot. At 2.10 the main-mast went by the board—at 2.30 an Enemy's Ship placed herself across our starboard bow—at 2.40 the foremast and bowsprit went by the board—still engaging three of the Enemy's Ships. 3.15 one of our Ships passed our bow and took the fire off one of the Enemy's Ships laying there. At 3.20 the Enemy's Ship, on our starboard side, was engaged by one of our Ships. At 3.25 the Swiftsure passed our stern, and cheered us, and

exchanged a few shot with the Monarca, and passed through the Line abreast of the Fougueux, then distantly raking the Royal Sovereign. In hauling up on the larboard tack, the Belleisle was enabled, owing to the advanced position of the latter, to pour a full broadside into the lee quarter of the Santa Ana. Bearing away a little, the Belleisle then passed close astern of the Indomptable; who, quickly wearing, exchanged a few broadsides with her, and then bore up to the south-east. In the mean time the Belleisle was engaged with a Spanish Ship, the San Juan Nepomuceno, at some distance on her starboard beam. At about 45 minutes past noon the Belleisle's main topmast was shot away; and, as the Enemy's rear Ships were now pressing forward to support the centre, her situation become extremely critical.

"At 1 P.M. the Fougueux ranged up in the smoke on the Belleisle's starboard beam, and struck her at the gangway with her larboard bow, rolling at the same time with her fore yard over the British ship's quarterdeck. The Fougueux immediately began engaging the Belleisle, and in 10 minutes shot away her mizenmast about six feet above the deck, the wreck falling over the larboard quarter. In about 10 minutes more, on the Mars beginning to engage her, the Fougueux, who had received a smart fire from the Belleisle's aftermost guns, dropped astern and hauled to the northward. At 1 h. 30 m. P.M. the French Achille came ranging past the stern of the Belleisle's, then with her head a little to the southward of east, and stationed herself on the latter's larboard quarter. In this position, the Achille kept up a steady fire, with comparative impunity, on account of the wreck of the Belleisle's mizenmast masking her aftermost guns. Meanwhile the Aigle, having replaced the San Juan, was distantly cannonading the British ship on the starboard side; and the San Justo and San Leandro, as they stood athwart the bows of the Belleisle to join Admiral Gravina in the rear, opened a passing fire.

"Thus in a manner surrounded, the Belleisle soon had her

commenced firing on the Enemy, and into the Enemy's Ship on our larboard quarter. Ceased firing, and turned the hands up to clear the wreck. Sent a boat and took possession of the Spanish 80-Gun Ship, Argonaut. The Action still continuing general, cut away the wreck fore and aft. At 4.15 the Naiad came down and took us in tow—sent a Lieutenant and a division of men to the prize—saw a French Ship of the Line take fire. At 5.10 the French Ship blew up—observed several of the Enemy's Ships had struck, and several of the Enemy's Ships making off to leeward, and 4 French Ships of the Line going off on the starboard tack. At 5.30 the Action ceased—people employed securing the guns, clearing and cleaning Ship, and variously employed. At 8 mustered the Ship's company—found killed in battle, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Midshipman, and 31 Seamen and Marines; and 94 Seamen and Marines wounded.—Tuesday, 22nd October. At noon in tow by the Naiad, part of the Fleet in sight, and Cape Trafalgar N.E. b. E. 6 leagues. No observation." The accuracy of Mr. James's account of the proceedings of the Belleisle is questioned in Mr. Allen's Memoir of the Life and Services of her Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir William Hargood, G.C.B., 8vo. 1841, pp. 123—129, where it is said that not more than *five* instead of fifteen minutes elapsed before the Royal Sovereign was supported by the Belleisle. A very interesting narrative of the Action by her second Lieutenant of Marines, Paul Harris Nicolas, is reprinted at the end of that Memoir.

rigging and sails cut to pieces, and at 2 h. 10 m. P.M. lost her main-mast about four feet above the deck; the wreck of which fell upon the break of the poop, while the topmast, with the yards, sails, and shrouds, hung over upon the larboard side, where already lay the wreck of the mizenmast. Her larboard guns thus completely covered by wreck, the Belleisle was prevented from returning by a single shot the Achille's animated and destructive fire. At 2 h. 30 m. P.M., driven from her capital station upon the bows of the Victory and Téméraire, by the approach of the Leviathan, the French Neptune placed herself across the starboard bow of the Belleisle; and at 2 h. 45 m. the foremast and bowsprit of the latter, still engaged by two other ships, were shot away by the board.

"At 3 h. 15 m. P.M. the Polyphemus interposed herself between the Belleisle and Neptune. In five minutes more the Defiance took off the fire of the Aigle; and at 3 h. 45 m. P.M. the Swiftsure, passing astern of the Belleisle, commenced engaging the Achille, who about this time lost her main and mizen topmasts. As the Swiftsure passed close under the Belleisle's stern the two ships cheered each other; and to signify that, notwithstanding her dismasted and shattered state, the Belleisle still remained unconquered, a Union-jack was suspended at the end of a pike and held up to view, while an ensign was being made fast to the stump of her mizenmast. Thus, by the timely arrival of her friends, saved from being crushed by the overwhelming force around her, the Belleisle ceased firing. Observing soon afterwards on his larboard beam a Spanish two-decker that had already surrendered, Captain Hargood sent the master, Mr. William Hudson, and Lieutenant Owen of the marines (who volunteered although wounded) in the only remaining boat, the pinnace, and took possession of the 80-gun ship Argonauta.

"The Belleisle's hull was knocked almost to pieces: both sides of it were about equally damaged. Ports, port-timbers, channels, chain-plates, all exhibited unequivocal marks of the terrible mauling she had received. Her three masts and bowsprit, as we have seen, were shot away, and so was her figure-head. Her boats and anchors shared the same fate. If the Belleisle's damages were severe, her loss of men was not less so: she had two lieutenants (Ebenezer Geall and John Woodin), one midshipman (George Nind), 22 seamen, and eight marines killed; one lieutenant (William Ferrie), one lieutenant of marines (John Owen), her boatswain (Andrew Gibson), two Master's Mates (William Henry Pearson and William Cutfield), one midshipman (Samuel Jago), one first-class volunteer (J. T. Hodge), 67 seamen, and 19 marines wounded.

"In her way down astern of the Belleisle, the MARS[7] suffered

[7] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Mars*, from the Morning of Monday the 21st, to Noon on the 22nd of October, 1805.—"P.M. At 4.10 wore—out 3rd and 4th reefs of the topsails—Enemy's Fleet North—ships and frigates on the look-out in shore, making signal of the Enemy's Fleet being in sight. At daylight saw the Enemy's Fleet on our lee-beam—the wind being light the Commander-in-Chief at 6.9 made general signal, No. 72—at 6.14 do. 76 with compass signal

severely from the heavy raking fire of the ships ahead of her, the San Juan Nepomuceno, Pluton, Monarca, and Algésiras. As the Mars was directing her course to cut the line between the first two of these Ships, the Pluton, who was to windward of the San Juan, ranged ahead: whereupon, to avoid being raked by so close an opponent, the Mars hauled up, with the intention to pass on and cut the Line ahead of the San Juan. In attempting this manœuvre, the Mars was followed and engaged by the Pluton. Having by that time had her rigging and sails greatly damaged, the Mars was obliged to come head to wind in order to avoid running on board the Santa Ana; whereby the Mars lay with her stern exposed to the Monarca and Algésiras. At this moment, however, the Tonnant came up, and soon found full employment for both of those ships. Meanwhile, as she paid off in her completely unmanageable state, the Mars became also exposed to a heavy fire from the Fougueux, then with her larboard guns engaging the Belleisle, and presently received into her stern a most destructive fire from the Pluton; a fire that almost cleared the poop and quarterdeck of both Officers and men. It was at about 1h. 15m. P.M., while Captain Duff[s] was standing at the break of the quarterdeck looking over the side, that a cannon-shot from the Pluton struck him on the breast, knocked off his head, and cast his body on the gangway. The same shot killed two Seamen, who were standing close behind their Captain. The command now devolved upon Lieutenant William Hennah. By this time succour was at hand; and, while the Fougueux made off to the northward in the direction of the Téméraire, the Pluton stood away to the south-east to join Admiral Gravina.

"The Mars had her main topmast and spankerboom shot away, and her three lower masts, fore and main yards, and fore topmast, very badly wounded: her foremast, indeed was left in so shattered a state that it subsequently fell overboard. The main piece of her rudder was badly wounded, her stern and quarter much cut, and nine of the poop-beams, besides sundry knees, &c., shot to pieces.

E.N.E.—Fleet formed the order of sailing in two columns, the van led by the Victory, Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, and the Rear by the Royal Sovereign, under the command of Vice-Admiral C. Collingwood, and bore up in order to attack the Enemy. At 9.5 answered Victory's signal for the Mars to lead the lee division. At 11.45 the Enemy opened a very heavy fire on the Royal Sovereign, Belleisle, Mars, and Tonnant, which was not returned by us until we arrived close alongside their ships. At noon moderate and hazy—Royal Sovereign, Belleisle, Mars, and Tonnant engaged with the Enemy's lee division. P.M. At 1.15, Captain Duff was killed, and the poop and quarter-deck nearly cleared of officers and men, and all our running rigging shot away, so that the Ship was entirely unmanageable, and was raked frequently by the Enemy's ships. At 4 French Commander-in-Chief came on board from Bucentaur with his retinue. At 5.30 the firing ceased—employed splicing and knotting the rigging—all our masts badly wounded and no sails fit to set—Ship not so much disabled. Employed taking prizes and other of our own Ships in tow. At 8 Cape Trafalgar E.S.E. 4 leagues. At 12 light breezes and cloudy weather.—Tuesday 22nd, A.M. At 2 wore. At 9 mustered Ship's Company, and found we had 27 killed and 71 wounded. At 10 strong gales and heavy rain—employed about the rigging. At Noon ditto weather."

[s] Vide p. 70, ante.

The Ship had also some guns disabled, and had received several shot between wind and water. The loss on board the Mars was proportionably severe: she had her captain, one master's mate (Alexander Duff), two midshipmen (Edward Corbyn and Henry Morgan), 17 seamen, and eight marines killed, and two lieutenants (Edward William Garrett and James Black), her master (Thomas Cook), one captain of marines (Thomas Norman), five midshipmen (John Young, George Guiren, William John Cook, John Jenkins, and Alfred Luckraft), 44 seamen, and 16 marines wounded.

"With respect to the injuries sustained by the Pluton, the ship is represented to have been unable, after the Action, to muster more than 400 effective men out of a complement of about 700: consequently, her loss must have been severe. It appears, also, that the Pluton made three feet water an hour from the shot she had received in the hull.

"Having, as already stated, fired at the ships that were pressing upon the Mars, the TONNANT[9] steered straight for the larboard bow of the Algésiras, then moving slowly onwards the same as her companions in the line, and very near to her present leader, the Monarca. As the Tonnant advanced, the Algésiras, having already her main topsail to the topmast, backed her mizen topsail, and thus enabled the former, at about 45 minutes past noon, to run close under the Spanish ship's stern. Pouring in a raking fire, the Tonnant hauled up, and engaged the Monarca alongside: but, dreading to encounter so large and powerful a ship, the latter fired a few ineffective shot, dropped astern, and struck her colours, although she afterwards rehoisted them. The Tonnant's people believed, although they were not certain, that the Monarca struck; but the SPARTIATE[1], who, not being engaged until late, had leisure

[9] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Tonnant*, from the Morning of Monday the 21st, to Noon on Tuesday the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At 4 A.M. wore Ship. At 6 saw the Combined Fleet, 34 Sail of the Line—answered signal and bore up towards them. At noon began the battle. P.M. 0.30 the French Admiral came under our starboard quarter, when we was engaged with two other Ships. Our topmast and yards all shot away. 1.20 our Captain was wounded. 1.50 the Spanish Ship struck. Mr. Clements hailed her. She answered in the affirmative. At 2.5 the French Admiral's Ship under our quarter had lost her foremast—all her [men] driven off their decks. Lieutenant Bennett boarded her and had quiet possession of her. In this time Lieutenant Bennett going to take charge of the Spanish Ship, the boat was shot under him, and sunk, the men was saved, but the prize was taken care of by the Dreadnought. We continued to fire on the Enemy's Ships till 5.40 P.M. when one of their Ships blew up, and the rest that had not struck, run away in several directions. At 6 we began to clear the wreck and to clear our Ship for battle—obliged to cut away top-mast yards, sails, &c., main-yard, main-sail, and everything belonging thereto.—Tuesday 22nd. A.M. Fresh gale with rain—employed knotting and splicing our fore-rigging—the Spartiate took us in tow."

[1] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Spartiate*, from the Morning of Monday the 21st, to Noon on Tuesday the 22nd of October, 1805.—"A.M. 4.30 up main sail, wore Ship. 5.30 up foresail, crossed royal yards—daylight (6.10) saw the Enemy's Fleet to leeward N.N.E., laying to on the starboard tack, and forming a line of battle. 6.40 bore up, and made all sail, forming in two divisions—cleared Ship for Action. 8.55 the Enemy's Fleet wore together, and brought

for observation, saw the flag hauled down, and in her log says accordingly: 'At 1 h. 7 m. a Spanish two-decker struck to the Tonnant.'

to the wind on the larboard tack in one line, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line, 5 Frigates, and 2 brigs—all sail set throughout our Fleet bearing down. 11.55 * * The watch the minutes of the Action was taken by, appears to have been too fast 34 minutes: same error in the following, [*sic*] a gun was fired at the Enemy (supposed from the Bellerophon). 11.59 the Victory, Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, made telegraph signal 'England expects every man will do his duty.' Noon light breezes and hazy. P.M. Light winds with a swell from the Westward. 12.9 H. M. Ship Royal Sovereign, Vice-Admiral Collingwood, commenced the Action with the Enemy's centre, having cut through their line. 12.32 observed the Ship the Royal Sovereign was engaging (the Santa Anna) had her mizen top-mast shot away. 12.59 H. M. Ship Victory (Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, Commander-in-Chief,) commenced firing at a Ship ahead of her, she then bearing down on the Santissima Trinidada and a French two-decker, with a Flag at the fore. 1.4 the Tonnant lost her fore top-mast and main yard. 1.5 the Victory lost her mizen top-mast. 1.7 a Spanish two-decker struck to the Tonnant. 1.19 a Spanish two-decker's mizen-mast fell. 1.24 observed one of our three-decker's (supposed to be the Téméraire) main top-sail yard shot away. 1.25 the Santa Anna struck to the Royal Sovereign, she then making sail ahead to the next Ship. 1.36 the Téméraire lost her main top-mast. 1.39 the Santa Anna rolled over all her lower masts. 1.42 the French Admiral struck to the Victory. 1.45 came on board a Lieutenant from H. M. Ship Euryalus, with orders to engage wherever we could with most effect. 1.49 observed the Tonnant had wore, and had lost her main top-mast, an Enemy's ship being on board her on the quarter. 1.59 observed a Spanish two-decker, who was engaged by the Neptune, lose her main and mizen mast. 2.25 observed Santissima Trinidada's main and mizen masts go by the board, then engaged by the Neptune and Conqueror, the Africa raking a French two-decker and her. 2.30 the Spanish two-decker which had struck to the Neptune, lost her foremast and bowsprit. 2.37 the San Trinidada lost her foremast and bowsprit. 2.40 the Royal Sovereign lost her main and mizen masts. 2.45 one of the Enemy's two-decker's lost her main and mizen masts. 2.57 cut away our lower and top-mast studding sails, observing the van of the Enemy's Ships had wore to form a junction with their centre. At 3 hailed the Minotaur to allow us to pass ahead of her, hauled our wind to prevent the Enemy's design, five of them bore up, and 5 of them kept their wind to engage us and the Minotaur, four French and one Spanish. At 3.7 the Minotaur and Spartiate commenced close action with their headmost Ships, received and returned the fire of the five ships, with our topsails to the masts, occasionally filled to pass the Enemy's Ships that had struck. 3.40 observed the sternmost (a Spaniard) with her rigging and sails very much cut up, lay to on her quarter, with our fore and main top sails to the mast, all our after sail set, firing obliquely through her, she only returning at times from her stern-chase, and quarter guns. 4.10 wore Ship to engage her on the other tack, the other four Ships having left her on seeing some of our Ships coming to our assistance. 4.27 observed an Enemy's Ship on fire (L'Achille) in the S.E. quarter, a Frigate, the Pickle Schooner, and Entreprenante Cutter taking up their men. 4.42 the Spanish Ship engaged by the Spartiate and Minotaur had her mizen mast shot away. 5.10 she struck, after being very much disabled—she proved to be the El Neptuno, 80 guns. 5.20 the firing ceased—observed fourteen Ships of the Enemy in our possession, including the Santissima Trinidada, and the Santa Anna, three-deckers, two Admirals' Ships, and the Bucentaur, Admiral Villeneuve. 5.54 the Achille blew up—observed the Belleisle was totally dismasted—the Téméraire between two Enemy's Ships lashed alongside one of their main masts, across the Téméraire's booms—the Victory and Colossus had lost their mizen masts—other ways much cut up—eight of the Enemy's Ships totally dismasted—the four headmost Ships of the five, the Minotaur and Spartiate engaged, kept their wind to the Southward—

"Filling her main and mizen topsails, the Algésiras now evinced an intention to cross the stern of the Tonnant, who, by this time, had had her fore topmast and main-yard shot away; but the Tonnant, putting her helm hard-a-port, ran the Algésiras on board, and defeated the manœuvre. The bowsprit and anchors of the Algésiras getting entangled with the main rigging of the Tonnant, the two ships were held fast together, greatly, on account of their relative positions, to the advantage of the Tonnant. It was, doubtless, while the Tonnant's attention was thus occupied, that the Monarca, being left to herself, and having suffered comparatively little in the action, rehoisted her colours.

"While thus fast to the Algésiras on her starboard side, the Tonnant fired her larboard aftermost guns athwart the hawse of the Mars at the Pluton lying upon the latter's larboard bow, and her larboard foremost guns at the San Juan Nepomuceno lying upon her own bow. Meanwhile the Mars, until she and the Pluton dropped astern, fired several well-directed shot into the larboard quarter of the Algésiras.

"At about 1 h. 40 m. P.M. Captain Tyler received a severe wound, and was obliged to be taken below. The command of the Tonnant thereupon devolved upon Lieutenant John Bedford. In the mean time an animated cannonade was kept up between the two Ships; by which the Algésiras soon lost her foremast, and the Tonnant her main and mizen topmasts. The Algésiras made a serious attempt to board; but the Marines of the Tonnant maintained so steady and well-directed a fire, that the French crew did not succeed, except in the case of one man, who contrived to enter one of the Tonnant's main-deck ports, and whose life, to the credit of those who took him, was spared. At about 2 h. 15 m. P.M., just as her main and mizen masts were about to share the fate of her foremast, the Algésiras, after a very gallant defence, struck her colours; and Lieutenant Charles Bennett, with Lieutenant of Marines Arthur Ball, and about 48 men, stepped on board and took possession of her. In another quarter of an hour the San Juan hailed that she surrendered; and Lieutenant Benjamin Clement was sent in the jollyboat, with two hands, to take possession. The boat being damaged by shot, swamped, before she reached a quarter of the way. The two men could swim, but not the Lieutenant. While the latter was clinging to the boat, a shot struck her and knocked off her quarter. The boat then turned bottom upwards;

others making off to the N.E.—damages we sustained, three men killed, three officers and eighteen men wounded: masts, rigging, and sails very much cut up.—Employed getting Ship ready for Action again. 7 P.M. sent a party of Marines and a boat's crew on board the Intrepid (being part of an officer's guard ordered there)—received seven prisoners from her and Africa's boat. 8.40 out pinnace to take the Tonnant in tow. Fresh breezes, and dark cloudy weather—could not get the hawser to the Tonnant—employed knotting and splicing our rigging, getting Ship ready for Action again—in 2nd and 3rd reef topsails.—Tuesday 22nd. A.M. 8 strong breezes and cloudy—Fleet and prizes much scattered—Cape Trafalgar S.E. about 4 leagues—10 took the Tonnant in tow—fresh gales with hard rain."

and Lieutenant Clement held fast by the boat's fall until one of his two companions, a black man, Macnamara by name, swam to the Tonnant, and returned with a rope that led out of the ship's stern port. By this means a brave young Officer, who had been in two or three general actions of the preceding war, was saved to his country.

"Among the damages sustained by the Tonnant in the hull, was a bad wound in the rudder, a portion of the head of which was shot away; and a great part of her starboard quarter-piece, with the rails and gallery, was carried away by the Algésiras when the vessels got foul. The loss on board the Tonnant amounted to one midshipman (William Brown), 16 seamen, and nine marines killed; her captain (severely), boatswain (Richard Little), the captain's clerk (William Allen), one master's mate (Henry Ready), 30 seamen, and 16 marines wounded. The Algésiras had upwards of 200 men killed and wounded, including several officers; and among the mortally wounded, the brave and highly-respected Rear-Admiral Magon, who had previously been wounded in two places, but would not quit the deck.

"After having captured the Algésiras and disengaged herself from her prize, the Tonnant fired several shot at the squadron of M. Dumanoir passing to windward; but, having no boat left, could not send again to take possession of the San Juan. That Spanish ship, however, was shortly afterwards engaged and secured by the Dreadnought.

"In consequence of the novel mode of attack adopted by the Commander-in-Chief, each British ship, as she bore up in line ahead, was obliged to follow in the wake of her leader until close upon the enemy's line: her commander, then, acting up to Lord Nelson's instructions, as contained in the Memorandum[2], that no captain could do very wrong who placed his ship alongside that of an enemy, attached himself to the first Frenchman or Spaniard that crossed his path. Most of the captains had also received, on the morning of the action, Lord Nelson's verbal directions, transmitted through the captains of the frigates, that they were to break the enemy's line wherever they conveniently could. This, in effect, discretionary power was particularly beneficial towards the height of the battle, when the enemy's ships, by an irregular movement from the rear to the centre, and in some instances, from the centre and van to the rear, were every instant shifting their positions, and giving to their line, if line it could be called, a new face.

"It was not until full 15 minutes after the Tonnant had cut the Line, that her second astern, the BELLEROPHON[3], owing to her

[2] Vide p. 91 ante.

[3] The *Log* of H. M. Ship *Bellerophon* from daylight to sunset of the 21st of October, 1805, is thus quoted in a Letter from one of her Officers, dated on the 2nd of December following, and printed in the Naval Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 206; and as the Log in the Admiralty Office is not so full of details (though it agrees so far as it extends) as that extract, the latter is here given:—"At 12.10 Royal Sovereign opened fire on the Enemy's centre—12.13 answered 16 general—12.20 Royal Sovereign, at the head of the larboard division, broke the Enemy's

distance from the former and the lightness of the wind, was enabled to do the same. This she accomplished by passing under the stern of the Monarca, as the latter, with colours rehoisted, was dropping

Line astern of a Spanish three-decker, and engaged her to leeward, being followed by the Mars, Belleisle, and Tonnant, who engaged their respective opponents—12.25 opened our fire on the Enemy—12.28 Victory, at the head of the starboard division, opened her fire on the Enemy—12.30 engaging both sides in passing through the Enemy's Line, astern of a Spanish two-decker (El Monarca) —12.35 fell on board the French two-deck Ship l'Aigle whilst hauling to the wind, our fore-yard locking with her main one, kept up a brisk fire both on her, on our starboard bow, and a Spanish two-decker (El Monarca) on the larboard bow, at the same time receiving and returning fire with a Spanish two-decker (Bahama) on the larboard quarter, and receiving the fire of a Spanish two-decker (St. Juan Nepomuceno) athwart our stern, and a French two-decker (la Swiftsure) on the starboard quarter: the Action soon after became general. At 1 the main and mizen top-masts fell over the starboard side; main top-sail and top-gallant sail caught fire—1.5 the Master, and 1.11 the Captain fell; still foul of l'Aigle, and keeping up a brisk fire from the main and lower decks; quarter-deck, poop, and forecastle being nearly cleared by the Enemy's musketry, chiefly from troops on board l'Aigle—1.20 the jib-boom was shot away—1.40 l'Aigle dropt astern under a raking fire from us as she fell off, our Ship at this time quite unmanageable from braces, bowlines, &c. shot away—1.45 l'Aigle was engaged by the Defiance. 2.5 she struck—on the smoke clearing up, observed several of the Enemy's Ships had struck—fired several shot at El Monarca, our first opponent, when she struck. 3 Sent an Officer and party of men to take possession of her—3.6 the Ship being ungovernable, and in danger of falling on board of Tonnant, Téméraire, and Prizes, made 318 to Sirius—out boats and sent them a-head to tow—towed and swept the Ship clear of them—received prisoners from our Prizes. 4.5 answered 101—4.10 opened our fire on five French Ships, making off to windward, the sternmost of which was cut off, and struck to the Minotaur. 5.7 the firing ceased, thirteen Sail of the Enemy's Ships making off to leeward, four of their line to windward—5.20 answered 99 general—5.30 took possession of El Bahama, Spanish 74. Sunset one of the Prizes sunk, another blew up."

The Officer then adds:—"Thus far our Log; but it will not be amiss to mention, that whilst engaged with the five Ships in this situation, l'Aigle twice attempted to board us, and hove several grenades into our lower deck, which burst and wounded several of our people most dreadfully; she likewise set fire to our fore chains; our fire was so hot, that we soon drove them from the lower deck, after which our people took the quoins out, and elevated their guns, so as to tear her decks and sides to pieces: when she got clear of us, she did not return a single shot whilst we raked her; her starboard quarter was entirely beaten in, and, as we afterwards learnt, 400 men *hors de combat*, so that she was an easy conquest for the Defiance a fresh Ship: we were well matched, she being the best manned Ship in the Combined, and we in the British Fleet. Unfortunately situated as we were, I have no doubt she would have struck, had we been able to follow and engage her for a quarter of an hour longer; but had we been fairly alongside of her, half an hour would have decided the contest; for I must say I was astonished at the coolness and undaunted bravery displayed by our gallant and veteran crew, when surrounded by five Enemy's Ships, and for a length of time unassisted by any of ours. Our loss, as might be expected, was considerable, and fell chiefly on our prime seamen, who were foremost in distinguishing themselves; twenty-eight, including the Captain, Master, and a Midshipman, were killed outright; and 127, including the Captain of Marines, who had eight balls in his body, and his right arm shot off, before he quitted the deck; Boatswain, and five Midshipmen, were badly wounded, and about forty more slightly, so as not to be incapable of duty; nineteen of the wounded had already died before we left Gibraltar. I consider myself as very fortunate in having escaped unhurt, as our class suffered so severely. Our second Lieutenant, myself, and eight men

away from the Tonnant. In luffing up to lay the Monarca alongside to leeward, the Bellerophon, at about 50 minutes past noon, ran foul of the Aigle, the latter's main yard locking with her fore yard. The British Ship now fired from both sides, having the Monarca on the larboard, and the Aigle on the opposite bow. In a short time three other Enemy's Ships opened a cannonade upon her, the Montanez (we believe), with her aftermost guns on the larboard quarter, the French Swiftsure on the starboard quarter, and the Bahama, with some of her foremost guns, athwart her stern.

"At about 1 P.M. the Bellerophon's main and mizen topmasts fell over on the starboard side, and the main topsail and topgallantsail immediately caught fire with the flash of the guns, assisted by the hand-grenades which the Aigle's people kept throwing from

formed the party that took possession of the Monarca: we remained till the morning without further assistance, or we should most probably have saved her, though she had suffered much more than ourselves; we kept possession of her, however, for four days, in the most dreadful weather, when having rolled away all our masts, and being in danger of immediately sinking or running on shore, we were fortunately saved by the Leviathan, with all but about 150 prisoners, who were afraid of getting into the boats. I can assure you I felt not the least fear of death during the action, which I attribute to the general confidence of victory which I saw all around me; but in the prize, when I was in danger of, and had time to reflect upon the approach of death, either from the rising of the Spaniards upon so small a number as we were composed of, or what latterly appeared inevitable from the violence of the storm, I was most certainly afraid; and at one time, when the Ship made three feet water in ten minutes, when our people were almost all lying drunk upon deck, when the Spaniards, completely worn out with fatigue, would no longer work at the only chain-pump left serviceable; when I saw the fear of death so strongly depicted on the countenances of all around me, I wrapped myself up in a Union Jack, and lay down on deck for a short time, quietly awaiting the approach of death; but the love of life soon after again roused me, and after great exertions on the part of the British and Spanish officers, who had joined together for the mutual preservation of their lives, we got the Ship before the wind, determined to run her on shore: this was at midnight, but at daylight in the morning, the weather being more moderate, and having again gained upon the water, we hauled our wind, perceiving a three-decker (El Rayo) dismasted, but with Spanish colours up, close to leeward of us: the Leviathan, the first British ship we had seen for the last thirty hours, seeing this, bore down, and firing a shot a-head of us, the Rayo struck without returning a gun."

The Editor has been favoured by the Reverend Anthony Cumby with the copy of a very interesting letter written in March 1828, by his late father, Captain Cumby, who, as First Lieutenant of the Bellerophon, succeeded to the command when Captain Cooke fell, describing her proceedings. The only additional particulars are, however, that the men at the quarters on the lower deck wrote upon some of the guns in chalk "Victory or Death," and that one of the grenades thrown from L'Aigle set fire to the Gunner's store-room, and forced open the door into the Magazine passage, but fortunately the door was so placed with respect to the door opening from the passage into the magazine, that the same blast which blew open the store-room door shut to the door of the magazine. By the coolness of the Gunner, who merely requested a few hands with water, the fire was soon extinguished, and the accident was not generally known. The death of Lord Nelson was first suspected on board the Bellerophon in the evening of the 21st, by observing that there were no lights on board the Victory, and that the Euryalus, to which Ship they knew Vice-Admiral Collingwood had shifted his Flag, bore the Commander-in-Chief's lights.

her tops. At 1h. 5m. P.M. the Master was killed; and at 1h. 11m. Captain Cooke. The command now devolved upon Lieutenant William Pryce Cumby. Shortly afterward the Montanez dropped out of gun-shot astern, and the Bahama and French Swiftsure became engaged with the Colossus. The musketry from the Aigle had by this time played sad havoc upon the Bellerophon's quarter-deck, forecastle, and poop. At 1h. 40m. P.M. the Aigle, who had once or twice vainly attempted to board her opponent, dropped astern, exposed as she fell off to a raking fire, first from the Bellerophon herself, and then from the Revenge. The Bellerophon, now quite in an unmanageable state, fired a few shot at the Monarca, who instantly hauled down her colours for the last time, and was taken possession of by the former; as, nearly at the same time, was the Bahama, who had previously struck, to relieve herself from the destructive fire of the Colossus.

"The Bellerophon had her main and mizen topmasts shot away, her fore topmast, all three lower masts, and most of her yards, badly wounded, and her standing and running rigging nearly cut to pieces. In hull also she was much injured, having had several knees and riders shot away, and part of her lower deck ripped up, besides other damage. Her loss consisted of her captain, master (Edward Overton), one midshipman (John Simmons), 20 seamen, and four marines killed; one captain of marines (James Wemyss), her boatswain (Thomas Robinson), one master's mate (Edward Hartley), four midshipmen (William N. Jewell, James Stone, Thomas Bant, and George Pearson), 96 seamen, and 20 marines wounded. A great proportion of this heavy loss unfortunately arose from the explosion of a quantity of loose powder spilt about the decks from the cartridges; and which, but for the water that lay around the entrance of the magazine, must have destroyed the ship and all on board of her.

"Although no particular account can be given of the damage or loss sustained by the Aigle, it may with certainty be stated, that she suffered greatly in masts, rigging, and hull, and lost in killed and wounded, from the successive fire of the Bellerophon, Revenge, and Defiance, nearly two-thirds of her crew, including among the killed her Captain and First Lieutenant, and among the wounded several of her Officers. The loss on board the Monarca does not appear to have been recorded; but it must have been severe, from her first action with the Tonnant, and from the length of time she was exposed to the close and uninterrupted fire of the Bellerophon, one of the best manned, although one of the smallest, 74s in the British Fleet.

"At 1 P.M., or thereabouts, after having, during 10 minutes or so, in her efforts to close, received the fire of two or three Enemy's ships, the Colossus ran past the starboard side of the French Swiftsure; who had just before bore up, as well to avoid being raked by the Colossus, as to bring her larboard guns to bear upon the Bellerophon. The density of the smoke on the starboard side hid from view all the Enemy's Ships in that direction, until, having run

a short distance to leeward, the Colossus found herself close alongside of the Argonauta, whose larboard yard-arms locked in her starboard ones. A spirited cannonade now ensued between the two ships, and lasted for about 10 minutes, when the Argonauta's fire became nearly silenced, except from a few of her aftermost guns; a shot from one of which, just as the ships, driven apart by the concussion of the guns, began to settle broadside off, struck Captain Morris a little above the knee. As soon as, by this lateral movement, she had cleared her yards, the Argonauta paid off, and went away, receiving into her stern the parting fire of the COLOSSUS[4]. The latter, in the meanwhile, was warmly engaged on her larboard quarter, with the French Swiftsure, and also with the Bahama, who lay close on that ship's larboard bow, and fired at the Colossus across the Swiftsure's fore-foot.

"At a few minutes before 3 P.M., having forged ahead, the Swiftsure got between the Bahama and Colossus, and being thus more fully exposed to the latter's well-directed broadsides, soon slackened her fire and dropped astern. The Colossus was now enabled to devote her sole attention to the Bahama; who, on her mainmast falling, as it presently did, over her engaged side, showed an English jack from the hen-coops on her poop, to denote that she had struck. Meanwhile the French Swiftsure endeavoured to bear up under the stern of the Colossus; but the latter, wearing more

[4] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Colossus*, on Monday 21st October, 1805:—"A.M. moderate and clear. At 2 spoke the Naiad. At 4 the Enemy's lights in sight to the Eastward—daylight, the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line, 4 Frigates, and 2 Brigs on the starboard tack, E.S.E. 6 miles—our Fleet on the weather bow, all sail set to close them—cleared Ship for action.—P.M. Light winds and hazy weather. At 12.10 took our station between the Bellerophon and Achille—the Enemy's Fleet then ahead lying to, 34 Sail in Line of Battle, opening their fire on the Royal Sovereign. 12.30 Admiral Collingwood commenced the Action. At 12.50 receiving a galling fire from the Enemy's rear, began firing our starboard guns. At 1 passed our opponent in the Enemy's line, who bore up as we passed, to prevent being raked—engaged on both sides—all view of the Enemy on the starboard side obscured by the smoke until we found ourselves alongside one of the French Ships, on whose upper decks, after the Ships touched, there was not a man visible, but a fire from the guns which in ten minutes was silenced, except a gun in the after-part of her cabin. At 1.25 she dropped clear of us—at the time closely engaged with a French Ship on the larboard side, and a Spaniard a little further distant. At 3 the French Ship's fire almost silenced, dropped astern, when we were wholly engaged with the Spaniard, whose mizenmast falling, showed English colours to denote having struck—the French Ship at this time endeavoured to bear up under our stern, but on wearing quicker, only received a few of her larboard guns before giving her our starboard broadside, which brought her mizenmast down, and the Orion at this time giving her her first broadside her mainmast also fell, and they made signs to us of submission. Hauling up, our mizenmast fell over the starboard quarter. Sent Lieutenant Huish to bring the two Captains on board, who returned with the Captain of the French Ship Swiftsure, and Second of the Spaniard Bahama, her First being slain—observed many of the Enemy had surrendered—our sails and rigging very much cut, and quite unmanageable—four of the starboard lower-deck ports knocked up, while alongside the Enemy—received a fire from the Enemy's Van passing to windward—the Agamemnon took us in tow."

quickly, received a few only of the former's larboard guns, before she poured in her starboard broadside. This brought down the French Swiftsure's mizenmast. At the same time the Orion, in passing, gave the French Ship a broadside, which brought down her tottering mainmast; whereupon the Swiftsure made signs to the Colossus of having surrendered. In hauling up to take possession of her two prizes, the latter lost her wounded mizenmast over the starboard side.

"The mainmast of the Colossus was so badly wounded, that she was compelled, during the ensuing night, to cut it away; and her damages altogether were extremely severe. Her only remaining stick, the foremast, had been shot through in several places; two of her anchors and three of her boats had been destroyed, and some of her guns disabled. Four of her starboard lowerdeck ports had also been knocked away by running on board the Argonauta, and her hull in every part of it was much shattered. The Colossus lost in the action her master (Thomas Scriven), 31 seamen, and eight marines killed; her captain[5], two lieutenants (George Bully and William Forster[6]), one lieutenant of marines (John Benson), her boatswain (William Adamson), one master's mate (Henry Milbanke), eight midshipmen (William Herringham, Frederick Thistlewayte, Thomas G. Reece, Henry Snellgrove, Rawden M'Lean, George Wharrie, Timothy Renou, and George Denton), 115 seamen, and 31 marines wounded.

"The Argonaute, the first broadside-opponent of the Colossus, although she lost none of her masts, must have suffered severely in the hull, having had, according to the French accounts, nearly 160 of her crew killed and wounded: she, nevertheless, effected her escape. Some of the French writers are very severe in their strictures upon the conduct of the French Argonaute. It appears that the Hermione frigate, in compliance with the practice of the French navy, hoisted the signal for ships unengaged to engage, and, finding no attention paid to it, added the number of the Argonaute, and kept both signal and pendant flying for one hour[7]. The Bahama and French Swiftsure, reduced to the state of wrecks, suffered a proportionate loss of men; the first having had nearly 400 killed and wounded, including among the former her captain, and the second very little short of that number.

"Being close astern of the Colossus and sailing well, the English ACHILLE[8] became, in a few minutes after the former, warmly engaged.

[5] "With a truly gallant spirit, Captain Morris would not go below, but, applying a tourniquet to his thigh, remained at his post near the head of the poop-ladder until, to avoid the fall of the mizenmast, he descended to the quarterdeck. After the battle was over, and the Agamemnon had come down to take the Colossus in tow, Captain Morris, having become faint from loss of blood, was carried below, and was landed in his cot some days afterwards at Gibraltar."—*James.*

[6] This gallant young Officer, who has been often mentioned in this work, died of his wounds soon after.

[7] "Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi., p. 178."

[8] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Achille*, from the morning of the 21st, to Noon of the

Having passed close astern of the Montanez, the Achille luffed up and engaged that ship to leeward. In less than a quarter of an hour the Montanez shcered off, and the Achille made sail to succour the Belleisle, then lying to leeward totally dismasted, with three Enemy's ships upon her. While on her way to perform this duty, the Achille found herself obstructed by the Argonauta. The British 74 immediately brought to on the Spanish 80's larboard beam, and a close action ensued, which lasted an hour. The Argonauta now attempted to set her mainsail to shoot ahead, but, failing in that, ceased firing, shut her lowerdeck ports, and, as it appeared on board the Achille, threw an English jack or ensign over her larboard quarter.

"At this moment two French ships came up, and one of them soon found other employment for the English Achille than taking possession of the Argonauta. The French Achille edged down on her English namesake's larboard quarter, and engaged her in passing to windward; and the Berwick, who had been distantly engaged with the Defence, ranged up on the English Achille's starboard side, between the latter and the Argonauta. The French Achille passing on in the direction of the Belleisle, and the Argonauta dropping to leeward, the English Achille and Berwick were left in fair single combat. The action continued for upwards of an hour, when the Berwick hauled down her colours, and was taken possession of by the Achille.

"The masts of the latter, although all standing, were badly wounded, and so was her bowsprit: her hull had also received considerable damage. The loss on board the English Achille amounted to one midshipman (Francis John Mugg), six seamen,

22nd of October 1805.—"At daylight saw the Combined Fleets of France and Spain bearing East, formed in the line of battle in close order—set studding sails and made all sail possible—light breezes. At noon the Royal Sovereign, Vice-Admiral Collingwood, broke the Enemy's line about the 12th Ship from the rear, and commenced the Action—the rest of our Fleet, with all sail set, going into Action.—P.M. Light breeze and fine weather—having everything at quarters clear for Action, at ¼-past noon broke through the Enemy's line, and commenced Action, which continued in close Action, with a constant fire, till 4 o'clock, during which time a Spanish Ship of 80 guns, and the Berwick of 74 guns both struck to us—took possession of the Le Berwick, and took part of the prisoners out of her. At quarter past 4 made sail to the Southward, prizes in company—Admiral and other prizes in company. At 5 Cape Trafalgar E. b. S. about 4 leagues. At 7 wore Ship. At 10 wore Ship per signal—employed securing and stoppering the rigging, and reaving running-rigging, and clearing the decks of the ropes, and breaking masts and yards.—22nd. At daylight strong breezes and hazy. 7.7 saw the land bearing South about 5 leagues—employed knotting and splicing the rigging. Admiral Collingwood hoisted his Flag on board of the Euryalus, having the Royal Sovereign in tow, being dismasted in the Action—most of the Ships having prizes in tow, most of them being dismasted. At 11 sent ten men on board of a French prize to assist her. At noon strong gale and hazy with rain—two cutters which were towing astern sunk and were lost. N.B. Counted the Enemy's Fleet before the Action began, 33 Sail of the Line, 5 Frigates, 2 Brigs—after the Action was over, saw 21 Sail making thence, the rest having struck and surrendered to our Fleet."—The *Journal* of this Ship says: "Saw 19 sail making their escape; Killed in Action 13, wounded, do. 59; total killed and wounded, 72."

and six marines killed, and two lieutenants (Parkin Prynn and Josias Bray), one captain and one lieutenant of marines (Palms Westropp and William Leddon), one master's mate (George Pegge), three midshipmen (William H. Staines, William J. Snow, and William Smith Warren), 37 seamen, and 14 marines wounded.

"The Argonauta, the English Achille's first steady opponent, appears to have suffered greatly in rigging, hull, and crew, but to have had no spars of any consequence shot away: her loss is represented to have amounted to nearly 400 in killed and wounded, including among the dangerously wounded her captain. It is doubtful if the whole of this damage and loss was inflicted by the English Achille: the Argonauta must have exchanged some broadsides in passing with other British ships. The Berwick was dreadfully cut up in her hull, and her three masts were left in a tottering state. The Achille's officer, who took possession of the ship, counted, upon her decks and in her cockpit and tiers 51 dead bodies, including that of her gallant captain, M. Camas; and the wounded of the Berwick, according to the report of her few surviving officers, amounted to nearly 200: her loss in officers was very severe, the quarterdeck having been twice cleared. Nearly the whole of this loss was attributable to the close and unremitting cannonade kept up, for more than an hour, by the English Achille. On the other hand, the principal part of the latter's damage and loss was caused by the steady fire and determined opposition of the Berwick.

"We quitted the VICTORY at about 1h. 30m. P.M., or just as Lord Nelson had been carried to the cockpit, mortally wounded from the mizentop of the Redoutable. So destructive to the Victory was the fire kept up from the Redoutable's tops, as well as from her second deck guns, occasionally pointed upwards, that, within a few minutes of Lord Nelson's fall, several officers and about 40 men, nearly the whole of them upon the third or upper deck, were killed or wounded. A single 18-pounder carronade on the poop, mounted upon an elevating carriage, might very soon have destroyed the Redoutable's mizentop and all that were in it; but the Victory had no guns whatever mounted on her poop. The same effect might have been produced upon the fore and main tops by one of the 68-pounder carronades; but their carriages would not give the required elevation. Nor, we believe, could the 68-pounder on the starboard side be even fired a second time upon the decks of the Redoutable, owing to some accident that had since befallen it.

"Although, from the loss of the men stationed at them, the 12-pounders of the Victory were for the most part abandoned, the larboard guns, her 24 and 32 pounders upon the decks below continued to fire, for a few minutes (until the English Neptune and ships astern of her intervened), distantly at the starboard quarters of the Bucentaure and Santisima Trinidad, and the starboard guns, with much more certain effect, right into the hull of the Redoutable. 'The starboard guns of the lower and middle decks,' says Dr. Beatty, 'were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of

powder, and three shot each, into the Redoutable. This mode of firing was adopted by Lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Brown, to obviate the danger of the Téméraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoutable; which must have been the case if the usual quantity of powder, and the common elevation, had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which showed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on this deck were run out, their muzzles came into contact with the Redoutable's side; and consequently at every discharge there was reason to fear that the Enemy would take fire, and both the Victory and the Téméraire be involved in the flames. Here then was seen the astonishing spectacle of the fireman of each gun standing ready with a bucket full of water, which as soon as his gun was discharged he dashed into the Enemy through the holes made in her side by the shot[7].'

"The respectability of the authority has induced us to give this quotation entire, yet we positively deny that the Victory's guns were fired in the manner there stated. Not only have our inquiries fully satisfied us respecting this fact; but we doubt even if the Téméraire had come in contact with the Redoutable, at the period to which the statement refers. When, too, the Téméraire did lash herself to the Redoutable, all effective opposition on the part of the latter had ceased, to the Victory at least; and, after firing a few shot, and ascertaining that the Téméraire was foul on the Redoutable's starboard side, the Victory began to busy herself in getting clear, to seek a more worthy antagonist. This hitherto disputed fact, the details of the Téméraire's proceedings, into which we are now about to enter, will more clearly establish.

"Being an extraordinary fast-sailing line-of-battle ship, the Victory, urged as she was, would probably have been, like the Royal Sovereign, far ahead of the ships in her wake: but that the TEMERAIRE[8], having on board very little water or provisions

[7] "Beatty's Narrative, p. 31."

[8] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Téméraire*, 21st October, 1805.—"At daylight saw the Enemy's Fleet in the S.E.—cleared Ship for Action, and made all sail.—Light winds—standing for the Enemy. Noon, light airs, running for the Enemy. P.M. Light winds—down with the lower topmast, and top-gallant studding-sails set on the larboard side, within a Ship's length of the Victory, steering for the fourteenth Ship of the Enemy's line from the Van. Half-past noon, cut away the studding-sails and hauled to the wind. At 18 minutes past noon the Enemy began to fire. At 25 minutes past noon the Victory opened her fire—immediately put our helm a-port to steer clear of the Victory, and opened our fire on the Santissima Trinidad, and two Ships ahead of her, when the Action became general. Some time after, the Victory falling on board her opponent, the Téméraire being closely engaged on both sides of the Ship, on the larboard side engaging the Victory, fell alongside of us, the Victory on the larboard side, the yard arms locked, &c., immediately after struck, and was boarded by some of the officers, and part of the crew of the Temeraire—at the same time being engaged with one of the Enemy on the starboard side, a Spanish three-deck Ship being on the larboard bow, or nearly ahead, who had raked us during great part of the Action. About 10 or 15 minutes past 2, the Enemy's Ship fell alongside of us, on which we immediately

was, what the sailors call, 'flying light.' After the Téméraire, having closed the Victory, had, instead of leading the column as as first proposed, been directed to take her station astern of the Victory, the dismantled state of the latter from the Enemy's shot, rendered it very difficult for the Téméraire to avoid going ahead of her leader; and to keep astern she was obliged, besides cutting away her studding-sails, occasionally to yaw or make a traverse in her course. Hence the Téméraire shared with the Victory, although by no means to so great an extent, the damage and loss sustained by the head of the weather column from the enemy's heavy and incessant raking fire. Shortly after the Victory had poured her larboard broadside into the Bucentaure's stern, the Téméraire opened her fire at the Neptune and Redoutable. When the Victory put her helm a-port to steer towards the Redoutable, the Téméraire, to keep clear of her leader, was compelled to do the same; receiving, as she passed the Redoutable, a fire that carried away the head of her mizen topmast. When, after striking the Redoutable, the Victory again brought her head to the northward, the Téméraire stood slowly on a short distance to the south-east; and then hauled up to pass through the Enemy's Line. Meanwhile the Victory had, as already stated, dropped alongside the Redoutable, and the two ships were paying off to the eastward.

"Scarcely had she begun to haul up, so as to avoid being raked by the French Neptune, ere the Téméraire discovered, through the smoke, the Redoutable driving towards and almost on board of her. Even had the breeze, now barely sufficient to fill the sails, permitted the Téméraire to manœuvre to clear herself from the Redoutable, the Neptune, who, to avoid getting foul of the Redoutable and Victory, had wore and come to again on the same tack, and at this time lay with her larboard broadside bearing upon the starboard bow of the Téméraire, opened so heavy a raking fire, that in a few minutes the latter's fore yard and main topmast were shot away, and her foremast and bowsprit, particularly the latter, greatly damaged. In this unmanageable state, the Téméraire could do no more than continue to cannonade the Redoutable with her lar-

boarded her, and struck her colours—lashed both sides to the Téméraire being totally a wreck—fell off, and had no opportunity of raking the Enemy's first rate for half an hour with some of the foremast guns—the Ship lashed on the larboard side, her main yard and all the wreck fell on the Téméraire's poop, which entirely encumbered the after part of the Ship. Half past 2 the Téméraire ceased firing when the signal was made for a Frigate to tow, being unmanageable. The Sirius came down with that intention. At 3 observed five Sail of the Enemy in good order, starboard side. Sent the men from the quarter-deck guns to assist on the other decks. The Sirius made sail from us, when four of the Enemy's Fleet opened fire on our starboard side—having but few guns clear of the prizes, cut them loose, the Enemy carrying all the sail they could to get away. The Minotaur and Spartiate coming up with their rear, engaged their stemmost Ship, which was a Spaniard, who, after fighting for some time, struck—half-past 4 ceased firing. After the Enemy passed us the Sirius came to our assistance, and took us in tow, and about 6 the Phœbe took the Ship which was lashed on our starboard side in tow."

[9] "See Note, p. 33."

board guns. This the former did until, having, as she had done those on the opposite side, shut down her lowerdeck ports, the Redoutable, at about 1h. 40m. P.M., fell on board the Téméraire, the French ship's bowsprit passing over the British ship's gangway a little before the main rigging; and where, in order to have the benefit of bestowing a raking fire, the crew of the Téméraire immediately lashed it. The raking fire was poured in, and very destructive, as we shall soon show, did it prove.

"Most of the few effective men, left upon the Victory's upper deck after the Redoutable's destructive fire formerly noticed, being employed in carrying their wounded comrades to the cockpit, Captain Hardy, Captain Adair of the Marines, and one or two other officers, were nearly all that remained upon the quarterdeck and poop. The men in the Redoutable's mizentop soon made this known to the officers below; and a considerable portion of the French crew quickly assembled in the chains and along the gangway of their ship, in order to board the British three-decker; whose defenceless state they inferred, not merely from her abandoned upper deck, but from the temporary silence of her guns on the decks below, occasioned by a supposition that the Redoutable, having discontinued her fire, was on the eve of surrendering. A party of the Victory's officers and men quickly ascended from the middle and lower decks; and, after an interchange of musketry, the French crew, who, in addition to the unexpected opposition they experienced, found that the curve in the hulls of the two ships prevented their stepping from one to the other, retired within-board.

"The repulse of this very gallant assault cost the Victory dearly. Captain Adair and 18 men were killed, and one lieutenant (William Ram, mortally), one midshipman (George Augustus Westphal), and 20 men wounded. Captain Adair met his death by a musket-ball received at the back of the neck, while standing upon the Victory's gangway encouraging his men, and several seamen and marines were also killed by the French musketry; but the lieutenant and midshipman, and four or five seamen standing near them, were struck by a round shot, or the splinters it occasioned, which shot had come obliquely through the quarterdeck, and must have been fired from one of the Redoutable's maindeck guns pointed upwards in the manner already described.

"The account which the French give of the origin of this boarding attempt, and of the cause that led to its failure, is as follows: 'In the twinkling of an eye' (alluding to the time when Lord Nelson was carried below), 'the quarterdeck of this ship (the Victory) was deserted: the gallant fellows of the Redoutable wanted to rush upon it; but the *rentrée* of the two vessels presented an obstacle. In order to obviate this, Captain Lucas directed the main yard of his ship to be lowered, meaning to make of it a bridge whereon to pass on board the Victory. At that moment the three-decker Téméraire ran foul of the Redoutable on the side opposite to that on which the Victory lay, pouring in at the same time the whole of her broadside. The effect of this fire was

terrible upon the crew of the Redoutable, the whole of whom were then assembled upon the forecastle, gangway, and quarterdeck. Nearly 200 were placed *hors de combat*. The brave Captain Lucas, although wounded, remained on deck. The junction of the Téméraire giving fresh courage to the crew of the Victory, the latter recommenced firing, but soon afterwards ceased in order to disengage herself from the French Ship[1].'

"Is it likely that a French 74 would attempt to board a British three-decker fast to her on one side, while a second British three-decker was foul of her on the other? We have not a doubt, therefore, that the French account is in this respect correct. In fixing the relative time of these occurrences, we should say that, in about five minutes after Lord Nelson was carried off the deck, or 1 h. 35 m. P.M., the boarding indication commenced. Admitting the contest, when the Téméraire put an end to it, by lashing the Redoutable's bowsprit to the forepart of her main rigging, and pouring in her destructive raking fire, to have continued five minutes, that would fix the time of the Téméraire's getting foul, as we have already stated it, at 1 h. 40 m. P.M.; and another five minutes may be allowed for the ship to drop fairly alongside.

"Less considerate than either of her antagonists about fire, although in equal if not greater danger from its effects, the Redoutable continued throwing hand-grenades from her tops and yard-arms ('les grenades pleuvent des hunes du Redoutable[2],') some of which, falling on board herself, set fire to her larboard fore chains and starboard fore shrouds. The fire from the fore shrouds presently communicated to the foresail of the Téméraire; but, by the active exertions of her forecastle-men, led by the boatswain, the flames on board both ships were presently extinguished. The Victory's crew, after having put out a fire that had spread itself among some ropes and canvas on the booms, also lent their assistance in extinguishing the flames on board the Redoutable, by throwing buckets of water from the gangway upon her chains and forecastle.

"All further hostility having, as well it might, ceased on board the Redoutable, Captain Hardy ordered two midshipmen, Messieurs David Ogilvie and Francis E. Collingwood, with the serjeant-major of marines and eight or ten hands, to go on board the French ship, and (not to 'take possession[3],' for, had that been deemed of any importance, a lieutenant would have been sent, but) to assist in putting out a fire which had just broken out afresh. This party, not being able to step on board for the reason already given, embarked from one of the Victory's stern-ports in the only remaining boat of the two that had been towing astern, and got to the Redoutable through one of her stern-ports. As a proof, too, that all hostility had then ceased on board the French ship, the Victory's people were well received. Their boat, we believe, was

[1] "Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi., p. 174." [2] "Ibid."
[3] Beatty's Narrative, p. 55.

soon afterwards knocked to pieces by a shot. The other boat had been cut adrift by a shot just as the Victory was about to open her fire, and was afterwards picked up with her oars and tackle as complete as when, early in the forenoon, she had been lowered down from the quarter.

"Very soon after these young midshipmen had been despatched, a lieutenant of the Victory, looking out of one of her aftermost ports on the starboard side, saw a second French two-decker lying close upon the Téméraire's starboard side; and, as the Victory, a few minutes afterwards, was in the act of booming her bows off from the Redoutable, the same officer read the name upon the stern of each French ship. The circumstances under which the second French ship came in contact with the Téméraire, we shall now proceed to relate.

"In our account of the proceedings of the Belleisle and Mars, we noticed the hauling off from the former of the French ship Fougueux. After quitting the Belleisle, the Fougueux stood slowly across the wide space between the Santa Ana and Redoutable, steering a course directly for the starboard beam of the Téméraire, then with her head nearly east. The object of the Fougueux was probably to pass to windward of the Téméraire and rake her; or it might have been (and the French crew were actually assembled on the forecastle in apparent readiness) to board the British three-decker, the appearance of the latter indicating that she was much disabled, and her colours being at this time down, owing to the fall of her gaff. Indeed, as the number of men with which the Téméraire had begun the action was only about 660, and as, of the number at this time fit for duty, not perhaps exceeding 550, nearly the whole were below, whither they had been sent by Captain Harvey, that they might not be injured by the hand-grenades constantly thrown from the Redoutable's tops, the Fougueux with her 700, or, allowing for a slight loss, 680 men, might have made a serious impression upon the Téméraire's decks.

"While Captain Harvey devoted his attention to the Redoutable on the larboard side, the first lieutenant, Thomas Fortescue Kennedy, assembled a portion of the crew on the opposite side, to receive the Fougueux. Not having yet discharged her starboard broadside, the Téméraire was in perfect readiness there, but delayed firing until the Fougueux arrived so close that she could not well escape. At length the latter got within 100 yards. Instantly the Téméraire's broadside opened, and a terrible crash was heard on board the Fougueux. Crippled and confused, the French ship, at about 2 h. P.M., ran foul of the Téméraire, and was immediately lashed, by her fore rigging, to the latter ship's spare anchor. Lieutenant Kennedy, accompanied by Mr. James Arscott, master's mate, and Mr. Robert Holgate, midshipman, and 20 seamen and six marines, then boarded the Fougueux in her larboard main rigging. On the French ship's quarterdeck lay Captain Beaudoin, mortally wounded; and the second captain and other officers were encouraging the men to repel the boarders.

In the onset, however, the second captain became very severely wounded; whereupon the French crew suffered themselves to be driven off the quarterdeck by the British, few as they were; and, in 10 minutes from the time of her being boarded by Lieutenant Kennedy and his 28 followers, the Fougueux was completely in the possession of the Téméraire.

"This occurrence took place at about 2 h. 10 m. P.M.; and it was within five minutes afterwards, or at 2 h. 15 m. P.M., that the Victory, by fire booms and the slight assistance which her helm and sails could afford, disengaged herself from the Redoutable. While the Victory gradually got her head to the northward, the three fast-locked ships from which she had just parted, the Redoutable, Téméraire, and Fougueux, swang with their heads to the southward.

"Scarcely had the Victory broken away from the group, ere the main and mizen masts of the Redoutable came down. The mainmast, falling on board the Téméraire, carried away the stump of the latter's mizen topmast, broke down the poop-rail, and with its wreck encumbered the whole afterpart of the ship. This accident put an entire stop to the Redoutable's hitherto formidable musketry (even admitting it to have continued till this time, which we doubt), and her only remaining antagonist prepared to take possession. The mainmast of the Redoutable, as it lay upon the Téméraire's poop, forming a bridge of easy descent, this was soon accomplished; and, at about 2 h. 20 m. P.M., a portion of the British crew, headed by Lieutenant John Wallace, second of the Téméraire, stepped on board, and took quiet possession of the gallantly fought Redoutable. About the time that this occurrence happened, having got her head well to the southward, the Téméraire was enabled to fire a few of her foremost guns on the larboard side, clear of the Redoutable's bows, at the French Neptune; whereupon the latter, who also observed the Leviathan approaching, ceased her annoyance and bore away.

"Before we enter upon the proceedings of any other Ship, we will give a brief description of the damage and loss sustained by the Victory and Téméraire and the two French 74's on board of them. The Victory's mizen topmast, as already stated, was shot away; and her fore and main masts and their yards, bowsprit, jib-boom, main topmast, and cap, and fore and main tops, were badly wounded. All her rigging was cut to pieces, and her spare spars were rendered unfit for use: hull much damaged, particularly in the wales, clamps, and waterways; and some shot had been received between wind and water. Several beams, knees, and riders were injured, and ports and port-timbers knocked off. The starboard cathead was also shot away, and the starboard bower and spare anchor totally disabled.

"The loss on board the Victory will show, that the top-cohorns and musketry of the Redoutable had made ample amends for the comparative silence of her great guns. Besides Lord Nelson and his secretary, the Victory had one captain of marines (Charles W.

Adair), one lieutenant (William Ram), two midshipmen (Robert Smith and Alexander Palmer), the captain's clerk (Thomas Whipple[4]), 32 seamen, and 18 marines killed; two lieutenants (John Pasco and George Miller Bligh), two lieutenants of marines (Lewis Buckle Reeves and J. G. Peake), three midshipmen (William Rivers, George Augustus Westphal, and Richard Bulkeley), 59 seamen, and nine marines wounded. This was according to the official account; but 27 additional wounded men reported themselves to the surgeon after the returns had been drawn up[5]. Among this number was included the boatswain, William Wilmet, who, although painfully wounded in the thigh, did not quit his quarters.

"The damages of the Téméraire were scarcely less than those of the Victory. The foremast had her main topmast, the head of her mizenmast, her fore yard, and her fore and main topsailyards shot away, her fore and main masts so wounded as to render them unfit to carry sail, and her bowsprit shot through in several places. Her rigging of every sort was cut to pieces, and her starboard cathead and bumpkin were shot away; also the head of her rudder at the water's edge, by the fire of the Redoutable, while rounding the latter's stern. Eight feet of the starboard side of the lower deck abreast of the mainmast was also stove in, and the whole of her quarter-galleries on both sides were carried away by the two Ships that had run foul of her.

"The Temeraire's loss amounted to one captain and one lieutenant of marines (Simeon Busigny and John Kingston), her carpenter (Lewis Oades), one midshipman (William Pitts), thirty-five seamen, and eight marines killed; and one lieutenant (James Mould), one lieutenant of marines (Samuel J. Payne), her boatswain (John Brooks), one master's mate (Francis S. Price), one midshipman (John Eastman), fifty-nine seamen, and twelve marines wounded. A part of this heavy loss in killed and wounded arose from the following accident. A stink-pot thrown from the Redoutable entered the powder-screen on the quarter-deck, and caused a destructive explosion upon the main-deck. Had it not, indeed, been for the presence of mind of the master at arms, John Toohig, who was quartered in the light-room, the fire would have communicated to the after magazine, and probably have occasioned the loss not only of the Téméraire, but of the Ships lashed to her.

"The damages and loss of the Redoutable, jammed as she had been betwixt two such formidable antagonists, might well be severe. The fall of her main and mizen masts has already been stated: her fore topmast and bowsprit shared the same fate. Her rudder was destroyed, and her hull shot through in every direction, above and below water. An 18-pounder gun, and a 36-pounder carronade

[4] "This gentleman was killed by the wind of a round shot, whilst speaking to Mr. (now Captain Sir) George Westphal. He had no wound or scratch on any part of his body, and is perhaps the only instance on record of such an event."—*James*.

[5] Beatty's Narrative, p. 61.

near the stern, had burst, and twenty of her guns, including nine low-deckers, on the side opposite to the Victory, lay dismounted. Out of a crew of 643, the Redoutable had, according to the French official returns, 300 killed and 222 wounded, including nearly the whole of her officers. Neither the damage nor the loss of the Fougueux was by any means so severe as that incurred by the generality of the captured Ships. None of her masts had, at this time, actually fallen, although one or more of them had been badly struck, and her loss could not have well exceeded its reputed amount, 40 in killed and wounded, including among the latter her first lieutenant, and among the former her captain.

"We formerly mentioned that Captain Blackwood went on board the Téméraire with the Commander-in-chief's instructions to Captain Harvey. After quitting the latter, Captain Blackwood proceeded to the LEVIATHAN[6], and informed Captain Bayntun that Lord Nelson had consented that his Ship should precede the Victory in

[6] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Leviathan*, from the morning of the 21st, to noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight the Enemy's Fleet to leeward, 33 Sail of the Line, 5 Frigates, and 2 Brigs—bore up and made all sail, in company, 27 of the Line, 4 Frigates, a Schooner, and Cutter. At 5 before 12 the Royal Sovereign, leading the larboard division, began to engage the Enemy's rear. P.M. At 12.20 commenced Action.—About 3.30 laid the St. Augustine (Spanish 74) alongside, boarded her, and towed her off. About 5.20 ceased firing, after which very few shot were fired on either side. It appeared that 20 Sail of the Line had struck, 1 burned, and 1 sunk. We had 4 men killed and 25 wounded—employed knotting and splicing, the rigging being much damaged, sails, &c.—22nd, A.M., squally with rain. At 9.30 the hawser broke—38 of the Line in sight, including prizes." The *Journal* of this Ship has the following entry: "It appeared that 19 Sail of the Line had struck, one burned, and another sunk: Lord Nelson lost his life in the middle of the Action." Among the numerous acts of heroism on that day, none is *more* remarkable, and few so well attested as the following: In a letter written by Captain *Bayntun*, of the Leviathan, on the 23rd of October, two days after the Battle, to the Patriotic Fund, he says:—"I must further intrude on your time by relating a trifling anecdote of one of my men, the captain of the forecastle, as it will serve to show the enthusiasm of a British seaman when fighting with the enemies of his country:—We had passed through the line, and had assisted in disabling and silencing the French Admiral's Ship, and the four-decker, Santissima Trinidada; we were much galled by a distant cannonade from a separated few of the Enemy's Ships; at last, the Saint Augustin, of 74 guns, bearing the pendant of Commodore Cagigal, gave us an opportunity of closing with him, which was immediately embraced, and he was soon taken. While this was doing, a shot took off the arm of Thomas Main, when at his gun on the forecastle; his messmates kindly offered to assist him in going to the Surgeon; but he bluntly said, 'I thank you, stay where you are; you will do more good there:' he then went down by himself to the cockpit. The Surgeon (who respected him) would willingly have attended him, in preference to others, whose wounds were less alarming; but Main would not admit of it, saying, 'Avast, not until it comes to my turn, if you please.' The Surgeon soon after amputated the shattered part of the arm, near the shoulder; during which, with great composure, smiling, and with a steady clear voice, he sang the whole of 'Rule Britannia.' The cheerfulness of this rough son of Neptune has been of infinite use in keeping up the spirits of his wounded shipmates, and I hope this recital may be of service to him."—In a postscript dated Plymouth, December 1st, Captain Bayntun added, "I am sorry to inform you, that the above-mentioned fine fellow died since writing the above, at Gibraltar Hospital, of a fever he caught, when the stump of his arm was nearly well. H. B."

going into action. From her station astern of the Conqueror, the Leviathan immediately crowded all sail to reach the enviable post assigned her: but, owing to the late hour (about 11 h. 30 m.) at which the message was delivered, the Leviathan did not get further ahead than just abreast of the Conqueror, before the Victory was beginning to suffer from the Enemy's fire.

"The necessity of shortening sail for awhile, to facilitate the endeavours of the Leviathan to pass ahead of her newly-allotted station, and the almost calm state of the weather after the firing had lasted a short time, made it 1 h. 45 m. P.M. before the English NEPTUNE[7] became closely engaged. At this time, having with all her endeavours been unable to go ahead, the Leviathan had resumed her station in the line, and was close in the wake of the Neptune, and a short distance ahead of the Conqueror. Hauling up towards the nearest Ship, the English Neptune soon found herself close under the stern of the Bucentaure. The broadside of the Neptune, as she passed on in this direction, shot away the Bucentaure's main and mizen masts nearly by the board, and doubtless killed or wounded a great many of her crew. The Leviathan poured in her fire within 30 yards of the French Ship's stern, and the Conqueror soon afterwards did the same.

"The CONQUEROR[8] then hauled up on the lee quarter and beam of

[7] *Log* of H. M. S. *Neptune*, from the morning of Monday the 21st, to Noon on Tuesday the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight observed the Enemy's Fleet of thirty-three Sail of the Line, four Frigates, and a Brig, about three leagues to leeward. Bore up per signal, and made sail towards them. Answered signal No. 72, and to prepare for battle. At 11.50, Captain Blackwood, of the Euryalus, came alongside, and acquainted us it was Lord Nelson's intention to cut through the Enemy's Line about the 13th or 14th Ship, then to make sail on the larboard tack for their van. At 11.56 answered signal to engage the Enemy closely. At 11.57 the Royal Sovereign commenced firing upon the Enemy. At noon the Victory opened her fire upon the Enemy. P.M. At 12.10 we opened our broadside on the Bucentaur, the French Commander-in-Chief's ship—passed on to the Santissima Trinidad, a Spanish four-deck Ship, whose stern lay exposed to our larboard broadside. At 50 p. 1 observed her main and mizen masts go by the board. She then paid off, and brought us nearly on her beam. At 2 observed her foremast to go, when she struck, and observed the English Jack over her quarter. The van of the Enemy consisting of five Sail now tacked, and was crossing us apparently with an intent to support the Ships which had struck. Put our helm a-port, and kept up a constant and brisk fire upon the whole of their van-ships. At half-past 4, the firing ceased on both sides, when the signal was made to haul the wind on the larboard tack. Observed one of the Enemy's Ships on fire, which proved to be the Achille, who shortly blew up. The remainder of the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 16 Sail, 4 of which were Frigates, were making the best of their way into Cadiz. At 5.00 came to the wind on the starboard tack; hailed the Ajax, and desired her to take a Ship in possession to Leeward, who had struck. At 11 unbent fore and mizen topsail, and bent others. The Fleet in all directions. Tuesday 22nd, A.M. Do. weather—took the Royal Sovereign in tow—close reefed the topsails."

[8] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Conqueror*, from the morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight Fleet in company, consisting of 27 Sail of the Line, 4 Frigates, 1 Schooner, and 1 Cutter in company. Saw the Enemy's Fleet to leeward, S.E. Bore up and made all sail in chase. Admiral 72 and 76 general E.N.E. At 6.35 Admiral 13 general

the Bucentaure, and shot away her foremast. In a few minutes afterwards the Ship of the Commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet, whose fate had been previously sealed by the Victory's tremendous broadside, hauled down her colours, and was taken possession of by the Conqueror. The Officer in charge of the boat was Captain James Atcherley, of the Marines, who had with him but five hands, a Corporal and two Privates of his corps, and two seamen. On the Captain's stepping upon the Bucentaure's quarter-deck, M. Villeneuve and his two Captains presented their swords; but, conceiving that it more properly belonged to Captain Pellew to disarm Officers of their rank, Captain Atcherley declined the honour of receiving them. Having secured the magazine and put the key in his pocket, and placed two of his men as sentries, one at each cabin-door, Captain Atcherley, accompanied by the French

—cleared ship for Action — throwed overboard, being in the way of the guns, 5 butts and sundry other articles. At 10.10 Admiral 97, Mars, with the larboard divisional flag. At 10.20 beat to quarters—cut away from the spritsail-yard 11 ox-hides. At Noon light breezes and cloudy weather—Victory E. quarter mile—Enemy's Fleet E. 2 miles: no observation. Cadiz, N.E., 6 leagues. P.M. Light breezes and clear—at 12.10 Victory 62 general, after the close of day—at 12.15 Victory 269 Témeraire, with the Victory's pendant—at 12.20 the Action commenced by the Royal Sovereign—at 12.25 Admiral 307, and 16 Africa, and 15 general—at 12.30 the Tonnant's fore-topsail-yard was shot away—at 12.45 the Victory commenced action. At 1 Victory's mizen topmast shot away in close action—at 1.20 Tonnant lost her fore-topmast—observed a Spanish three-decker, with a flag at the fore, with her mizenmast gone by the board, and the Téméraire's main and mizen topmast gone, and Royal Sovereign's main and mizen masts gone. A French two-decker's main and mizen topmasts carried away. At 1.35 Conqueror commenced action with the Bucentaur of 80 guns—at 1.45 in close action—the larboard mizen-shrouds, and sundry running rigging shot away—at 1.55 observed the Victory's mizenmast gone, and a Spanish three-decker totally dismasted. At 2 shot away the Bucentaur's main and mizenmast—a Spanish four-decker in close action with the Neptune and Conqueror—shot away the Bucentaur's foremast. At 2.5 the Bucentaur struck—sent a boat on board of her to take possession—Conqueror and Neptune still in action with the four-decker, she having a flag in her fore-rigging. At 2.25 the four-decker's main and mizenmasts went by the board—at 2.25 shot her foremast away—at 2.30 she struck to the Neptune and Conqueror—left her in charge of the Africa. At 2.40 Royal Sovereign, No. 84, Euryalus, Victory 101 general. Five of the Enemy's Ships bore down on us, and commenced a heavy fire—three of our Ships coming to our assistance the Enemy passed our starboard quarter—bore up to assist the Leviathan, who was in close action with a Spanish two-decker. At 3.40 the Enemy's mizenmasts went over the side—at 3.50 the Leviathan boarded her, and took possession of her—observed one of the Enemy's Ships on fire to leeward, and Belleisle totally dismasted. At 5.15 observed a French two-decker's main and mizenmasts carried away—at 5.28 she struck, and boats took possession of her. At 5.30 Victory 99 general. At 6 Victory, No. 58 and 186—at 6.5 Euryalus 58, Conqueror—Royal Sovereign 186, Conqueror—Action ceased—saw 12 Sail of the Line, 3 Frigates, and 1 Brig of the Combined Fleet making off to leeward—made sail for the Admiral. At 8 received orders from Admiral Collingwood to take the Bucentaur in tow. At 10.30 sent Lieutenants Spiers and Fisher with a division of men to take charge of her—sent a boat with a 7½-inch hawser and a coil of 3½-inch rope, 1 coil of 3-inch for the Bucentaur's stream-cable, which we received on board. At 11.30 made sail. At 12 parted the tow and hove-to till daylight, [22nd] and then took the Bucentaur in tow. At Noon ditto weather.—Bucentaur in tow."

Admiral and his two Captains, pulled off, with his three remaining hands, and at length boarded, not the Conqueror, who had proceeded in chase, but the Mars, her sister-ship; where on account of some mistake about the nature of the message sent by Lieutenant Hennah, the Acting Commander of the Mars, to Captain Hardy, the French Officers were ordered to remain.

"Hauling up, after having raked the Bucentaure, the Neptune soon found herself in a similar position astern of the Santissima Trinidad, whose main and mizen masts came down with a tremendous crash, just as the Leviathan was in the act of seconding a fire which her leader had so successfully opened. The English Neptune then luffed up alongside the Santissima Trinidad to leeward, while the Conqueror, with her starboard guns, kept up a distant fire upon her to windward. At about 2h. 30m. P.M. the foremast of the Spanish four-decker shared the fate of her main and mizen masts, and she lay an unmanageable wreck upon the water. At this moment the Neptune had her attention suddenly called off by the movement that was making in the Combined van, some of the Ships of which on bearing up, raked her, and caused the principal part of the damage and loss which she sustained in the action.

"The AFRICA[9] 64, having the misfortune to lose sight of her fleet in the night, was, when the firing commenced, broad upon the Victory's larboard beam, and nearly abreast of the van ship of the Combined line. Seeing her danger, Lord Nelson ordered th Africa's signal to be thrown out, to make all possible sail. The intention of this signal appears to have been misunderstood; and instead of using means to run his Ship out of danger, Captain Digby set every sail he could spread to hasten her into it. Passing along,

[9] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Africa*, October 1805.—"A.M. At 6 wore Ship, Cape Trafalgar, S.E. 8 or 9 leagues. At 8 light airs and clear weather, body of the Enemy's Fleet South, English Fleet S.W. b. W. At 10 Light airs and clear—Enemy's Fleet S. half W. 6 or 7 miles. At 10.53 the Admiral made the signal, No. 307, with the Africa's pendants, and at 11.28 made No. 8 with the Britannia's pendants, and at 11.32 No. 63 with No. 8 and preparative, general—same time Admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, commenced the Action in the rear of the Enemy's centre. At 11.40 the Africa engaged the headmost Ship of the Enemy's van (the Africa then on the Starboard tack), viz. a Spanish two-decker, bearing the Flag of an Admiral, and engaged the whole of the Enemy's van line as we passed them. At 12 the Admiral made the signal No. 16 to the Africa; P.M. At 12.15 the signal No. 16 (general)—At 1 bore down to the assistance of the Neptune, engaging the Santissima Trinidada. At 1.30 commenced our fire on her. At 1.50 the whole of her masts went by the board, when she struck—sent Lieutenant Smith with a party to take charge of her—at same time observed the Enemy's van hauling on the Starboard tack. At 2.30 observed a French two-decker making off, made all sail after her. At 3.15 brought her to Action. And 4.30 her mizen mast, and main topmast went on board. At 4.52 the Orion came up to our assistance. At 5.8 she struck, the Orion took charge of her—she proved to be the L'Intrépide—observed 19 sail of the Enemy's Ships standing away—found her masts very much wounded, and main topsail yard shot away, and great part of our standing and running rigging—Ship so much drilled that she could not follow them. At 12 moderate breezes, several of the squadron in company. 22nd A.M. At 6 Cape Trafalgar E.N.E. 6 or 7 leagues—employed knotting and splicing the rigging—fresh gales."

and exchanging broadsides in succession with the Ships of the Combined van, the Africa, with much less injury done to her than might have been expected, bore down ahead of the Santissima Trinidad.

"Meeting no return to her fire, and seeing no colours hoisted on board the latter, Captain Digby concluded that the four-decker had surrendered, and sent Lieutenant John Smith in a boat to take possession. Upon the lieutenant's reaching the quarterdeck, and asking an officer who advanced to meet him, whether or not the Santisima Trinidad had surrendered, the Spaniard replied, 'Non, non,' pointing at the same time to one Spanish and four French Sail of the Line then passing to windward. As, for the want of masts, the Santisima Trinidad was settling fast to windward of the two fleets, and he had only a boat's crew with him, Lieutenant Smith quitted the Spanish Ship (the crew of which, singularly enough, permitted him to do so), and returned on board the Africa.

"The Santissima Trinidad remained without a prize-crew until 5 h. 30 m. P.M.; when the PRINCE[1], by signal, boarded and took

[1] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Prince*, from the morning of the 21st, to Noon on the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight saw the Enemy's Combined Fleets to the Eastward, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line, as well as several Frigates—bore up per signal with the Fleet steering for the centre of the Enemy—answered our signal to take our station as most convenient—Fleet formed order of Line—hauled to port to give room for the Lines to form—answered signal to bear up. At 8 o'clock set main top-mast steering-sails, and all sails, steering down for the Enemy, which had formed the Line to receive us. Answered signal for close Action, steering down between the Lines with all sails set. At noon Cape Trafalgar, East 9 leagues. P.M. Light airs and a westerly swell. At 10 minutes past noon the Royal Sovereign, Vice-Admiral Collingwood, commenced Action with the Enemy's centre. At 12.30 Victory commenced Action, and broke the Enemy's Line, and fell on board the Enemy—as steering down with all sail. Light airs. At 3 in studding-sails—observed two of the Enemy totally dismasted, and several had struck their colours—discharged two broadsides into a Spanish three-decker that was engaged by the Dreadnought, and a two-decked Ship. Put the helm a-port, and steered for down the rear of the Enemy's line, engaging—came close alongside of a French two-decker, gave her three broadsides which cut away her masts and set her on fire. Wore round on our heel and brought-to—out boats, to save the crew of the Ship on fire—sent away the boats and filled and stood towards the van boats, saving the men from the French Ship Achille on fire—saved 140 men, and a schooner and cutter saving them. At 10 minutes before 6 the French Ship blew up—answered signal 101, came to the wind and left our boats behind—observed 10 of the Enemy bear away, and 4 to windward make sail off—answered signal to take possession of prizes—sent an officer and men to take possession of the Santissima Trinidada—employed making up towards her and repairing damages received in the Action—tacked occasionally and came alongside of her—found her not taken possession of before. Took her in tow at 11 o'clock—found her totally dismasted, and . . . . . other Ships—hauled down fore-topmast staysail to repair shot-holes—set second jib—found the bowsprit badly wounded, and bowsprit-shrouds shot away and part of main-stay—got fore-runners and tackles forward to secure foremast—cleared away the wreck from the prizes in tow—came on to blow hard with rain—took some Spanish officers on board—came on to blow a hard gale and rain—split the mizen foresail—furled fore top-sail, Trinidada in tow. Employed knitting fore and mizen rigging, and securing the masts and tow. Strong

her in tow. The Trinidad's loss, although we are unable to particularize it, is described to have been, and no doubt was, extremely severe: she had been exposed to the raking fire, in succession, of four Ships, the Victory (distantly and partially), Neptune, Leviathan, and Conqueror; and her hull, in consequence, had been dreadfully shattered, especially about the stern and quarters.

"Before we proceed in our relation of the further part which the Leviathan took in the Action, we will briefly state what damages and loss were sustained by the Neptune, Conqueror, and Bucentaure. The Neptune's masts were all more or less wounded, but not dangerously so, and her standing and running rigging somewhat damaged: she had received nine shot between wind and water, and had incurred a loss of 10 seamen killed, her captain's clerk, 30 seamen, and three marines wounded.

"The Conqueror had her mizen topmast and main topgallantmast shot away, her fore and main masts badly wounded, and her rigging of every sort much cut: several shot had also struck her on the larboard side between wind and water. The loss on the part of the Conqueror, up to the period of the Bucentaure's surrender (her further loss will be shown presently), was comparatively trifling: she had one seaman killed, and one lieutenant of marines (Thomas Wearing), one lieutenant of the Russian Navy (Philip Mendel), and seven seamen wounded. The damages of the Bucentaure in her masts have already been described: her hull also was much cut up; and her loss in killed and wounded, according to the verbal report of her few surviving Officers, amounted to upwards of 400 Officers and men, including among the slightly wounded Admiral Villeneuve and his Captain.

"Leaving the Santisima Trinidad to the care of the English Neptune, the Leviathan stood on towards the French Neptune, then amusing herself in the manner we have related, with now a second French Ship, the Fougueux, joined to the Téméraire. As the Leviathan approached, and before she was in a position to fire a shot, the Neptune, at whom the Téméraire had just brought some of her foremost guns to bear, wore round, and, in going off before the wind, at least enabled the former to identify, by the name on her stern, the French Ship that chose to fly, the moment an antagonist appeared, who was in a condition to oppose her, although, evidently, not of force enough to maintain the combat with any prospect of success.

"Disappointed here, Captain Bayntun hauled up the larboard tack, and presently observed that all the Ships of the Combined van ahead of the Santissima Trinidad, were tacking or wearing, as if to double upon the headmost Ships of the British weather column, and place them betwixt two fires. Sure of finding an opponent among those; and such is the confidence inspired among the Ships of a British Fleet, as sure that, if likely to be overmatched, some friend or

gales and rain—saw some of the Fleet at times, very much mauled, and greatest part partly dismasted.—22nd. Blowing very hard at noon—employed securing guns and clearing decks, &c.—victualled 145 prisoners."

other would hasten to her rescue, the Leviathan stood on to the north-east.

"A Spanish 74, the San Augustin, who was steering south-east, appeared to be desirous to measure her strength with the British 74; and at about 3 P.M., when within 100 yards, put her helm hard a-starboard, in the hope to be able to rake the Leviathan ahead. To frustrate a manœuvre so likely to be serious in its effects, the Leviathan put her helm hard a-port, and, having fresher way than the San Augustin, felt its influence more quickly. The consequence was, that the guns of the British ship were brought to bear before those of her antagonist: and, loaded with three shot each, were discharged, with admirable precision, and at the distance of less than fifty yards, into the starboard quarter of the San Augustin. Down went, in an instant, the Spanish Ship's mizenmast, and with it her colours, and feeble was the return she bestowed.

"The probability now was, that, as the Leviathan kept forging a-head, and could not, on account of the previously damaged state of her rigging, back her sails, the San Augustin would be able to wear under her stern. To prevent this, the Leviathan, putting her helm a-starboard, ran on board the San Augustin, in such a way, that the latter's jib-boom entangled itself in the former's larboard main rigging, thereby exposing the San Augustin's upper deck to the poop-carronades and marines of the Leviathan. A smart and well-directed fire soon drove the Spaniards below; and Lieutenant John Baldwin, third of the Leviathan, at the head of a party of seamen and marines, leaped on board the San Augustin and carried her without further opposition. The British 74, with her stream-cable, then lashed the prize to herself. Scarcely had the Leviathan effected this, ere the Intrépide, another fresh Ship from the Combined van, came crowding up, and, after raking the Leviathan ahead, ranged along her starboard side; but waited only to exchange a passing fire, as the Africa and one or two other British Ships were fast approaching to the assistance of their friend.

"In this spirited, and, for its undisturbed occurrence in a general action, rather singular combat, the Leviathan's damages and loss, although we are not enabled to exhibit them separately, were, it is certain, of trifling amount. Including what she had previously sustained, the Leviathan had the main piece of her head shot through, all three masts and bowsprit, and most of her lower and topsail yards wounded, her mizentopsail yard shot away, and a great part of her rigging cut to pieces. She received eight shot between wind and water, and had one long 32 and one long 18 pounder, and one 18-pounder carronade, completely disabled. Her loss amounted to two seamen and two marines killed, one midshipman (J. W. Watson), 17 seamen, and four marines wounded. Besides the loss of her mizenmast, the San Augustin had her remaining masts injured, and her hull struck in several places, particularly near the starboard quarter: her loss was represented by her Officers to have amounted to 160 in killed and wounded, including among the latter her Captain, Don Felipe Xado Cagigal.

"Being, except the Leviathan, the nearest British ship to the Intrépide, the Africa was the first that brought the latter to action. This, at about 3 h. 20 m. P.M., the Africa most gallantly did, and, in spite of her decided inferiority of force, maintained the contest for nearly three quarters of an hour; when the ORION[2]

[2] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Orion*, from the morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"A. M. The Victory bore N. by W., distant 3 miles. At 6·15 answered the general signal, No. 76—saw the Enemy's Fleet to the Eastward, composed of 33 Sail of the Line, 1 Frigate — cleared Ship for action—hove several things overboard—made and shortened sail occasionally to keep our station—at 8 light airs, inclinable to a calm, the body of the Fleet bore S. E. by E., dist. 8 or 9 miles—at 10 set the steering sails, keeping in two lines for the Enemy, the Victory leading one line and the Royal Sovereign the other—at 11·25 the Africa's signal was made, No. 307—at 11·32 the Defence made our signal, No. 82—at 12 light winds, the Enemy kept up a hot fire on our Ships going down, which was returned by our Ships coming up. P.M. The signal was made to prepare to anchor, if necessary—the Enemy's Fleet consisting of 15 Spanish Ships of the Line, under the command of three Admirals, and 18 Sail of French Ships, with three Admirals also, besides Frigates and a Brig—the British Fleet consisted of 27 Sail of the Line—the French forming their line to leeward, the English going down in two lines with studding-sails set—at 35 m. past [12] the Royal Sovereign broke their Line—the Victory shortly after broke their Line, and the Action commenced—at 1.30 we went under the St. Anna's stern, a Spanish three-decked Ship that had struck, and hauled under a French Ship's stern—at 2 opened our fire—when the smoke cleared away, perceived all his masts gone, and his colours down—stood on, engaging—at 4 opened our fire on the Intrepid French 74, close to his stern—at 5 his masts all gone—he struck to us—we sent the First Lieutenant and a party of men to take possession of her—at this time the French Ship bore up, and left us to pick up the Ships that had struck, which, I believe, was near 20 Sail of the Line.—22nd. At 3 A.M. we lost sight of the Intrepid—at 8 bore down, and took the Bahama, a Spanish 74, in tow. At 12 very squally, with much rain—prizes in tow." The Orion's *Journal* is more full:—"12.15 answered general signal to engage more close—Victory made Leviathan's signal to lead the Van, and Mars to lead the Line—at 12.35 past the Royal Sovereign broke the Enemy's line in their van, and v...d up under the lee of the Santa Anna, Spanish three-decker, the larboard division attacking the remainder of the rear as they came up in succession—the Victory, after making a feint of attacking their van, hauled to starboard, so as to reach their centre, and then wore round so as to pass under the lee of the Bucentaur—each Ship of our Fleet passing the Enemy's line with studding-sails set as she arrived up in succession—passed the St. Anna dismasted, having struck to the Royal Sovereign, lying under her lee, with her foremast only standing—passed the Mars, Colossus, and Tonnant, aboard and surrounded by several of the Enemy's Ships dismasted, or nearly so—passed the Victory and Temeraire, with one French two-decker between, and one on board each of them—one French two-decker on board the Temeraire on the starboard side, also another two-decker about a Ship's length to windward of the Victory, all in hot action—at 2 opened our fire upon the stern of one of the Enemy's endeavouring to make off from the Ship opposed to her—carried away her main-mast, and made her strike—bore up to close with a Spanish three-decker to leeward, but was obliged to haul to the wind by the Dreadnought, who passed in between us—continued in action about three cables' length from the Enemy's reserve line—at 2.45 made a second attempt with the above Spanish three-decker, passing upon the other tack, but was again prevented by the Britannia ranging in her line, and continued in action—at 3.30 repeated and obeyed the signal to haul to the wind on the larboard tack—observed the Leviathan closely engaged with a Spanish Ship, and the whole of the Enemy's van wearing to attack her—made sail to assist her—observed a French 74 bring-to on the starboard

came up, and opened a fire upon the Intrépide's starboard quarter. The Orion then wore round the French Ship's stern, and, bringing to on the lee bow of the latter, between her and the Africa, whose fire, without any disparagement to her, was nearly silenced, maintained so heavy and well-directed a cannonade, that in less than a quarter of an hour the main and mizen masts of the Intrépide, already injured by the Africa's fire, fell over his side. The proximity of the Conqueror, and the approach of the Ajax and Agamemnon, left to the Intrépide no alternative but to strike her colours. This the French Ship did at 5 P.M., having been greatly damaged in hull as well as masts, and incurred a loss, according to the representation of her Officers, of nearly 200 in killed and wounded.

"The Africa had her maintopsail yard shot away, and her bowsprit and three lower masts so badly wounded that none of the latter could afterwards stand. Her remaining masts and yards were also more or less injured; her rigging and sails cut to pieces; and her hull, besides its other serious damage, had received several shot between wind and water. Her loss amounted to twelve seamen and six marines killed; one lieutenant (Matthew Hay), one captain of marines (James Fynmore), two master's mates (Henry West and Abraham Turner), three midshipmen (Frederick White, Philip J. Elmhurst, and John P. Bailey), thirty seamen, and seven marines wounded; a loss which, considering that her complement was only 490 men and boys, and that Captain Digby had voluntarily engaged so superior a force, proves that although but a 64, the Africa had performed as gallant a part as any Ship in the British Line. The Orion, who came so opportunely to the aid of the Africa, had her foremast wounded, and her maintopsail yard and main topgallant-mast shot away. The loss on board the Orion, however, amounted to only one seaman killed, and two midshipmen (Charles Tause and Charles P. Cable, both slightly), seventeen seamen, and four marines wounded.

"It was at about 2h. 30m. P.M. that the whole of the Franco-Spanish van, except the Santissima Trinidad, who lay dismasted abreast and to leeward of the Bucentaure, equally a wreck and either a prize or in the act of becoming one, began to put about, some by staying, others by wearing, in obedience to a signal made by the Commander-in-Chief at 1h. 50m. P.M. to the following purport: "The French Fleet, engaging to windward or to leeward, orders

tack, and engage warmly betwixt the Leviathan, who was boarding a Spanish 74, and the Africa, who appeared to have almost ceased firing—made all possible sail—passed close athwart the Leviathan's stern so as to close with the French 74—at 4 opened her fire close on his starboard quarter—wore round his stern, and brought-to on his lee bow, betwixt the Africa and the above Ship, keeping up such a well-directed fire as carried away his three masts, and preventing him from returning more than three or four broadsides—at 4.45 she struck—sent Mr. Croft, 1st Lieutenant, to take possession of her, and a rope to take her in tow, but obliged to leave her to Ajax.—22nd. At daylight Cape Trafalgar bore S.S.E., 10 or 12 miles—at 8 took in tow the Spanish Ship Bahama—at Noon very squally."

the Ships which from their present position are not engaging, to take such a position as will bring them more quickly into action.' 'L'armée navale Française, combattant au vent ou sous le vent, ordre aux vaisseaux qui, par leur position actuelle, ne combattant pas, d'en prendre une quelconque, qui les reporte le plus promptement possible au feu[4].' It appears that five minutes before, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir had signalled the Commander-in-Chief, that the van had no enemy to contend with.

"According to the Admiral's previous instructions to his Captains, the above signal was to be considered as casting a stigma upon those to whom it was addressed. At all events no immediate attempt was made by the generality of the Ships to comply with the signal, and those that were the most prompt in obeying it were baffled by the calm state of the weather. The Formidable, and one or two of the other Ships, had to employ their boats to tow themselves round. Hence the manœuvre was slow, partial, and imperfect. When the ten Ships did at length get on the starboard tack, five (four French and one Spanish), under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, hauled their wind, and the remaining five kept away, as if to join Admiral Gravina, then to leeward of the rear, in the act of making off.

"It was in the height of all this confusion in the Combined van, that the Britannia, Agamemnon, Orion, and AJAX[5] got inter-

[4] "Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi. p. 173."

[5] *Log* of H. M. *Ajax*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon on the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight saw the Enemy's Fleet bearing East—bore up and made sail—at 6 answered general signal, No. 76, with compass signal, E.N.E. At 8 light winds and variable—extremity of the Enemy's Fleet bore from E. b. S. to S.E.—all sail set. Half past do. beat to quarters and prepared for action. 15 past 10, the Enemy's Fleet in two divisions. At noon light airs—all sail set—Cadiz bore N.E. 7 or 8 leagues. P.M. Light breezes and hazy weather—5 m. p. 12 answered general signal, No. 63, with preparative, and a white flag, the Enemy form their line on the larboard tack, our weather division bearing down towards the van of the lee division, towards the rear of the Enemy's line—13 p. 12 the rear of the Enemy commenced firing on the lee division, returned by the Royal Sovereign—18 p. 12 answered general signal, No. 16—the Royal Sovereign broke through the Enemy's Line between the centre and rear—32 past 12 answered general signal 16—the Victory commenced fire on the Enemy—10 p. 1, the fore topmast was shot through—12 p. 1, began to engage, the Enemy firing from both sides as we broke through the line—half p. 1 cut away all the steering sails from the yards, and brought the Ship to the wind on the larboard tack to leeward of the Enemy's line, engaging them on their starboard side—55 p. 1, observed several of the Enemy's Ships had struck, one Spanish three-decker totally dismasted. 13 p. 3, repeated general signal, No. 101, 26 p. 3 bore away a little to engage part of the Enemy's van, which were attempting to escape to leeward. At 4, a Spanish Ship bearing a Rear-Admiral's Flag, struck—filled and made sail—45 p. 4, a French two-decker struck, with the loss of her main and mizen masts—came to the wind on larboard tack and began to repair damages—the action ceased from van to rear, when we discovered one of the Enemy's hulks on fire—the Enemy's Ships that were not disabled made all sail, leaving in our possession 20 Sail of the Line. The signal No. 101 still flying. During the action two men were killed and ten wounded—the standing and running rigging much cut by shot, and the sails much damaged—the gangway netting and hammocks completely shot to pieces, and all the boats damaged by shot. At 6 sounded in 20 fathoms. At 9 sounded in 20 fathoms—made sail and

mingled among the French and Spanish Ships, which had wore and edged away in the manner related. The Britannia appears to have been engaged, a short time, with the San Francisco de Asis, and subsequently with the Rayo three-decker. It was considered on board the Britannia, that the Ship she engaged, after the San Francisco de Asis, was the French Neptune, with 'a tier of guns on her gangway.' Owing to the obscurity occasioned by the smoke, and to the want of wind to blow out the flags, a mistake respecting the colours might easily be made; and certainly the Neptune had no guns on her gangway, but was a regular 80, similar to the Bucentaure.

"The AGAMEMNON[6] and Ajax also exchanged a few broadsides

at 10 took the Intrépide, French Ship of 74 guns in tow—sent a party of men and an officer on board to take charge—made sail on the starboard tack. 22nd—A.M. Light airs—saw the lights of our Fleet S.S.W. and the Enemy's lights N.E.—employed repairing damages. At 2, in the act of wearing, carried away the tow-rope—fresh breezes, close reefed the foretop sail and took in second reef the main and mizen. At 4 fresh breezes and cloudy weather. At daylight got the end of the stream cable on board the prize, and made sail with her in tow. At 6 saw Cape Trafalgar S.E. b. S. 4 or 5 leagues—employed repairing damages, and getting down the foretop-gallant mast. Several of the prizes in sight to leeward, totally dismasted, some of our ships near them. At 8 strong breezes and squally with rain—employed repairing damages—carpenters stopping shot holes between wind and water, and repairing the boats to transport the prisoners—kept the pumps constantly going. At Noon strong breezes and squally with heavy rain—prize in tow."

[6] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Agamemnon*, from Noon of the 20th, to Noon of the 22nd of October 1805.—"20th A.M. Hove-to; at 7 observed a Fleet East—filled and made sail—Brig in tow. At 8 observed the Euryalus make the signal for an Enemy. At 8.30 counted 30 sail of the Enemy—shortened sail and hauled our wind in second reef of the topsails. At 9 hove-to—cast off the tow, and made all sail. At 10 tacked, fired several guns, and made the signal for an Enemy. At Noon squally with rain. Shortened sail occasionally. Kept the signal up for an Enemy. Fired guns occasionally. Fleet in sight. P.M. Fresh gales and squally weather with rain. At 1.30 came a sudden squall, carried away the main topmast, lost the topgallant sail and royal overboard, split the mainsail—employed getting another main topmast up—wore occasionally, in company with the Fleet—more moderate and cloudy—set the main topsail.—21st. At daylight the Enemy's Fleet bore East—answered general signal to prepare for battle—made all sail to get in our station—answered general signal No. 50—bearing down upon the Enemy's Fleet—answered general signal 63 with the preparative—at Noon moderate breezes and fair, the Action commenced—answered general signal No. 16. At meridian the Action commenced. P.M. At 1.30 opened our fire upon the Enemy—observed a Spanish Ship which had been engaged by the Royal Sovereign strike her colours—at 2 observed the Spanish four-decker, which was engaged by the Neptune, Conqueror, and Agamemnon, lose her masts, and strike her colours—was prevented from boarding her by four Ships of the Line that kept up a heavy fire upon us. At 2.30 hailed a Ship which we had engaged and struck; told her to hoist English colours—engaging the Enemy's Ships as convenient. At 5 answered general signal No. 99. At half-past, one of the captured ships blew up. Killed in Action, William and Robert Payne—wounded in Do., Edward Badger, Hamilton Donaldson, Richard Flatherby, Andrew Cambell, James Langle, Andrew Shank, Charles Bland, and Angira Cambell—several shot-holes in the hull—one in the main mast, and one ditto in the fore-yard—sails, hull, and rigging much cut up—one in the under counter, 3½ feet under water, caused the Ship to make three feet of water per hour—took H. M. Ship Colossus in tow, being much cut up in Action—counted eleven of the Enemy's

with some of the Ships that had bore up; and the Orion, as already stated, was the first, after the Africa, that became closely engaged with the Intrépide. The latter and the San Augustin were the only ships of the five, that seemed to have any other object in view than a retreat. The San Francisco de Asis might reasonably have declined closing with the Britannia; but the Héros appears to have had no three-decker opposed to her, although she probably was one of the Ships that raked the British Neptune, after the latter had silenced the Santissima Trinidad. The Héros had her Captain killed, but sustained no other loss of consequence, and very slight damage. What loss the Rayo suffered is not known; but she did undoubtedly incur a loss, and had her masts and rigging tolerably wounded and cut up.

"The BRITANNIA[7], with some slight damage to her masts and still less to her hull, had one lieutenant (Francis Roskruge), eight seamen, and one marine killed; her master (Stephen Trounce), one midshipman (William Grant), thirty-three seamen, and seven marines wounded. The Ajax was very slightly damaged, and had only two seamen killed and nine wounded. The principal damages sustained by the Agamemnon was a large hole below the quarter, probably from a shot fired by one of M. Dumanoir's Ships. In consequence of this the Ship made four feet water an hour: her loss consisted of only two seamen killed and eight wounded[8].

Ships that struck—employed variously at the pumps, sails, and rigging, &c.—light and cloudy—Colossus in tow—several of the Fleet and prizes in company.—22nd. A.M. moderate and cloudy—Ship makes four feet of water per hour. At 11 fresh gales and squally with rain. At noon, do. weather—Ship makes three feet of water per hour—Shot expended 1145, powder 6781lbs.—Several of the Fleet and captured Ships in sight."

[7] *Log* of H. M. S. *Britannia*, from the Morning of the 20th, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805—"At 4 A.M. more moderate—up top-gallant yards and made all sail. 3.40 observed several strange lights at E. b. E. supposed to be the Enemy's. P.M. Light airs and cloudy; 4.30, wore: at daylight the Enemy's Fleet E.S.E. 4 leagues, consisting [of] 33 Line-of-Battle Ships, and several Frigates—bore up and made all sail to close with them—cleared for Action, the Enemy forming the line, and waiting for our attack. P.M. Light airs and cloudy. 12.30 Vice-Admiral Collingwood commenced the Action by a vigorous attack on the Enemy's Rear. 12.40 Lord Nelson in the Victory attacked their centre. 12.50 we began to engage, three of the Enemy's Ships having opened their fire upon us while running down. 1.50 observed the Ship we were engaging on our larboard quarter totally dismasted—continued our course in order to break through the centre of the Enemy's line, engaging on both sides in passing between their Ships. At 3 passed through the line. 4.30 hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, per signal. 5.30 ceased firing—observed L'Achille, a French Line-of-Battle Ship on fire, which soon after blew up. 7.30 observed 12 Ships of the Enemy's Line making off for Cadiz under all sail, and 3 others standing to the southward—all the rest (of which 7 were dismasted) appeared in our possession. 10.30 sent an officer with 60 men, including a party of Marines, to assist in securing the French Ship L'Aigle. A.M. Fresh breezes with constant rain. At 11 took the Berwick French prize in tow—bent a new main and mizen topsail in lieu of those shot away—received a number of French prisoners. In clearing for Action hove overboard 2 wine-pipes, 4 butts, 4 puncheons, 12 hogsheads, 12 barrels, and 64 half-hogsheads. At noon, Cape Trafalgar S.E. b. E. 7 leagues."

[8] "The Agamemnon expended 6781lbs. of powder, and fired 1145 shots."—*James.*

"The five French and Spanish Ships which hauled to the wind, after wearing in the manner already stated, were the Formidable, commanded by Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, Duguay-Trouin, Mont-Blanc, Scipion, and Neptuno. The very British Ships that, from their disabled state, were calculated to offer the least opposition, having little or no sail to force them to leeward, lay nearest to the track of M. Dumanoir's squadron. Among those the Victory, Téméraire, and Royal Sovereign were the most exposed. The Victory, with her mizen topmast gone, lay with her head to the northward, having the Bucentaure, a mere hulk, a point or two on her weather bow, two or three ships' lengths off, and the Santissima Trinidad, another hulk, at a somewhat greater distance on her lee bow. At about three quarters of a mile astern of the Victory, or rather upon her weather quarter, lay the Téméraire with her two prizes. The head of the Téméraire, and of the Redoutable also, whose mainmast still held her fast to the former, was pointed to the southward; and her crew were busied in booming off the Fougueux from her starboard side, to be ready to salute the French Ships as they passed. The Royal Sovereign, with only her foremast standing, lay a short distance astern and to leeward of the Téméraire, in the act of being towed clear of her dismasted prize, the Santa Ana, by the Euryalus frigate.

"Among the first shots fired by M. Dumanoir's Ships, after they had put about, was one that killed two of the Conqueror's Lieutenants. The manner in which this fatal accident happened, is as extraordinary as it was distressing. Lieutenant William M. St. George, third of the ship, while passing Lieutenant Robert Lloyd, who was first, good-humouredly tapped him on the shoulder, and gave him joy of his approaching epaulet as a Commander. Just as Lieutenant St. George, having moved on a step or two and turned his face round, was in the act of smiling on his friend, a cannon-shot took off the head of the latter, and struck the former senseless on the deck.

"In passing the Victory, M. Dumanoir's Squadron, having kept away a little for the purpose, exchanged a few distant and ineffectual shot with her. By the time the van Ship, the Formidable, had arrived abreast of the Téméraire, the latter had succeeded in clearing her starboard broadside of the Fougueux, who now lay athwart the Téméraire's stern, with her head to the eastward, and consequently with her stern exposed to the raking fire of the enemy. One or two broadsides were exchanged between the Téméraire and the Ships to windward; and the fire from the latter cut away the main and mizen masts of the Fougueux, and killed and wounded some of her people. One shot also shattered the leg of a Midshipman belonging to the Téméraire, who had been sent on board the Redoutable to assist Lieutenant Wallace, and who died the same evening, after having undergone amputation by the French surgeon.

"A great deal of odium has been cast by the English journals, and even by grave historical works, upon Rear-Admiral Dumanoir,

for having fired upon the French and Spanish prizes, in his passage to windward of the Fleets. Admitting the inutility of the act to be an argument (its 'barbarity' is none, because the prisoners ought to have been stationed below) against the propriety of its adoption, it surely was the duty of the French Admiral to fire at, and injure as much as he could, the different British Ships within the reach of his guns. In his letter to the Editor of the Gibraltar Chronicle, whose gross inaccuracy on another point we shall soon have to expose, M. Dumanoir positively denies that he intentionally fired at the prizes; but, how, let us ask, was it possible for the shot to pass clear of them, when, in some instances, they lay within less than their own length of, and in others, absolutely masked, the Ships that had captured them?

"The hauling to windward of M. Dumanoir afforded to the Minotaur and Spartiate an opportunity which, as the two rearmost Ships of the weather column, they would otherwise have sought in vain. At about 3h. 10m. P.M., having hauled close on the larboard tack, the MINOTAUR[9] and Spartiate lay to with their main topsails to the masts, and exchanged broadsides in passing with the Formidable, Duguay-Trouin, Mont-Blanc, and Scipion, and as the Neptuno was considerably astern, succeeded in cutting her off. At 4 P.M. the two British 74s wore, and got close alongside of the Spanish 80; who, after defending herself in the most gallant manner, surrendered at about 5h. 10m. P.M. with the loss of her mizenmast and fore and main topmasts, and with, no doubt, a serious loss of men, although it has not been recorded. Having been captured directly to windward of the Téméraire and her two prizes, the Neptuno drifted upon and fell on board the former. This gave rise to the extraordinary mistake contained in Lord Collingwood's official despatch, representing that the Téméraire had been boarded by a French Ship on one side and a Spaniard on the other.

"The Minotaur had her foretopsail yard shot away; and both she and the Spartiate had their masts, yards, and rigging in general a good deal damaged. The Minotaur had three seamen killed, her boatswain (James Robinson), one midshipman (John Samuel Smith),

[9] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Minotaur*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"A.M. Light breezes. At daylight discovered the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 33 Sail of the Line—the Agamemnon joined, which made our effective force 27 of the Line—bore up S.E. per signal, and made all sail in company with the Fleet. At Noon at quarters. Light breezes. P.M. At 12.20 the Royal Sovereign commenced action. At 1 the action for the most part general—shortly after observed several of the Enemy had struck—the Minotaur and Spartiate hauled their wind on the larboard tack—five Sail of the Enemy bearing down apparently with an intention of annoying our disabled Ships. At 3.10 opened our fire on a French two-deck Ship, bearing a Rear-Admiral's flag—fired on the other four successively in passing—at 3.30 wore Ship and engaged the sternmost of the five, which at 5.15 struck, having her mizenmast shot away, and fore and main-yards—shortly after her topmasts went. She proved His Most Catholic Majesty's Ship El Neptuno of 84 guns, having 96 mounted. Sent a Lieutenant and party of men to take possession—received prisoners.—22nd. A.M. fresh breezes—shifted foretopsail-yard—Minotaur had 3 men killed and 22 wounded—Fleet and prizes in company."

seventeen seamen, and three marines wounded; and the Spartiate had also three seamen killed, and her boatswain (John Clarke), two midshipmen (Henry Bellairs and Edward Knapman), sixteen seamen, and one marine wounded. A great proportion of the loss suffered by these two Ships was no doubt inflicted by the Neptuno; who as the Intrépide was the last French, was herself the last Spanish Ship that struck to the British on this eventful day. We have still some arrears to bring up in the lee column, a task we shall hasten to execute.

"It was about 2 P.M., when the DREADNOUGHT[1] got into action with the San Juan Nepomuceno, then surrounded by the Principe de Asturias, San Justo, and a French 80 gun Ship, the Indomptable. In about 15 minutes the Dreadnought ran on board of and captured the San Juan; who had previously been engaged by the Tonnant, Bellerophon, Defiance, and some other Ships, and was nearly in a defenceless state. Without, as it would appear, staying to take possession of the Spanish 74, the Dreadnought pursued and fired at the Spanish three-decker, but, after the exchange of two or three broadsides, a shot from one of which struck off the left arm of Admiral Gravina, the Principe de Asturias made sail and effected her escape.

"The Dreadnought had her masts cut with shot, but none carried away: her loss amounted to six seamen and one marine killed; and one lieutenant (James L. Lloyd), two midshipmen (Andrew M'Culloch and James Sabbin), nineteen seamen, and four marines wounded. Besides being dismasted, the San Juan Nepomuceno was much shattered in her hull, and sustained a loss, as represented, of nearly 300 in killed and wounded, including among the mortally wounded her gallant Commander.

[1] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Dreadnought*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon on the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight observed a strange Fleet to the Eastward—out second reefs—made sail bore up and cleared for action. Made all sail towards the Enemy's Fleet, which consisted of 33 Sail of the Line and 4 Frigates. At 12 Victory made signal No. 63, with preparative No. 8—26 Sail of the Line, 4 Frigates, and a Schooner and Cutter in company. P.M. Light airs, made all Sail towards the Enemy's Fleet. At 12.10 observed the Enemy open a fire on the Royal Sovereign, which she returned. At 12.40 the Royal Sovereign broke the Enemy's Line near the centre. At 12.55 observed the Victory commence action with the Enemy. At 1.25, the Dreadnought commenced action with a Spanish three-deck Ship, and a 74 ditto. At 2 the St. Juan Nepomuceno struck to the Dreadnought—sent an Officer and boat's crew to take possession of her. At 2.15 opened a fire on a Spanish three-deck Ship—observed several of the Enemy's Ships dismasted, and strike their colours—made and shortened sail, and braced about occasionally, to get our guns to bear on the Enemy. At 5, answered No. 99 general, from the Victory. At 5.45 observed a French two-deck Ship blow up. At 6 saw 4 French Ships of the Line make sail to windward, and 12 Ships of the Line, and 4 Frigates, make sail towards Cadiz. Employed sending men into, and taking prisoners out of, the prizes. Made sail to the Northward. At 8 moderate—Fleet and prizes in company—shifted main topsail yard. At 12 wore as per signal.—22nd. A.M. at 5 wore. At 9 took the Swiftsure in tow—employed fishing the fore-yard, knotting and splicing the rigging, &c. At noon fresh gales with rain, prizes in tow—Fleet and prizes in company."

"Having yawed to starboard to allow the Dreadnought to pass on to the Spanish three-decker, then the rearmost Enemy's Ship by two, the Polyphemus attempted to haul up again; but, finding the English Swiftsure close upon her larboard quarter, she was obliged to wait until the latter passed ahead. It was at about 3 h. 25 m. P.M. that the English SWIFTSURE[2], having passed the Belleisle's stern, opened her fire upon the French Achille; who, passing along the larboard beam of the Belleisle, edged away to the south-east, followed and engaged by the former. The Swiftsure presently succeeded in crossing her opponent's stern and in getting to leeward of her; when the Polyphemus, who had received a heavy fire from the French Neptune, in passing between the latter and the Belleisle, advanced on the French Achille's weather quarter. In about forty minutes after the Swiftsure had commenced the Action with the Achille, the latter, having had her mizenmast and fore yard shot away, and having also caught fire in the fore top, ceased engaging, and, as it appeared to the Polyphemus, waved a Union jack at her starboard cathead. The Polyphemus then stood away to assist the Defence in engaging the San Ildefonso, but who struck before the Polyphemus got up; and the Prince three-decker bore down between the French Achille and English Swiftsure, just as the latter, considering the Achille a beaten Ship, was hauling off to seek a more worthy opponent. But the business of the day, at this end of the line at least, was now nearly over.

"The Swiftsure had her mizen topmast shot away, and mizenmast badly wounded, and lost seven seamen and two marines killed, and one midshipman (Alexander Bell Handcock), six seamen, and one marine wounded. The Polyphemus had her main and main topmasts badly wounded, her spanker-boom cut through, and one lowerdeck gun disabled, but escaped with the slight loss of two men killed and four wounded.

[2] *Log of* H. M. Ship *Swiftsure*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October 1805.—"At 5, A.M., discovered the Enemy's Fleet E.N.E., and made all sail to form the Order of Battle—beat to quarters and cleared the Ship for action. At 8 all possible sail set—Enemy's Fleet bearing East. At noon Victory and Fleet in company, Enemy bearing from E.N.E. to N., in number 33 of the Line, 5 Frigates, and 2 Corvettes, distant about 2½ or 3 miles—English Fleet 26 of the Line, 3 Frigates, 1 Cutter—Cape Trafalgar bearing E.S.E. 4 or 5 leagues. P.M. Light airs and clear weather. At quarter past Noon His Majesty's Ship Royal Sovereign brought the Enemy to action, which was warmly followed up by the rest of the British Fleet—at half past Noon the whole of the Fleets in action, and the Royal Sovereign cut through the Line of the Enemy, which was done soon after by several of our Ships. At 4 Cape Trafalgar E.S.E. 3 or 4 leagues—at half past the Ships of the Enemy that were not sunk, burnt, or taken, bore up for Cadiz; and our Ships that were capable of taking our own crippled Ships and Prizes in tow, to get them clear of Cape Trafalgar shoals, and answered the signal to prepare to anchor. People employed repairing the damaged rigging as well as possible, &c. At 9 took the prize French Le Redoutable of 86 guns in tow. At 10 sounded in 12 fms. At 11 sounded in 25 fms., and wore per signal.—22nd. At 6 A.M., Cape Trafalgar E. b. S. 5 or 6 leagues. British Ships taken, sunk, or destroyed, none. Combined Fleet, 22 of the Line taken, sunk, burnt, or destroyed."

"While the REVENGE[3] was attempting to pass through the enemy's line, and just as she had put her helm a-port, to place herself athwart the hawse of the Aigle, the latter's jib-boom caught the mizen topsail of the former: and, before the two Ships got clear, the Revenge was enabled to pour into the Aigle's bows two deliberate broadsides. The Revenge then stood on, and, while hauling up on the larboard tack, received a tremendous fire into her lee quarter from the Principe de Asturias; who, in conjunction with three two-deckers, probably the Neptune, Indomptable, and San Justo, nearly fresh Ships from the centre, continued cannonading the Revenge, until the Dreadnought and Thunderer came up and engaged the Spanish three-decker. The latter, who, it appears, would suffer no British Ship to get to leeward of her, soon afterwards bore away, along with the most efficient of the Ships in her company.

"The exposed situation of the Revenge had occasioned her damages and loss of men to be very severe. Her bowsprit, three lower masts, main topmast, and gaff were badly wounded: she had received nine shot below the copper; her stern, transoms, and timbers, and several beams, knees, riders, and iron standards, were very much wounded, and so was her hull generally. She had several chain-plates shot away, several of her lower deck ports destroyed, and three of her guns dismounted. With respect to the loss, the Revenge had two midshipmen (Thomas Grier and Edward F. Brooks), eighteen seamen; and eight marines killed, and her captain, master (Luke Brokenshaw), one lieutenant (John Berry), one captain of marines (Peter Lily), thirty-eight seamen, and nine marines wounded.

"At about 2h. 30m. P.M. the DEFENCE[4] commenced firing at the

[3] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Revenge*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"A.M. At 4 wore ship, light breezes, and hazy weather. At 5.50 saw 26 Sail of the Enemy bearing East. At 9 light airs and inclinable to calm—observed 39 Sail of the Enemy on the larboard tack—signal from the Royal Sovereign to make more sail, No. 88. At Noon moderate breezes, all sail set—Cape Trafalgar E. b. S. 7 or 8 leagues.—P.M. Light breezes and clear—Enemy's Ships in sight, 39 Sail—Victory's Signal by Telegraph, 'England expects every man will do his duty.' At 12.2 Royal Sovereign commenced firing—at 12.35 Revenge—at. 12.40 Victory lost her mizen topmast. At 4.45 men firing with all expedition and spirit, having upon us four French Ships, and a Spanish three decker. At 5.50 signal to take Ships in tow. At 6.15 a Ship blew up, and our Fleet ceased firing, 14 Ships being dismasted. Moderate breezes and cloudy, a heavy swell from the Westward—employed clearing away the wreck, having our yards, rigging, and sails cut to pieces, and lower masts very much wounded—sounded frequently from 17 to 14 fathoms—got the anchors clear, &c. At 12 Victory N.E. b. E. 2 miles—soundings in 18 fathoms—wore ship per signal.—22nd. AM. At 1 wore again per signal—moderate breezes and cloudy. Fresh breezes and cloudy—employed repairing the rigging—Cape Trafalgar S.E. 6 leagues—employed as before. At 10 sent down topgallant-masts—fresh breezes with rain—got the spritsail-yard up as a foretopsail-yard—unbent the mainsail, mizen, and mizen topmast-staysails. Received eight prisoners on board."

[4] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Defence*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon on the 22nd of October, 1805.—"Daylight made all sail, saw the Enemy's Fleet bearing South, in all 39 Sail, and our Fleet S.W. b. W.—set topgallant-studding

Berwick; who, in less than half an hour, hauled off and was engaged as already stated, by the Achille. The Defence, shortly afterwards, began engaging the San Ildefonso, and, at the end of an hour's action, compelled the Spanish Ship to strike. The Defence had her mainmast shot through and wounded in several places, her gaff cut in two, and her lower and topmast rigging much injured; she had also, several hanging knees and chain-plates carried away, one shot-hole through the knee of the head, and five between wind and water. Her loss amounted to four seamen and three marines killed, and twenty-three seamen and six marines wounded. The San Ildefonso, having been engaged by one or two other British Ships before the Defence arrived up, had suffered greatly in masts, rigging and hull, and lost a full third of her crew in killed and wounded.

"It was about 3 P.M. when, having bore up to assist the Revenge, the THUNDERER[5] wore athwart the hawse of the Principe de Asturias,

sails—Enemy's Fleet lying to and forming the Line to leeward—our Fleet going down with all sail. Noon, light airs and clear weather—our Fleet going down—the Enemy lying-to, and forming the Line—Cape Trafalgar E.S.E. 4 or 5 leagues. P.M. Light airs and clear weather. 00.10 the Enemy began firing at the Royal Sovereign, which she returned directly. 12.40 Victory fired the first gun. At 2.20 we began to engage a French two-deck Ship. At 3.15 our opponent hauled off, when the Achille began firing at her, at which time we engaged the St. Il Defenso, who struck to us. At 4.25 sent a boat on board her. About 5 the Action was over—found a great number of the Enemy had struck, the remainder running away. Boats employed taking the prize in tow—sent the first watch on board ditto. 6 Cape Trafalgar E.S.E. 3 leagues, 22 fms. water. 8 light airs and cloudy weather—7 men killed and 29 wounded. At 10 took the prize in tow, our Fleet to windward. 12 wore ship.—22nd A.M. At 2 wore ship—2.30 spoke the Tonnant. 4 moderate breezes and cloudy weather—several sail in sight. 5.20 up mainsail. Daylight, fresh breezes—our Fleet dispersed, and several dismasted, and a great number of the prizes—the remainder of the French and Spanish Ships out of sight—Cape Trafalgar E. b. S. ½ S. 6 leagues. 7.30 hove-to—employed getting the stream-cable on board the prize. 10 filled and made sail. Noon, strong gales and squally with heavy rain—26 sail in sight."

[5] *Log* of H.M. Ship *Thunderer*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight saw the Enemy's Fleet of 33 Sail of the Line E. b. S.—answered signal to prepare for action, and bear down—made all possible sail—answered signal to prepare for anchoring at close of day. P.M. Moderate and clear—answered 42 from the Royal Sovereign—at ½ past 12 an action commenced by the Royal Sovereign breaking through the centre of the Enemy's line—observed the Victory alter her course, and lead the starboard division towards the Enemy's centre—20 before 1 she opened her fire—at 10 after 1 in studding-sails, and opened our fire soon after, when the action became close and general—at 2 the Enemy began to give way and strike—at ½ past went to assist the Revenge, being engaged by the Principe d'Asturias—at 3.30 she made sail to leeward, when we hauled our wind—a boat came from Admiral Collingwood, desiring us to make sail after four of the Enemy's van Ships; set everything we were able, and continued to engage; in passing cheered the Victory—at 5 tacked—at 5.15, being hailed from one of the prizes for assistance, shortened sail—hove-to—sent an Officer with a party of men on board Bucentaure—soon after received an order from Admiral Collingwood to take command of a Spanish three-decker—withdrew our men from the first prize, then took in tow the St. Anna—the engagement was now ended, and a glorious victory obtained, 20 Sail of the Line having struck, one of whom blew up, and another sunk; the remainder running away—our Fleet of 27 Sail of the Line all in sight—hove-to, not being able to wear the prize on account of the wreck—found we

and having raked her distantly, brought to on the starboard tack. In about five minutes the French Neptune came to the assistance of the Spanish three-decker (into whom the Dreadnought was now firing), and engaged the Thunderer for a short time; when these two ships, with most of the others near them, bore up and made off. The Thunderer's main and mizen masts and bowsprit had a shot in each, but otherwise her damages were not material. Her loss amounted to two seamen and two marines killed, and one master's mate (John Snell), one midshipman (Alexander Galloway), nine seamen, and one marine wounded. The Principe de Asturias, at the time she bore up to escape, had been partially engaged by the Revenge and Defiance, and had received two broadsides from the Prince, in addition to the contest she had previously maintained with the Dreadnought and other British Ships: hence her damages and loss were comparatively severe. None of the Spanish three-decker's masts appear to have been shot away, but that all were more or less damaged may be inferred from the fact, that her main and mizen masts were unable to withstand the gale that ensued. The loss sustained by the Principe de Asturias amounted to a lieutenant and 40 men killed, and 107 men badly wounded, including Admiral Gravina himself, as already mentioned, in the left arm (which was afterwards amputated, but too late to save his life), and some other officers.

"Finding her rigging and sails too much cut to enable her to follow the Principe de Asturias, the DEFIANCE[6] stood for the Aigle,

had only 4 men killed and 12 wounded, that our main, mizen masts and bowsprit were badly hurt, and our rigging much cut and disabled, and six guns. 22nd. A.M. Fresh breezes and hazy weather—at daylight Fleet and Prizes only in sight—wore and stood off shore with our Prizes—employed securing the guns and masts by knotting and splicing the rigging."

[6] *Log* of H. M. Ship *Defiance*, from the Morning of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At daylight discovered the Enemy's Fleet E. b. N., consisting of 32 Sail of the Line, 7 Frigates, and 1 Brig, formed in a Line of Battle on the larboard tack. 6.30 answered general signal No. 13. At 12 answered general signal 'England expects that every man will do his duty'—all sail set, standing for the Enemy's rear-Ships. Noon, light airs, inclinable to calm—Admiral and Fleet in company. Light breezes and hazy. P.M. 12.25 Royal Sovereign commenced action in the centre of the Enemy's Fleet, and passed through their Line. At 1 the Victory commenced action—1.40 we began to fire, and not before a great number of shot went over us, and much of our running rigging shot away, by a Spanish three-deck Ship, the 3rd from the Enemy's rear. At 2.10 she bore up close alongside of us, keeping a constant fire, we doing the same at her till, at 2.40, she hauled off—stood on for a French two-deck Ship L'Aigle. At 3.10 run alongside of her, and made her fast—took possession of her quarter-deck and poop—struck the French colours and hoisted English—her people still firing from her tops, forecastle, and lower-deck—3.35 the boarders were ordered from L'Aigle, cast off the lashing, and hauled off about pistol-shot distance, and engaged her again. About 4 they called for quarter—ceased firing—sent a boat with a Lieutenant and 20 men to take possession of her—4 Sail of French Ships to Windward, standing to the Southward, with all sail set—found our bowsprit, foremast, and mainmast, with all the topmasts, shot through and through—standing and running rigging shot to pieces—employed knotting and splicing the rigging. At 9 let go the best bower anchor—veered to a whole cable—found the Ship did not bring up, and being near the shoals of

whose crippled state had prevented her from making sail. At about 3 P.M. the Defiance ran alongside of the Aigle, lashed the latter to herself, boarded her with little resistance, got possession of the poop and quarter-deck, hauled down the French colours, and hoisted the English in their stead; when, suddenly, so destructive a fire of musketry was opened upon the boarders from the forecastle, waist and tops of the Aigle, that the British, before they had been well five minutes in possession of their prize, were glad to quit her and escape back to their Ship.

"As soon as the lashings were cut loose, the Defiance sheered off to a half-pistol-shot distance, and there kept up so well-directed a cannonade that, in less than twenty-five minutes, the Aigle, the fire from whose great guns had also been nobly maintained, called for quarter, and was presently taken quiet possession of. The Defiance afterwards took possession of the San Juan Nepomuceno; which Ship, besides her crippled state from the previous attacks she had sustained, had already surrendered to the Dreadnought. On the coming up, therefore, of the latter Ship, Captain Durham sent the San Juan's Captain and Officers to her.

"The Defiance had her bowsprit and fore and main masts shot through in the centre of each, also her mizenmast, three topmasts, jib and driver booms, and gaff wounded: her rigging and sails were likewise much cut, and her hull struck with shot in several places. She had one lieutenant (Thomas Simens), her boatswain (William Forster), one midshipman (James Williamson), eight seamen, six marines killed; and her captain (slightly), two master's mates (James Spratt and Robert Browne), two midshipmen (John Hodge and Edmund Andrew Chapman), thirty-nine seamen and nine marines wounded. The Aigle, although her principal masts do not appear to have been shot away, had received several shot through them, and was otherwise much disabled. Her hull was pierced in every direction, and her starboard quarter nearly beaten in. The Aigle had been successively engaged by six or seven British Ships, and had conducted herself in the most gallant manner. Her loss amounted to about 270 in killed and wounded, including several of her Officers.

"Of the nineteen Ships composing the Combined Rear, eleven have been captured, and seven have quitted the line and run to leeward; thus leaving one Ship only, the French Achille, whose fate remains to be shown. This Ship, in her successive encounters with the English Achille, Belleisle, Swiftsure, and Polyphemus, had lost her mizenmast, maintopmast, and foreyard, and having since, owing in all probability to her swivels or musketry there, caught fire in her fore top, was without the means of extinguishing the flames on account of the destruction of her engine by the Enemy's shot. The only

Trafalgar, cut the cable, and made sail—received 14 French officers and 70 men from L'Aigle.—22nd. At daylight Admiral and Fleet in company, with a number of dismasted Ships prizes—none of the Enemy's Fleet in sight—got hawsers in our boats to take L'Aigle in tow—standing off and on, endeavouring to take her in tow. At noon strong breezes and squally with heavy rain—employed as before."

alternative left was to cut away the mast. At 4h. 30m. P.M., while the crew were preparing to do this, so that it might fall clear of the Ship, a broadside from the Prince cut the mast in two at about its centre; and the wreck, with its flaming top, fell directly upon the boats in the waist. These soon caught fire, and so in succession did the decks below.

"After the discharge of one or two broadsides, the Prince discovered the accident that had befallen her antagonist, and, wearing, hove to, and in company with the Swiftsure, sent her boats to save as many as possible of the French Achille's crew: in which laudable attempt, soon afterwards, the Pickle Schooner and Entreprenante Cutter[7] zealously employed themselves. This was a dangerous service, on account of the French Ship's guns, when heated, dis-

7 As the Frigates, Schooner, and Cutter were not engaged, their Officers had better opportunities than those of the Ships of the line to observe what took place; and the Logs of some of these Vessels, and especially that of the Euryalus, are consequently extremely valuable.

Log of H. M. Ship *Euryalus*, from Noon 21st to Noon 22nd October, 1805.—"P.M. Light winds and hazy—British Fleet bearing down in two lines on the Enemy's, which was formed in one line from N.N.E. to S.S.E.—their strongest force from the Enemy's, from the van to the centre. At 12.15 the British Fleet bearing down on the Enemy—Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson leading the weather line in the Victory, and Vice-Admiral Collingwood the lee line. At 12.15 the Enemy opened a heavy fire on the Royal Sovereign. At 12.16 the English Admirals hoisted their respective flags, and the British Fleet, the British Ensign (white). At 12.17 Admiral Collingwood returned the Enemy's fire in a brave and steady manner. At 12.20 we repeated Lord Nelson's signal for the British Fleet to engage close, which was answered by the whole Fleet. At 12.21 the van and centre of the Enemy's line opened a heavy fire upon the Victory, and the Ships she was leading into action. At 12.22 Admiral Collingwood and the headmost Ships of his line broke through the Rear of the Enemy's, when the action commenced in a most severe and determined manner. At 12.23 Lord Nelson returned the Enemy's fire in the centre and van in a determined, cool, and steady manner. At 12.24 Lord Nelson and the headmost of the line he led into action, broke into the van and centre of the Enemy's line, and commenced the action in that quarter in a steady and gallant manner—observed the Africa coming into the line, she being to leeward with all sail set, on the starboard tack (free), we kept Lord Nelson's signal flying at the main royal mast head, for the British Fleet to engage close. At 12.26 observed one of the French Ships totally dismasted about the centre of the line, by some of the Ships of our lee line, and another of them with her fore yard and mizen top mast shot away. At 1.15 observed the Tonnant's fore top mast shot away. At 1.20 a Spanish three-decked Ship with her mizen mast shot away. At 1.25 observed an English Ship with her fore and mizen mast shot away. At 1.32 her main yard shot away—the centre and rear of the Enemy's line hard pressed in action. At 2 the Africa engaged very close a French two-decked Ship, and in about 5 minutes time shot away her main and mizen masts. At 2.10 observed the Mars hard-pressed in action—the remainder of the British Fleet, which were come into action, kept up a well-directed fire on the Enemy. At 2.15 the Neptune, supported by the Colossus, opened a heavy fire on the Santissima Trinidada, and two other of the Enemy's line which were next her. At 2.20 the Trinidada's main and mizen masts shot away. At 2.30 the Africa shot away the fore mast of the two-decked Ship she was engaged with, and left her a complete wreck—she then bore up under the Trinidada's stern, and raked her fore and aft—Colossus and Neptune still engaged with her, and the other two Ships, which appeared by their colours to be French. At 2.34 the Trinidada's fore mast shot away, and at 2.26 [*sic*] one of the French Ship's main and mizen

charging their contents. The Swiftsure's boats had two or three men killed and wounded in consequence. The Achille had already suffered a heavy loss in killed and wounded, including among the latter her Captain and the principal part of her Officers; leaving not a doubt, that the Ship had most gallantly conducted herself throughout the engagement.

"It was about 5h. 45m. P.M., that the Achille exploded, and with her perished her then Commanding Officer, Enseigne de vaisseau Charles-Alexandre Cauchard, and a great portion of her crew. It may be, as the French say, that the Achille at this time had her colours flying; but the Ship certainly had, two hours before, made signs of submission, and was, in consequence, spared by the British Ship

masts—observed nine of the Enemy's van wear and stand down towards the centre —observed the Royal Sovereign with her main and mizen masts gone. At 2.36 answered Lord Nelson's signal to pass within hail—made all possible sail, and made the signal to the Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad, to take Ships in tow which were disabled E.N.E., which they answered—sounded in 50 fms. At 2.40 observed a French two-deck Ship on fire and dismasted in the S.S.E. quarter—passed the Spartiate and another two-deck Ship standing towards the Enemy's van, and opened a heavy fire, when the action in that quarter commenced very severe. At 2,50 passed by the Mars, who hailed us to take them in tow; Captain Blackwood answered that he would do it with pleasure, but that he was going to take the Second in Command, the Royal Sovereign—the officer that hailed us from the Mars said, that Captain Duff was no more. At 3 came alongside the Royal Sovereign and took her in tow—Captain Blackwood was hailed by Admiral Collingwood, and ordered to go on board the St. Anne, Spanish three-deck Ship, and bring him the Admiral, which Captain Blackwood obeyed. At 3.30 the Enemy's van approached as far as the centre, and opened a heavy fire on the Victory, Neptune, Spartiate, Colossus, Mars, Africa, Agamemnon, and Royal Sovereign, which we had in tow, and was most nobly returned—we had several of our main and top mast rigging cut away, and backstays, by the Enemy's shot, and there being no time to haul down the studding-sails, as the Enemy's van Ships hauled up for us, we cut them away, and let them go overboard, at which time one of the Enemy's nearest Ships to us was totally dismasted. At 4 light variable winds—not possible to manage the Royal Sovereign so as to bring her broadside to bear on the Enemy's Ships. At 4.10 we had the stream cable by which the Royal Sovereign was towed, shot away, and a cutter from the quarter—wore Ship, and stood for the Victory—observed the Phœbe, and Sirius, and Naiad coming into the centre and taking some of the disabled Ships in tow—at this time the firing ceased a little. At 4.20 observed a Spanish two-deck Ship dismasted and struck to one of our Ships—observed several of the Enemy's Ships still hard engaged. At 5 . . [*sic*] of the Enemy's van and . . [*sic*] of their rear, bore up and made all sail to the Northward, were closely followed by the English, which opened a heavy fire upon them, and dismasted a French two-deck Ship, and a Spanish two-deck Ship. At 5.20 the Achille, French two-deck Ship, which was on fire, blew up, with a great explosion. At 5.25 made sail for the Royal Sovereign—observed the Victory's mizen mast go overboard, about which time the firing ceased, leaving the English Fleet conquerors, with . . [*sic*] sail of the Enemy's Ships in our possession, and one blown up—ten of which were first-rates, and all dismasted. At 5.55 Admiral Collingwood came on board and hoisted his Flag (blue at the fore). At 6.15 sent a spare shroud hawser on board the Royal Sovereign, and took her in tow, and at the same time sent all our boats with orders from Admiral Collingwood to all the English Ships we could discover near us, that they were to take the captured Ships in tow and follow the Admiral—at this time saw Cape Trafalgar bearing S.E. b. E. about 8 miles—sent a boat on board the Spanish three-deck Ship which had

(Polyphemus) then in action with her. The damages of the Prince consisted of a shot in her bowsprit, three shots in her foremast, and the same in her mizenmast: but she experienced the singular good fortune, as a Ship of this Fleet, not to have a man of her crew injured.

"We have now, according to the best information in our power, gone through the details of each British Ship's proceedings in the Battle of Trafalgar. Should justice not have been done to the exertions of any particular Ship on this glorious occasion, we hope it will be attributed, rather to the confused manner in which the attack, the latter part of it especially, was carried on, than to any deficiency of research in us. How far the published accounts on

struck, one main top gallant sail, standing jib, and main top gallant staysail. At 7.36 took aback and the Royal Sovereign fell on board of our starboard beam, and there being a great swell, she damaged the main channels, took away the lanyards of the main and mizen rigging, jolly-boat from the quarter and davits, the most of the quarter-deck and waists, hammock-cloths, boards, railing, with a number of hammocks and bedding, took away the main and mizen top gallant masts, lost the royals and yards—tore the fore and main sail very much, and took away a great part of the running rigging. At 7.40 got her clear—made sail on the starboard tack with a light wind from the W.S.W. and a great swell —employed repairing the damages sustained by the Sovereign falling on board of us. At 9 sounded in 23 fms.—made the signal with a gun, Prepare to anchor— Fleet and prizes in company—light airs and a great swell from the westward. At 9.15 sounded in 15 fms. At 9.20 in 14 fms. At 9.35 the water deepened. At 11 sounded in 36 fms. At 11.20 the water shoaled to 26 fms. At 12 in 22 fms. 22nd. A.M. At 12.15 made the signal with three guns to wear, and wore Ship— came to the wind on the larboard tack, head to the westward—Sovereign in tow, Fleet and prizes in company. Moderate breezes and cloudy, made and shortened sail as necessary. At 4 ditto weather. At daylight four sail in sight in the S.W., and 40 sail from E. to N.E. At 8 cast off the Sovereign and the Neptune took her in tow—received from the Pickle Schooner 18 French prisoners, which was part of the men she saved out of the Achille, French Ship, which was blown up in the action. Strong gales and rain—Fleet and prizes much scattered—made the general signal for the Fleet to close. At 9 wore Ship. At 11.20 filled and made sail on the starboard tack. At Noon strong gales and cloudy with heavy rain—most of the Fleet and prizes in company—Cape Trafalgar bearing S.E. about 4 leagues."

Log of H. M. Ship *Sirius*, from Noon of the 21st to Noon of the 22nd October, 1805.—"Noon, light breezes and hazy. At 12 centre of the Enemy's Fleet S.E. b. E. about 3½ miles—our Fleet running down in two columns— 12.5 a French Ship in the centre opened her fire on the Royal Sovereign—12.20 she broke through the Enemy's line, and commenced firing from both sides, opposing herself particularly to a Spanish three-decker, at the same time the van began firing upon the Victory—12.35 she broke through the Enemy's line, between the 14th and 15th Ships, and commenced a heavy firing on a Ship astern of a Spanish four-decker, hauling up for the said Spaniard. At 1 our Captain returned from the Victory, and the Action became more general. At 2 most of our Ships in hot action, the above-mentioned four-decker dismasted, and surrendered—2.15 observed the four-decker's fore and mizenmast go over the side, and several other of the Enemy's Ships dismasted and struck—2.35 the Spanish four-decker, with five other of the Enemy's Ships, taken possession of—the whole of our Ships in action, and some boarding the Enemy's Ships—at the same time the Enemy's van, which had separated by Lord Nelson's breaking their line, wore to protect their centre, which were being cut up in all directions; but in so doing, several of their sternmost Ships were dismasted, and fell into our hands—2.40

either side are calculated to guide the historian, has already in part appeared, and will be more fully shown when some of those accounts pass under review. As to the accounts furnished exclusively for this work by individuals present in the battle, much as we, and through us the public, owe to them, they are, in many instances, imperfect, obscure, and even contradictory. Nor can it be wondered at, considering how each Officer's attention must have been absorbed in the immediate duties of his station; and how few yards, beyond the side of his own Ship, the smoke of so many combatants would permit him to see.

answered signal No. 186—bore up to take a dismasted Ship in tow. 3.45 Fleets still engaging, and one of the Enemy's Ships in our possession observed to be on fire—sent boats to let go the anchors of several of the Enemy's Ships that had struck. 4.40 tacked Ship, sent two boats to tow off Tonnant, she having lost her topmasts. 5.10 Action ceased, having 18 of the Enemy's line-of-battle Ships in our possession, one four-decker, and a three-decker, Spanish. The remainder of the Combined Fleets (which, at the commencement of the action, consisted of 33 Sail of the Line, 4 Frigates, and 2 Brigs), to leeward of our Fleet, bearing N.E., except four Sail of the Line bearing S. b. W. on the starboard tack—5.15 tacked Ship—Cape Trafalgar E. b. S. ½ S. 5 leagues, Cape Spartel S. b. E. 8 leagues—5.40 one of our prizes, after burning two hours, blew up—took the Téméraire in tow and made sail—the Victory, Royal Sovereign, and most of our Fleet dismasted. 6.30 sent two boats to take possession of the Swiftsure (French Ship), 74—sounding in 27 fathoms. At 8 in 14 fathoms—sent boats to inform three Ships to leeward of the shoalness of water. At 9 deepened our water to 45 fathoms—spoke the Defiance. 11.20 boats returned, made and shortened sail occasionally, Téméraire in tow. 22nd. At 1 A.M. saw a blue light N.N.W.—1.15 wore Ship. At 4 moderate and cloudy, Téméraire in tow. At 8 fresh breezes and cloudy, Cape Spartel N.E. ½ E. 8 leagues—counted 47 Sail in company, disabled Ships and prizes in tow by part of the Fleet. 9.30 struck royal yards and masts—answered the signal No. 108. At 11 in 2nd reefs of the top-sails, and hauled up on the larboard tack—11.40 up fore-sail and backed the mizen top-sail. At Noon strong breezes and squally, with rain—Victory N.E. two miles, Fleet in company, Téméraire in tow."

Log of H. M. Ship *Phœbe*, from Noon of the 21st, to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"At 5 min. past Noon observed the Enemy's centre commence firing at our van Ships, shortly after which the Royal Sovereign commenced firing—repeated No. 16—came to the wind on the starboard tack—at 17 min. past noon the Victory commenced firing—at 30 min. past noon Royal Sovereign and several of H.M. Ships closely engaged with the Enemy. At 1.10 observed No. 269 made to the Ajax—1.45 observed two French line-of-battle Ships strike their colours—1.55 observed a French Ship, supposed to be the Bucentaur, with her main and mizen masts shot away. At 2 a Spanish three-decker totally dismasted—2.18 a Spanish line-of-battle Ship with English colours over Spanish—2.29 Royal Sovereign made signal for the Euryalus to tow—at 2.30 the Spanish four-decker totally dismasted—2.40 repeated the Sirius' signal to take a Ship in tow. At 3 answered No. 238 from the Euryalus—3.10 repeated No. 101 from the Victory general—3.32 answered No. 101—3.35 repeated the Defence's signal to tack. At 4 sent our carpenter on board a prize in want of assistance—observed a French line-of-battle Ship dismasted and on fire, L'Achille, 80 guns—sent 10 marines on board a line-of-battle Ship prize to the Bellerophon. 5.2 repeated No. 101—at 5.4 eleven of the Enemy's Ships steering N.E. with courses and topgallant sails set—5.5 a Spanish line-of-battle Ship struck to the Minotaur—5.10 the Enemy's Ships ceased firing—four French line-of-battle Ships, one with a Rear-Admiral's Flag, hauled their wind on the starboard tack, their heads about S. b. W.—5.17 repeated No. 99 from the Euryalus—observed 15 or 16 line-of-battle Ships in possession of the English. At 6 P.M.

"According to the official returns the aggregate loss in killed and wounded on the part of the British amounted to 1690; of which amount about six-sevenths, or 1452, fell to the share of fourteen out of the twenty-seven Ships in the Fleet. With few exceptions, the Ships so suffering were in the van of their respective columns. This was a consequence of the peculiar mode of attack adopted by Lord Nelson, coupled with the fall of the breeze after the firing had begun. For instance, the leading Ships of each column as they approached within gun-shot of the Combined Fleet, were exposed to the deliberate and uninterrupted fire of seven or eight Ships drawn

Meca Tower E. b. S. ½ S. 8.45 sounded in 26 fathoms, Cape Trafalgar E. b. N. 5 leagues, Cadiz light N. ¼ E. 22 m.—employed the whole night giving assistance to Ships in distress. 22nd. At daylight observed the Fleet much scattered. 7.30 A.M. Cape Trafalgar E. b. S. 5 leagues—strong breezes and cloudy weather. At 9 squally from the southward—double-reefed the topsails—lost three whole hawsers and 100 fathoms of rope, endeavouring to take the L'Aigle and Fougueux, two French line-of-battle Ships, in tow. At noon strong breezes and squally, with rain."

Log of H. M. Schooner *Pickle*, from Noon on the 21st to Noon of the 22nd of October, 1805.—"P.M. Light airs and clear. At ½ p. 12 the Royal Sovereign commenced her fire on the Enemy, and broke through the Enemy's line—the Enemy directed a warm fire on the above-mentioned Ship, until she was covered by the Victory and other Ships. At ½ p. 2 we discovered four of the Enemy's Ships dismasted—the wind being light our Ships were not all got in action. At 4 discovered some of the Enemy's Ships making their escape. At ½ p. 4 the Enemy ceased their fire, except four Ships, which were trying to effect their escape to windward, and were attacked by two of our Ships—their rigging being shattered, the Enemy got off. Nineteen struck and one blew up in the action—out boats and saved 150 men. 22nd A.M. Fresh breezes and cloudy—employed assisting the disabled Ships—the Ships not much disabled took the prizes in tow—Boats employed carrying the prisoners on board of different Ships. At Noon ditto weather—employed as the service required."

Log of H. M. Cutter *Entreprenante*, from the Morning of the 21st to Noon on the 22nd of October 1805.—"A.M. moderate—at daylight observed the Enemy's Fleet to the Eastward, counted 35 sail, supposed them to be of the line—observed the Fleet, wore and stood towards them. At noon light breezes and clear—the Combined Fleet laying-to—the British Fleet, all sail set, standing towards them—Lord Nelson leading the van of the weather line. P.M.—Light breezes and cloudy. At 1 observed the van of our Fleet bring the Enemy's Fleet to action. Until 4 P.M. a very heavy fire was kept up on both sides, when we observed one of the Enemy's Ships on fire—made all sail to her—sent out boats to the assistance of the people which were overboard. At 5.30 the Ship blew up—preserved from different wrecks, &c., upwards of 169 men—observed 16 sail of the Enemy's Ships had struck their colours, most of which were totally dismasted—Cutter's head all round the compass during the night in company with the Fleet. 22nd A.M. moderate breezes. At 8 spoke H. M. Ship Victory—Fleet's head to the Southward, the bulk much scattered. At Noon squally and rain, with heavy swell from the S.S.E." The *Journal* of this Vessel says "saved from the different wrecks 158 men."

Log of H. M. Ship *Naiad*, from Noon on the 21st to Noon on the 22nd October, 1805.—P.M. At 12.10 light breezes—observed the Royal Sovereign commencing the action, as did several other Ships of the lee line at 12.30. At 12.50 the Spanish Admiral commenced firing, and the Action became very general. At 1 a Spanish three-decker hauled down her colours to the Royal Sovereign—at 1.30 all the same three-decker's masts went over the side—at 1.35 observed a Spanish two-decker haul down her colours—at 1.50 a French two-deck Ship and the French Admiral both struck to the Victory and Téméraire.

up in a line a-head, without being able, until nearly on board of them, to bring a gun to bear in return. The moment the former did begin to engage, the French and Spanish Ships closed for mutual support; whereby the latter not only prevented each other from

At 2 observed the main and mizen mast of a French two-decker go over the side —at 2.10 observed several of the Enemy's Ships dismasted, and one of ours with her fore and mizen mast gone—at 2.20 observed the Neptune dismast a Spanish four-deck Ship, and likewise several of ditto strike their colours—at 2.40 the action became general from van to rear—at 2.45 the main and mizen masts of the Royal Sovereign went by the board. At 3.35 bore up to take one of our Ships in tow. At 4 took the Belleisle in tow, she being without a mast or bowsprit—observed one of the French Line-of-Battle Ships on fire—at 4.20 out boats and sent them to take men from ditto—at 5 the firing ceased from all the Ships—at 5.10 observed the Ship that was on fire to blow up. At 6 four of the French line-of-battle Ships retreating to windward with their starboard tacks on board, and 14 Spaniards to leeward, the land of Trafalgar E. b. S. about 10 miles. At 10.30 received on board 95 prisoners, and sent a petty Officer and 30 men to the Achille. At 11.30 answered signal of distress from a Ship to windward. At 12 light breezes. 22nd A.M. at 1 up boats. At 7 the Straits' mouth S.E. b. E. ½ E. about 20 leagues. At 8 blowing fresh—Fleet in company—Belleisle in tow. At noon blowing strong at times with rain—Admiral's flag on board the Euryalus to leeward, part of the Fleet in sight, several towing each other—Belleisle still in tow—made and shortened sail as necessary." The following Signals were observed, and many of them repeated, by the Naiad from Noon to Sunset on the 21st of October.

No. Signal.	Telegraph, Admiralty or accompanying Telegraph, or Pendant.	Purport.	By whom made.	To whom made.	At what time made.	Remarks.
					P. M.	
16	Admiralty	Engage more closely	Victory	General	12h 20m	Repeated by the Naiad immediately
307	Admiralty and S. pendant, red with white fly, over yellow	Make all sail possible with safety to the masts	Victory	Africa	12 30	Repeated twice by the Naiad
	Naiad's pendant and Compass Signal	To take a disabled Ship in tow	Euryalus	Naiad	3 0	Answered and complied with immediately
101	Admiralty	Come to the wind on the larboard tack	Euryalus	General	3 20	Repeated by the Naiad immediately
99	Admiralty	Come to the wind on the starboard tack	Euryalus	General	3 30	Ditto
101	Admiralty	Come to the wind on the larboard tack	Phœbe	General	4 0	Ditto
101	Admiralty	Come to the wind on the larboard tack	Phœbe	General	4 35	Ditto
99	Admiralty	Come to the wind on the starboard tack	Admiral on board the Euryalus	General	5 25	Ditto
58	Admiralty	Take possession of Ships that have struck	Admiral on board the Euryalus	General	5 40	Ditto

firing at such of the British Ships as were still bearing down, but became too seriously occupied with close antagonists, to bestow much attention upon distant ones.

"We regret our inability to particularize as usual, the loss sustained by the Ships of the Franco-Spanish Fleet. Of the many that were captured, not one has her loss stated in the British official account; and neither the French nor the Spaniards, except in the case of the Redoutable and of one or two Spanish Ships, have published any returns. It is therefore impossible for us to do more than point to the effects of the British shot upon the majority of the French and Spanish Ships, deducible from the state of their masts and rigging already so fully described; leaving it to be inferred, that the antagonist of a British Ship seldom has her masts shot away, until her hull has been greatly shattered, and a large proportion of her crew killed or disabled."

The Logs of the different Ships mention many other Signals on the 21st of October; and as the signification is not always given, it may be useful to insert here the purport of the *numbers* mentioned:

No.
8 The Signal made herewith ● to be carried into execution at the close of day.
13 Prepare for battle.
15 Engage the Enemy.
16 Engage more closely.
42 Form the larboard line of bearing.
50 Keep the larboard line of bearing though on the starboard tack.
58 Take possession of a Ship that has struck.
62 Each Squadron is to anchor separately.
63 Anchor as soon as convenient.
72 Form the order of sailing in two columns.

No.
76 Bear up and sail large.
82 Alter course to port one point.
84 Pass within hail.
88 Ships in the Van make more sail.
97 Lead the Fleet or column denoted.
99 Come to the wind together on the larboard tack.
101 Come to the wind in succession on the larboard tack, van ships first.
108 Close near the Admiral.
186 Take a Ship in tow.
238 Stay by Ships in distress.
269 Take your station astern of the Ship denoted.
307 Make all sail with safety to the masts.

It is remarkable that there should have been *three* Neptunes, one Spanish, one French, and the third British, *two* Swiftsures, and *two* Achilles, in the Battle. The French Swiftsure was formerly an English Ship, as was also the Berwick. The Minotaur and Spartiate were opponents at the Battle of the Nile, when the latter struck to the former. Captain Sir Edward Berry, of the Agamemnon, was Captain of the Vanguard at the Nile; and Captain Capel, of the Phœbe, brought home Lord Nelson's dispatches after that Battle.

PUBLIC DISPATCHES AND OTHER LETTERS FROM VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD, THE HON. CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD, THE MARQUIS DE SOLANO, GOVERNOR OF CADIZ, AND VICE-ADMIRAL ALAVA, RESPECTING THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ. ADMIRALTY.

[From the London Gazette of the 6th November, 1805.]

Sir, Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22nd, 1805.

The ever to be lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the Enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the Commander in Chief from the Ships watching the motions of the Enemy in Cadiz, that the Combined Fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Streights' entrance with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven Ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his Lordship was informed by Capt. Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching, and giving notice of the enemy's movements, has been highly meritorious,) that they had not yet passed the Streights.

On Monday the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the Enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light; the Commander in Chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The Enemy's line consisted of thirty-three Ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish), commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, were, with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new;—it formed a crescent convexing to leeward—so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate Ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam,

to leave a very little interval between them; and this without crowding their Ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish Ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of National squadron.

As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the Flag-officers and Captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made except to direct close order as the lines bore down.

The Commander in Chief in the Victory led the weather column; and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee.

The Action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading Ships of the columns breaking through the Enemy's line, the Commander in Chief about the tenth Ship from the van, the Second in Command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the Enemy unoccupied; the succeeding Ships breaking through in all parts, a-stern of their leaders, and engaging the Enemy at the muzzles of their guns, the conflict was severe. The Enemy's Ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their Officers, but the attack on them was irresistible; and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant His Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P. M. many of the Enemy's Ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten Ships, joining their Frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost Ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to His Majesty's squadron nineteen Ships of the line, (of which two are first-rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna,) with three Flag Officers; viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander in Chief; Don Ignatio Maria d'Alava, Vice-Admiral; and the Spanish Rear-Admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several Commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same: when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

The Achille (a French 74), after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen took fire, and blew up; two hundred of her men were saved by the Tenders.

A circumstance occurred during the Action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their Lordships. The Temeraire was boarded by accident, or design, by a French Ship on one side, and a Spaniard on the other: the contest was vigorous; but in the end the Combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

Such a Battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British Navy and the British Nation, in the fall of the Commander-in-Chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his Country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years' intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection;—a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought: his Lordship received a musket ball in his left breast about the middle of the Action, and sent an Officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired.

I have also to lament the loss of those excellent Officers, Captains Duff of the Mars and Cooke of the Bellerophon: I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the Action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the Ships.

The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the Action continued, which Ship lying within hail, made my signals, a service Captain Blackwood performed with great attention. After the Action I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the Ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted; all shattered; in thirteen fathoms water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the Ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot; but the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the Ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted Ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over.

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of His Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.

I am, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

THE ORDER IN WHICH THE SHIPS OF THE BRITISH SQUADRON ATTACKED THE COMBINED FLEETS ON THE 21ST OF OCTOBER, 1805.

VAN.		REAR.
	Victory.	Royal Sovereign.
	Temeraire.	Mars.
	Neptune.	Belleisle.
	Conqueror.	Tonnant.
	Leviathan.	Bellerophon.
	Ajax.	Colossus.
	Orion.	Achille.
	Agamemnon.	Polyphemus.
	Minotaur.	Revenge.
	Spartiate.	Swiftsure.
	Britannia.	Defence.
	Africa.	Thunderer.
Euryalus.	Naiad.	Defiance.
Sirius.	Pickle Schooner.	Prince.
Phœbe.	Entreprenante Cutter.	Dreadnought.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

GENERAL ORDER.

TO THE RIGHT HON. REAR-ADMIRAL THE EARL OF NORTHESK, AND THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS AND COMMANDERS.

[From the London Gazette of the 6th of November, 1805.]

Euryalus, October 22nd, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, the Commander in Chief, who fell in the Action of the 21st, in the arms of Victory, covered with glory, whose memory will be ever dear to the British Navy, and the British Nation; whose zeal for the honour of his King, and for the interests of his Country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British Seaman,—leaves to me a duty to return my thanks to the Right Hon. Rear-Admiral, the Captains, Officers, Seamen, and detachments of Royal Marines serving on board His Majesty's Squadron now under my command, for their conduct on that day; but where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the Officers, the Seamen, and Marines in the Battle with the Enemy, where every individual appeared an Hero, on whom the glory of his Country depended. The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of Naval Annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their King and their Country need their service.

To the Right Honourable Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the Captains, Officers, and Seamen, and to the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Royal Marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the Action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured Ships out from the perilous situation in which they were after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather.

And I desire that the respective Captains will be pleased to

communicate to the Officers, Seamen, and Royal Marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

GENERAL ORDER.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS AND COMMANDERS.

[From the London Gazette of the 6th of November, 1806.]

Sir, Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 24th, 1805.

The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertion of His Majesty's Fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their Enemies, on the 21st of this month; and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the Throne of Grace for the great benefits to our Country and to Mankind:

I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for this his merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us, in the defence of our Country's liberties and laws, without which the utmost efforts of man are nought; and direct therefore that be appointed for this holy purpose.

Given on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, 22nd October, 1805.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

N.B.—The Fleet having been dispersed by a gale of wind, no day has yet been able to be appointed for the above purpose.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[From the London Gazette of the 6th of November, 1805.]

Sir, Euryalus, October 24th, 1805.

In my letter of the 22nd, I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of His Majesty's Squadron on the day of the Action, and that preceding it, since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes, but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

On the 22nd, in the morning, a strong Southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which however did not prevent the activity of the Officers and Seamen of such Ships as were manageable from getting hold of many of the Prizes (thirteen or fourteen), and towing them off to the Westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune; but on the 23rd the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and some of them, taking advantage of the dark and

boisterous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk. On the afternoon of that day the remnant of the Combined Fleet, ten sail of Ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured Ships, and form to leeward for their defence. All this retarded the progress of the Hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the Ships was a matter of little consequence compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the Enemy: but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent. I entrusted it to skilful Officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The Captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the Fleet this moment from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others. The Redoutable sunk astern of the Swiftsure while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, is sunk, as her side was almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a Ship of them into Port. I hope their Lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the Enemy's Fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this Ship; Vice-Admiral Don Alava is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a Frigate, (for there were only four in the action with the Fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad; the Melpomene joined the 22nd, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23rd), I shall collect the other Flag Officers, and send them to England with their Flags, (if they do not all go to the bottom), to be laid at His Majesty's feet.

There were four thousand Troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure. I am, Sir, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[From the London Gazette of the 16th of November, 1805.]

Sir, Euryalus, off Cadiz, 28th October, 1805.

Since my letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of His Majesty's Squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous, that ever a Fleet was engaged in. On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the Ships, and drove the captured Hulls in all directions.

I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them, where they are at anchor upon the coast between Cadiz and six

leagues Westward of San Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into Port. I mentioned in my former letter the joining of the Donegal and Melpomene, after the Action; I cannot sufficiently praise the activity of their Commanders, in giving assistance to the Squadron in destroying the Enemy's Ships. The Defiance, after having stuck to the Aigle as long as it was possible, in hope of saving her from wreck, which separated her for some time from the Squadron, was obliged to abandon her to her fate, and she went on shore. Captain Durham's exertions have been very great. I hope I shall get them all destroyed by to-morrow, if the weather keeps moderate. In the gale the Royal Sovereign and Mars lost their foremasts, and are now rigging anew, where the body of the Squadron is at anchor to the N.W. of San Lucar.

I find that on the return of Gravina to Cadiz he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line, to cover the disabled Hulls: that night it blew hard, and his Ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into Port; the Rayo was also dismasted, and fell into our hands; Don Enrigue M'Donel had his broad pendant in the Rayo, and from him I find the Santa Ana was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a Frigate.—I am, Sir, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

P.S.—I enclose a list[8] of the killed and wounded, as far as I have been able to collect it.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS. GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

[Original.]

Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, 2nd November, 1805.

Vice-Admiral Collingwood, in attending to the wishes and feeling in common with all lately serving under the orders of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, those sentiments of attachment and affection due to so exalted a character, submits to the Admiral, Captains, Officers, Seamen, and Marines, his compliance with the request made him of assenting to the erecting, at the general expense of the Squadron, on Post Down Hill, a lasting Monument to their late Chief's memory and great name: he does, in consequence, request the Captains of the respective Ships will make the same known to their crews, that if approved it may be adopted; and in order to procure a fund for so laudable a purpose, that the sum of 2000*l.* shall be deducted and paid by the Agents for that object, out of the prize-money arising from the Action off Cape Trafalgar the 21st ultimo, subject to the disposal of Commissioners to be named by the Commander-in-Chief.

The Commander-in-Chief invites Rear-Admiral Louis, with those of the Squadron under his orders at that time, to unite with him, in

[8] The List referred to was necessarily imperfect, and the General Return which was afterwards sent to the Admiralty will be found in pages 222—224, post.

the way he thinks most advisable, for the accomplishment of this National object.

Should this meet your concurrence, as well as those on board the Ship you command, you will be pleased to note it in your Log Book, and report to me in writing, signed by yourself, First Lieutenant, and signing Officers.

CUTHT. COLLINGWOOD.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ. ADMIRALTY.

[From the London Gazette of the 27th of November, 1805. This Letter was brought to the Admiralty in the night of the 26th of November, by Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood, of the Euryalus.]

His Majesty's Ship the Queen, off Cape Trafalgar,
Sir, November 4th, 1805.

On the 28th ultimo, I informed you of the proceedings of the Squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the S.W., the Squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured Ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into Port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the Squadron out of the deep bay.

The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his Ship the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterwards brought out the Bahama. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the Officers employed in this service. Captain Hope rigged and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso; all of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I enclose you a list of all the Enemy's Fleet which were in the Action, and how they are disposed of, which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the Enemy's Fleet came out a second time to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the Hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands; she afterwards parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same Squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.

The Santa Ana and Algeziras being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their Fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore. Had the Battle been in the Ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty Sail of the Line are taken or destroyed[9]; and of those which

[9] The London Gazette of the 30th of November, contained the following letter from Captain Blackwood to William Marsden, Esq.:—

"Sir, "Admiralty, 30th November, 1805.

"Observing in the Gazette Extraordinary, of the 27th instant, that the number of the Enemy's Ships taken and destroyed, in consequence of the Action of the 21st of October, is stated at twenty Sail of the Line, I take the liberty of mentioning to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,

got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.

Rear-Admiral Louis in the Canopus, who had been detached with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of these Ships, and to see the Convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.

In clearing the captured Ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-General of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their Country, on receipts being given;—a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the Governor, but the whole Country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French Frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper Officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the Ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the Officers on parole; the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war, by sea or land, until exchanged.

By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-Admiral d'Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war, a copy of which I enclose, together with a State of the Flag Officers of the Combined Fleet. I am, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

A LIST OF THE COMBINED FLEETS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN IN THE ACTION OF 21ST OCTOBER, 1805, OFF CAPE TRAFALGAR, SHOWING HOW THEY ARE DISPOSED OF.

1. Spanish Ship San Ildefonso, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don Joseph de Vargas; sent to Gibraltar.
2. Spanish Ship San Juan Nepomuceno, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don Cosme Churruca; sent to Gibraltar.
3. Spanish Ship Bahama, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano; sent to Gibraltar.
4. French Ship Swiftsure, of 74 guns, Monsieur Villemadrin; sent to Gibraltar.
5. Spanish Ship Monarca, of 74 guns, Don Teodoro Argumosa; wrecked off San Lucar.
6. French Ship Fougueux, of 74 guns, Monsieur Beaudouin; wrecked off Trafalgar, all perished, and thirty of the Téméraire's men.
7. French Ship Indomptable, of 84 guns, Monsieur Hubert; wrecked off Rota, all perished.

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that as this must be intended to include the French Ship Argonaute, of seventy-four guns, which Ship I had an opportunity of knowing was safe in the Port of Cadiz, it will be proper to state the actual number taken and destroyed, at nineteen sail of the Line. This apparent inaccuracy was occasioned by the dispatch of the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 4th, having been made up before my last return with a flag of truce from that Port.—I am, &c.,

"HENRY BLACKWOOD."

8. French Ship Bucentaur, of 80 guns, Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-Chief; Captains Prigny and Magendie; wrecked on the Porques, some of the crew saved.

9. Spanish Ship San Francisco de Asis, of 74 guns, Don Luis de Flores; wrecked near Rota.

10. Spanish Ship El Rayo, of 100 guns, Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel; wrecked near San Lucar.

11. Spanish Ship Neptuno, of 84 guns, Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes; wrecked between Rota and Catolina.

12. French Ship Argonaute, of 74 guns, Monsieur Epron; on shore in the Port of Cadiz.

13. French Ship Berwick, of 74 guns, Monsieur Camas; wrecked to the Northward of San Lucar.

14. French Ship Aigle, of 74 guns, Monsieur Courrege; wrecked near Rota.

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15. French Ship Achille, of 74 guns, Monsieur d'Nieuport; burnt during the Action.

16. French Ship Intrepidé, of 74 guns, Monsieur Infornet; burnt by the Britannia.

17. Spanish Ship San Agustin, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don Felipe X. Cagigal; burnt by the Leviathan.

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18. Spanish Ship Santissima Trinidad, of 140 guns, Rear-Admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte; sunk by the Prince, Neptune, &c.

19. French Ship Redoutable, of 74 guns, Monsieur Lucas; sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Téméraire lost thirteen, and Swiftsure five men.

20. Spanish Ship Argonauta, of 80 guns, Don Antonio Parejo; sunk by the Ajax.

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21 Spanish Ship Santa Ana, of 112 guns, Vice-Admiral Don Ignacio D'Alava; Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui; taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale; dismasted.

22. French Ship Algeziras, of 74 guns, Rear-Admiral Magon (killed); Captain Monsieur Bruaro; taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

23. French Ship Pluton, of 74 guns, Monsieur Cosmao; returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.

24. Spanish Ship San Juste, of 74 guns, Don Miguel Gaston; returned to Cadiz; has a foremast only.

25. Spanish Ship San Leandro, of 64 guns, Don Joseph de Quevedo; returned to Cadiz dismasted.

26. French Ship Neptune, of 84 guns, Monsieur Maistral; returned to Cadiz, and perfect.

27. French Ship Heros, of 74 guns, Monsieur Poulain; returned to Cadiz, lower masts in, and Admiral Rossilly's Flag on board.

28. Spanish Ship Principe de Asturias, of 112 guns, Admiral Don F. Gravina; Don Antonio Escano, &c.; returned to Cadiz dismasted.

29. Spanish Ship Montanez, of 74 guns, Don Francisco Alcedo; returned to Cadiz.

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30. French Ship Formidable, of 80 guns, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

31. French Ship Mont-Blanc, of 74 guns, Monsieur Le Villegries; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

32. French Ship Scipion, of 74 guns, Monsieur Berenger; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

33. French Ship Duguay-Trouin, of 74 guns, Monsieur Touffet; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

N.B.—These four Ships were captured by Sir Richard Strachan on the 4th instant.

ABSTRACT.

At Gibraltar		4
Destroyed		16
In Cadiz, wrecks	6	9
In Cadiz, serviceable	3	
Escaped to the southward		4
Total		33

A LIST OF THE NAMES AND RANK OF THE FLAG-OFFICERS OF THE COMBINED FLEET OF FRANCE AND SPAIN IN THE ACTION OF THE 21ST OF OCTOBER, 1805.

Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-Chief; Bucentaur—Taken.

Admiral Don Frederico Gravina; Principe de Asturias—Escaped, in Cadiz, wounded in the arm.

Vice-Admiral Don Ignatio Maria D'Alava; Santa Ana—Wounded severely in the head, taken, but was driven back into Cadiz in the Santa Ana.

Rear-Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros; Santissima Trinidad—Taken.

Rear-Admiral Magon; Algeziras—Killed.

Rear-Admiral Dumanoir; Formidable—Escaped.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED ON BOARD THE RESPECTIVE SHIPS COMPOSING THE BRITISH SQUADRON UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, IN THE ACTION OF THE 21ST OF OCTOBER, 1805, OFF CAPE TRAFALGAR, WITH THE COMBINED FLEETS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

[From the London Gazette of the 27th of November and 3rd of December, 1805.]

Victory: 4 Officers, 3 Petty Officers, 32 Seamen, and 18 Marines, killed; 4 Officers, 3 Petty Officers, 59 Seamen, and 9 Marines, wounded. Total 132. *Royal Sovereign:* 3 Officers, 2 Petty Officers, 29 Seamen, and 13 Marines, killed; 3 Officers, 5 Petty Officers, 70 Seamen, and 16 Marines, wounded. Total, 141. *Britannia:* 1 Officer, 8 Seamen, and 1 Marine, killed; 1 Officer, 1 Petty Officer, 33 Seamen, and 7 Marines, wounded. Total, 52. *Temeraire:* 3 Officers, 1 Petty Officer, 35 Seamen, and 8 Marines, killed; 3 Officers, 2 Petty Officers, 59 Seamen, and 12 Marines, wounded. Total, 123. *Prince:* none. *Neptune:* 10 Seamen, killed; 1 Petty Officer, 30 Seamen, and 3 Marines, wounded. Total, 44. *Dreadnought:* 6 Seamen and 1 Marine, killed; 1 Officer, 2 Petty Officers, 19 Seamen, and 4 Marines, wounded. Total, 33. *Tonnant:* 1 Petty Officer, 16 Seamen, and 9 Marines, killed; 2 Officers, 2 Petty Officers, 30 Seamen, and 16 Marines, wounded. Total, 76. *Mars:* 1 Officer, 3 Petty Officers, 17 Seamen, and 8 Marines, killed; 4 Officers, 5 Petty Officers, 44 Seamen, and 16 Marines, wounded. Total, 98. *Bellerophon:* 2 Officers, 1 Petty Officer, 20 Seamen, and 4 Marines, killed; 2 Officers, 4 Petty Officers, 97 Seamen, and 20 Marines, wounded. Total, 150. *Minotaur:* 3 Seamen killed; 1 Officer, 1 Petty Officer, 17 Seamen, and 3 Marines, wounded. Total 25. *Revenge:* 2 Petty Officers, 18 Seamen, and 8 Marines, killed; 4 Officers, 38 Seamen, and 9 Marines, wounded. Total, 79. *Conqueror:* 2 Officers, 1 Seaman, killed; 2 Officers, 7 Seamen, wounded. Total, 12. *Leviathan:* 2 Seamen, and 2 Marines, killed; 1 Petty Officer, 17 Seamen, and 4 Marines, wounded. Total, 26. *Ajax:* 2 Seamen, killed; 9 Seamen, wounded. Total, 11. *Orion:* 1 Seaman, killed; 2 Petty Officers, 17 Seamen, and 4 Marines, wounded. Total 24. *Agamemnon:* 2 Seamen, killed; 7 Seamen, wounded. Total, 9. *Spartiate:* 3 Seamen killed; 1 Officer, 2 Petty Officers, 16 Seamen, and 1 Marine, wounded. Total, 23. *Africa:* 12 Seamen, and 6 Marines, killed; 2 Officers, 5 Petty Officers, 30 Seamen, and 7 Marines, wounded. Total, 62. *Belleisle:* 2 Officers, 1 Petty Officer, 22 Seamen, and 8 Marines, killed; 3 Officers, 3 Petty Officers, 68 Seamen, and 19 Marines, wounded. Total 126. *Colossus:* 1 Officer, 31 Seamen, and 8 Marines, killed; 5 Officers, 9 Petty Officers, 115 Seamen, and 31 Marines, wounded. Total, 200.

Achille: 1 Petty Officer, 6 Seamen, and 6 Marines, killed; 4 Officers, 4 Petty Officers, 37 Seamen, and 14 Marines, wounded. Total, 72. *Polyphemus*: 2 Seamen, killed; 4 Seamen, wounded. Total 6. *Swiftsure*: 7 Seamen, and 2 Marines, killed; 1 Petty Officer, 6 Seamen, and 1 Marine, wounded. Total, 17. *Defence*: 4 Seamen, and 3 Marines, killed; 23 Seamen, and 6 Marines, wounded. Total, 36. *Thunderer*: 2 Seamen, and 2 Marines, killed; 2 Petty Officers, 9 Seamen, and 1 Marine, wounded. Total, 16. *Defiance*: 2 Officers, 1 Petty Officer, 8 Seamen, and 6 Marines, killed; 1 Officer, 4 Petty Officers, 39 Seamen, and 9 Marines, wounded. Total, 70.

Total.—21 Officers, 16 Petty Officers, 299 Seamen, and 113 Marines, killed; 43 Officers, 59 Petty Officers, 900 Seamen, and 212 Marines, wounded. Total, 1663.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

RETURN OF THE NAMES OF THE OFFICERS AND PETTY OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED ON BOARD THE SHIPS OF THE BRITISH SQUADRON IN THE ACTION WITH THE COMBINED FLEETS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN OFF CAPE TRAFALGAR, ON THE 21ST OCTOBER, 1805.

KILLED.

Victory: The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B., Vice-Admiral of the White, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.; John Scott, Esq., Secretary; Charles W. Adair, Captain Royal Marines; William Ram, Lieutenant; Robert Smith and Alexander Palmer, Midshipmen; Thomas Whipple, Captain's Clerk.—*Royal Sovereign*: Brice Gilliland, Lieutenant; William Chalmers, Master; Robert Green, Second Lieutenant of Royal Marines; John Aikenhead and Thomas Braund, Midshipmen.—*Britannia*: Francis Roskruge, Lieutenant.—*Temeraire*: Simeon Busigny, Captain of Royal Marines; John Kingston, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Lewis Oades, Carpenter; William Pitts, Midshipmen.—*Prince*: none.—*Neptune*: none.—*Dreadnought*: none.—*Tonnant*: William Brown, Midshipman.—*Mars*: George Duff, Captain; Alexander Duff, Master's Mate; Edmund Corlyn and Henry Morgan, Midshipmen.—*Bellerophon*: John Cooke (1st) Captain; Edward Overton, Master; John Simmons, Midshipman.—*Minotaur*: none.—*Revenge*: Thomas Grier and Edward F. Brooks, Midshipmen.—*Conqueror*: Robert Lloyd and William M. St. George, Lieutenants.—*Leviathan*: none.—*Ajax*: none.—*Orion*: none.—*Agamemnon*: none.—*Spartiate*: none.—*Africa*: none.—*Belleisle*: Ebenezer Geall, and John Woodin, Lieutenants; George Nind, Midshipman.—*Colossus*: Thomas Scriven, Master.—*Achille*: Francis John Mugg, Midshipman.—*Polyphemus*: none.—*Swiftsure*: none.—*Defence*: none.—*Thunderer*: none.—*Defiance*: Thomas Simens, Lieutenant; William Forster, Boatswain; James Williamson, Midshipman.

WOUNDED.

Victory. John Pasco, and G. Miller Bligh, Lieutenants; Lewis B. Reeves, and J. G. Peake, Lieutenants Royal Marines; William Rivers (slightly), G. A. Westphal, and Richard Bulkeley, Midshipmen; John Geoghehan, Agent Victualler's Clerk.—*Royal Sovereign*: John Clavell, and James Bashford, Lieutenants; James le Vesconte, Second Lieutenant Royal Marines; William Watson, Master's Mate; Gilbert Kennicott, Grenville Thompson, John Campbell, and John Farrant, Midshipmen; Isaac Wilkinson, Boatswain.—*Britannia*: Stephen Trounce, Master; William Grint, Midshipman.—*Temeraire*: James Mould, Lieutenant; Samuel J. Payne, Lieutenant Royal Marines; John Brooks Boatswain; T. S. Price, Master's Mate; John Eastman, Midshipman.—*Prince*: none.—*Neptune*: ——— Hurrell, Captain's Clerk.—*Dreadnought*: James L. Lloyd (slightly), Lieutenant; Andrew M'Cullock, and James Saffin, Midshipmen.—*Tonnant*: Charles Tyler, Captain; Richard Little, Boatswain; William Allen, Clerk; Henry Ready, Master's Mate; the three last slightly.—*Mars*: Edward Garratt, and James Black, Lieutenants; Thomas Cook, Master; Thomas Norman, Second Captain of Royal Marines; John Yonge, George Guiren, William John Cooke, John Jenkins, and Alfred Luckraft, Midshipmen.—*Bellerophon*: James Wemyss, Captain of Royal Marines; Thomas Robinson, Boatswain; Edward Hartley, Master's Mate; William N. Jewell,

James Stone, Thomas Bant, and George Pearson, Midshipmen.—*Minotaur:* James Robinson, Boatswain; John Samuel Smith, Midshipman.—*Revenge:* Robert Moorsom, Captain (slightly); Luke Brokenshaw, Master; John Berry, Lieutenant; Peter Lily (slightly), Captain of Royal Marines.—*Conqueror:* Thomas Wearing, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Philip Mendel, Lieutenant of His Imperial Majesty's Navy (both slightly).—*Leviathan:* J. W. Watson, Midshipman (slightly).—*Ajax:* none.—*Orion:* ——— Sause, C. P. Cable, Midshipmen, (both slightly).—*Agamemnon:* none.—*Spartiate:* John Clarke, Boatswain; ——— Bellaires and ——— Knapman, Midshipmen. *Africa:* Matthew Hay, acting Lieutenant; James Fynmore, Captain of Royal Marines; Henry West, and Abraham Turner, Master's Mates; Frederick White, (slightly), Philip J. Elmhurst, and John P. Bailey, Midshipmen.—*Belleisle:* William Terrie, Lieutenant; John Owen, First Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Andrew Gibson, Boatswain; William Henry Pearson, and William Culfield, Master's Mates; Samuel Jago, Midshipman; J. T. Hodge, Volunteer, first class.—*Colossus:* James N. Morris, Captain; George Bully, Lieutenant; William Forster, acting Lieutenant; John Benson, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Henry Milbanke, Master's Mate; William Herringham, Frederick Thistlewayte (slightly), Thomas G. Reece, Henry Snellgrove, Rawden Maclean, George Wharrie, Tim. Renou, and George Denton, Midshipmen; William Adamson, Boatswain.—*Achille:* Parkins Prynn (slightly), and Josias Bray, Lieutenants; Pralms Westroppe, Captain of Royal Marines; William Leddon, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; George Pegge, Master's Mate; William H. Staines, and W. J. Snow, Midshipmen; W. Smith Warren, Volunteer, first class.—*Polyphemus:* none.—*Swiftsure:* Alexander Bell Handcock, Midshipman.—*Defence:* none.—*Thunderer:* John Snell, Master's Mate; Alexander Galloway, Midshipman.—*Defiance:* P. C. Durham (slightly), Captain; James Spratt and Robert Browne, Master's Mates; John Hodge and Edmund Andrew Chapman, Midshipmen.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

TO THE HONOURABLE MRS. BLACKWOOD.

[Autograph in the possession of the Honourable Lady Blackwood.]

"Tuesday 22nd, 1 o'clock at night.—The first hour since yesterday morning that I could call my own is now before me, to be devoted to my dearest wife, who, thank God, is not a husband out of pocket. My heart, however, is sad, and penetrated with the deepest anguish. A Victory, such a one as has never been achieved, yesterday took place in the course of five hours; but at such an expense, in the loss of the most gallant of men, and best of friends, as renders it to me a Victory I never wished to have witnessed—at least, on such terms. After performing wonders by his example and coolness, Lord Nelson was wounded by a French Sharpshooter, and died in three hours after, beloved and regretted in a way not to find example. To any other person, my Harriet, but yourself, I could not and would not enter so much into the detail, particularly of what I feel at this moment. But you, who know and enter into all my feelings, I do not, even at the risk of distressing you, hesitate to say that in my life, I never was so shocked or so completely upset as upon my flying to the Victory, even before the Action was over, to find Lord Nelson was then at the gasp of death. His unfortunate decorations of innumerable stars, and his uncommon gallantry, was the cause of his death; and such an Admiral has the Country lost, and every officer

and man so kind, so good, so obliging a friend as never was. Thank God, he lived to know that such a Victory, and under circumstances so disadvantageous to the attempt, never was before gained. Almost all seemed as if inspired by the one common sentiment of conquer or die. The Enemy, to do them justice, were not less so. They waited the attack of the British with a coolness I was sorry to witness, and they fought in a way that must do them honour. As a spectator, who saw the faults, or rather mistakes, on both sides, I shall ever do them the justice to say so. They are, however, beat, and I hope and trust it may be the means of hastening a Peace. Buonaparte, I firmly believe, forced them to sea to try his luck, and what it might procure him [in] a pitched battle. They had the flower of the Combined Fleet, and I hope it will convince Europe at large that he has not yet learnt enough to cope with the English at sea. No history can record such a brilliant Victory. At 12 o'clock yesterday it commenced, and ended about 5, leaving in our hands nineteen Sail of the Line, one of whom afterwards blew up (a French Ship, the Achille): therefore, except for our prize-money, it is not of so much consequence. They were attacked in a way no other Admiral ever before thought of, and equally surprised them. Lord Nelson (though it was not his station) would lead, supported by Captain Hardy, and Freemantle in Temeraire, and Neptune. He went into the thickest of it, was successful in his first object, and has left cause for every man who had a heart never to forget him. I closed my last sheet in a great hurry to obey my signal on board the Victory, and really I thought that I was sent for to take the command of one of the Ships vacant. It was, however, only to talk to me—explain what he expected from the Frigates in, and after, the action—to thank me (which he did but too lavishly) for my intelligence, and the look-out we kept; and to tell me that if he lived, he should send me home with the despatches. Have I not, therefore, my dearest love, but too much cause to regret such a considerate friend? How completely he has acted up to the letter I send you, which I am sure you will be glad to see and keep, the issue has proved. And how glad I am to possess such a letter I cannot express! I stayed with him till the Enemy commenced their fire on the Victory, when he sent me off. He told me, at parting, we should meet no more; he made me witness his Will, and away I came, with a heart very sad. The loss in the Victory, and indeed, I believe, in almost all the other Ships, has been sufficient to convince us the Enemy have learnt how to fight better than they ever did; and I hope it is not injustice to the Second in Command, who is now on board the Euryalus, and who fought like a hero, to say that the Fleet under any other, never would have performed what they did under Lord N. But under Lord N. it seemed like inspiration to most of them. To give you an idea of the man, and the sort of heart he had, the last signal he made was such a one as would immortalize any man. He saw the Enemy were determined to see it out, and as if he had not already inspired every one with ardour and determination like himself, he made the following general signal by Sir Home Popham's telegraph,

viz., 'England expects every officer and man will do their utmost duty.' This, of course, was conveyed by general signals from his Ship; and the alacrity with which the individual Ships answered it, showed how entirely they entered into his feelings and ideas. Would to God he had lived to see his prizes, and the Admirals he has taken! three in all: amongst them, the French Commander-in-Chief, who, I am sorry to say, is Villeneuve, and not Décres. I fear I shall tire you with all this long account; but so entirely am I depressed with the private loss I have had, that really the Victory, and all the prize-money I hope to get, (if our prizes arrive safe) appear quite lost by the chasm made by Lord Nelson's death. I am, therefore, persuaded you will not think a tribute like this too much. I can scarcely credit he is no more, and that we have in sight of the Spanish shore obtained so complete, so unheard-of a Victory. Our prizes, I trust, we shall save. Ever since last evening we have had a most dreadful gale of wind, and it is with difficulty the Ships who tow them keep off the shore. Three, I think, must be lost, and with them, above 800 souls each. What a horrid scourge is war! Would to God that this may pave the way to a general peace, I shall then so [*erased* . . . . .]. I must, now that I have time, impart my hopes and doubts as to our soon meeting, which I now wish, if possible, more than ever. Hardy (whose despair and grief for the loss of such a friend is touching) told me he should mention it to Admiral Collingwood, Lord Nelson's intention about sending me, and as he must send the account by a fast sailer, as well as a strong Frigate, I hope and think I may be the lucky man to bear Hardy company with such joyful tidings. Admiral Collingwood, who came to hoist his flag here for a week or so, because his own Ship was dismasted, and unfit for him, is a very reserved, though a very pleasing good man; and as he fought like an angel, I take the more to him. As yet he has said nothing on the subject, but I have secret hopes that I shall go, particularly as Lord Nelson's body is to be carried to England, and it will be sent in a safe Ship. The very idea sets me wild; and I assure you I am endeavouring to obtain it, by making my Ship as comfortable as circumstances will admit, and myself as useful in the work he has before him, which, with such a disabled Fleet, and in such weather, is no trifle. I hope, however, that to-morrow we shall have fine weather, and that the Ships and prisoners may be well secured. All will then be well, but at present our situation is an anxious one. This is the first night I shall be undressed since Saturday."

In a letter of the 23rd, Captain Blackwood said:—"On the day of the Action he not only gave me the command of all the Frigates, for the purpose of assisting disabled Ships, but he also gave me a latitude, seldom or ever given, that of making any use I pleased of his name, in ordering any of the sternmost Line of Battle Ships to do what struck me as best. I wish to God he had yielded to my entreaties to come on board my Ship. We all should have preserved a friend, and the Country the greatest Admiral ever was; but he would not listen to it, and I did not take my leave of him till the shot were flying over and over the Victory. Villeneuve says he never saw anything like the irresistible line of our Ships; but that

of the Victory, supported by the Neptune and Temeraire, was what he could not have formed any judgment of[1]."

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS DE SOLANA, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ANDALUSIA, GOVERNOR OF CADIZ.

[From the London Gazette of the 27th of November, 1805.]

My Lord Marquis, Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 27th, 1805.

A great number of Spanish Subjects having been wounded in the late Action between the British and the Combined Fleets of Spain and France, on the 21st instant, humanity, and my desire to alleviate the sufferings of these wounded men, dictate to me to offer to your Excellency their enlargement, that they may be taken proper care of in the Hospitals on shore, provided your Excellency will send Boats to convey them, with a proper Officer to give receipts for the number, and acknowledge them in your Excellency's answer to this letter, to be Prisoners of War, to be exchanged before they serve again.

I beg to assure your Excellency of my high consideration, and that I am, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ANDALUSIA, AND GOVERNOR OF CADIZ.

[From the "Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 196. Translation.]

Most excellent Sir, Cadiz, October 28th, 1805.

Your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date, which was brought to me to-day under a flag of truce, convinces me that you are not less distinguished for your humanity than for your valour in battle. The mode which your Excellency proposes for alleviating the lot of the unhappy persons who are wounded on board the captured Ships, is so honourable to your generous feelings, that I have resolved, on my part, with the assent of General Gravina, that to-morrow, (if the weather permit,) when the Frigates of the Combined Fleet go out to receive them, they shall convey to your Excellency, at the same time, the English Officers and other persons who have been made prisoners in those Ships which were recovered after the Action, and have re-entered this Port. In sending them, I entreat your Excellency to deign to fulfil the agreement for an exchange of prisoners, which I had adjusted with Vice-Admiral Orde and Lord Nelson, whose death has overwhelmed me with sorrow. In consequence of this agreement, I am emboldened to request your Excellency's permission that not only the wounded may return to this place, but also the other Spanish and French

[1] These and all the preceding letters from Captain Blackwood, were printed in Blackwood's Magazine for July 1833, but with so many alterations, as to rival even the license taken with Lord Nelson's letters by Clarke and M'Arthur. They are now printed literally from the originals, except the omission of some expressions of endearment.

prisoners, particularly Admiral Cisneros and the other Commanders, who will not fail to add the duties of their gratitude to the testimony of your valour.

This would be to me the most valued favour that I could receive from your Excellency; and I assure you, with respect to those Englishmen who are not immediately sent back to your Squadron, that they only remain till, by the care and assistance which I have ordered to be given to them, they shall recover from the injuries which they suffered by their shipwreck after the Action. Your Excellency may be persuaded, that during their continuance in Spain they will experience nothing but the loyalty and liberty which characterise my Nation.

I can even add, that if your Excellency should need any assistance for your own wounded men, I shall deem it a pleasure and a duty to furnish it, and even to effect their cure upon land, if your Excellency will intrust them to me. Your Excellency, than whom no one is a better judge of the manner in which my Countrymen know how to combat, will readily believe that the Spanish honour is worthy of this generous confidence.

I repeat to your Excellency the sentiments of the high consideration with which I have the honour of subscribing myself your most attentive servant. Most excellent Sir, I kiss your Excellency's hand. THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA.

I thank your Excellency for the information which you have been pleased to give me respecting the Senores Villeneuve and Cisneros; and so generous an Enemy as your Excellency will be pleased to hear that the Generals Gravina, Alava, and Escano, are recovering, as their wounds do not appear to be dangerous.

I have just seen General Alava, who has requested me (until his recovery shall enable him to do so himself) to testify to your Excellency, in his name, his deepest gratitude for the generosity and goodness with which your were pleased to treat him; for which he will ever feel himself under the greatest obligations, as well as for the attention and regard which he received from the other Officers of your Squadron.

CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE SPANISH WOUNDED PRISONERS WERE RELEASED, AND SENT ON SHORE TO THE HOSPITAL.

I Guilleme Valverde, having been authorized and empowered by the Marquis de Solano, Governor-General of Andalusia and of Cadiz, to receive from the English Squadron the wounded prisoners, and such persons as may be necessary to their care, which release and enlargement of the wounded, &c., is agreed to, on the part of the Commander in-Chief of the British Squadron, on the positive condition that none of the said prisoners shall be employed again, in any public service of the Crown of Spain, either by sea or land, until they are regularly exchanged.

Signed on board His Britannic Majesty's Ship the Euryalus, at Sea, the 30th October, 1805.

(Signed) GUILL. DE VALVERDE,
Edecan de S. E.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL DON IGNATIO MARIA D'ALAVA[2].

[From the London Gazette of the 27th of November, 1805. This letter was sent under cover to Admiral Gravina.]

Sir, Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 30th, 1805.

It is with great pleasure that I have heard that the wound which you received in the Action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your Country may still have the benefit of your service. But, Sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound that you were not removed into my Ship. I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments; but your Sword, the emblem of your service, was delivered to me by your Captain, and I expect that you consider yourself a prisoner of war, until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel. I have the honour to be, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[From the "Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 206.]

November 1st, 1805.

My Adjutant has informed me, that in order to facilitate the delivery of the wounded with the least inconvenience and suffering to them, it was your Excellency's intention that all the Ships of your Squadron in which they were embarked should alternately approach this Port; and that on our side, Vessels should be sent out to receive them. Nothing can be more humane or more easily executed than this proposition; but as I thought that I had not of myself sufficient power to consent to it, I have had a conference with Admirals Rossily and Gravina; and as they see no objection, I have the honour to tell your Excellency that you may command it to be executed at your pleasure.

I wish it were possible for me to express to your Excellency all the gratitude I feel for the kindness and generosity which you continue to display towards the individuals of my Nation; and I beg you to be persuaded that the British subjects shall experience the same from me, as long as they remain in our territories.

[2] It is a remarkable fact that one of the Spanish Lieutenants in the Battle of Trafalgar, was Vice-Admiral Alava's nephew, DON MIGUEL ALAVA, who afterwards served with such distinction under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, as to receive from England, a Cross and five Clasps. He was also at Waterloo, and was perhaps the only individual who was present at the greatest Naval and the greatest Land Battle of this century. Don Miguel Alava was made a Knight Commander of the Bath in October 1815, and was for some time the Spanish Minister at this Court. He died, possessed of the esteem of all to whom he was known, in July 1843.

FROM VICE-ADMIRAL ALAVA TO VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

[From the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 208.]

Most excellent Sir, Cadiz, December 23rd, 1805.

The moment I find myself able to subscribe my name, I hasten to fulfil the duties of gratitude, by returning to your Excellency my warmest thanks for your great kindness and care of me, which will ever be deeply engraven on my heart. I have, at the same time, the greatest satisfaction in acknowledging the generosity and politeness with which Lieutenant Maker and a Marine Officer of the Thunderer behaved to me on board the Santa Anna, and I have the honour of recommending those Officers to your Excellency.

I should wish here to conclude my letter; but I feel it necessary to reply to the subject of which your Excellency treats in yours of the 30th of October.

After I fell senseless in the Action of the 21st of October, I have no further recollection of what passed: neither did I know before that my Sword had been delivered to your Excellency by the Officer, who remained in command of the Santa Anna till the end of the combat. In consequence, however, of your Excellency's assertion, the moment I found myself capable of resuming the subject, I inquired of that Officer, Don Francisco Riguelme, and was informed that the Sword presented by him on board the Royal Sovereign was his own; and that with regard to me, he had only requested of your Excellency that I might not be moved, in consideration of the few hours for which I was then expected to survive. In confirmation of this, I must add, that the sabre which I used in the Battle, and the swords which I generally wear, are still in my possession. This Officer believes that it was owing to his imperfectly expressing himself in the English language, that your Excellency was led to think that it was my Sword which he surrendered to you.

What I have said will be a satisfactory reply to your Excellency, who grounds on your possession of this emblem of my services, my incapacity to exert them during the continuance of the War without a previous exchange. If, however, that had been true, which I have proved to be a mistake, it is manifest that I could only share the fate of the Vessel in which my person was embarked, under circumstances in which it was so probable that we might be recaptured by a superior force from the Combined Fleet, which, in fact, did happen. The same thing might have happened to the Royal Sovereign, whither it was proposed to remove me, since she was then dismasted, and unmanageable as the Santa Anna; and there can be no reason why I should run a risk in two different Vessels.

It is extremely painful to me, that on the first occasion which is presented to me of having the honour of communicating with your Excellency, and when, before the receipt of your valued letter, I had anxiously longed for the means of declaring to you the extent of my gratitude, I should be forced to dissent from your opinion.

I could wish that this were on a subject which depended on my own free will, in order that I might evince to you the devotion that I have, and shall for ever entertain for your Excellency, to whose service in all other matters I shall be anxious to dedicate myself. I am, most excellent Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant,

IGN. M. DE ALAVA.

Some interesting particulars of the Battle of Trafalgar are contained in Vice-Admiral Collingwood's other public and in many of his private letters, written soon after the event; and the manner in which he speaks of the death of Lord Nelson is extremely beautiful.

TO THE HON. GENERAL FOX, LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR.

[From a Copy in the Elliot papers.]

Sir, Euryalus, at Sea, 22nd October, 1805.

Yesterday a Battle was fought by His Majesty's Fleet with the Combined Fleets of Spain and France, which will stand recorded as one of the most decisive and brilliant that ever distinguished the British Navy. The Enemy's Fleet sailed from Cadiz on the 19th in the morning, thirty-three Sail of the Line in number, for the purpose of giving battle to the British Squadron of twenty-seven; and yesterday at 11 A.M. the contest began close in with the shoals off Trafalgar. At 5 P.M. seventeen of the Enemy had surrendered, and one burnt (the Achille), amongst which is the St. Ann, the Spanish Admiral, Don de Alava, mortally wounded, and the Santissima Trinidad. The French Admiral Villeneuve is now a prisoner on board the Mars. I believe three Admirals are captured.

Our loss has been great in men; but what is irreparable, and the cause of universal lamentation, is the death of the noble Commander-in-Chief, who died in the arms of Victory. I have not yet had any reports from the Ships, but have heard that Captains Duff and Cooke fell in the Action.—I have to congratulate you upon the great event, and have the honour to be, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HUGH ELLIOT, ESQ., MINISTER AT NAPLES.

[Original in the Elliot papers.]

Sir, Euryalus, off Cadiz, 24th October, 1805.

As it is of great importance to the Affairs of Italy, and Europe in general, that the events which have lately taken place on this Coast should be known as soon as possible at the Court at which you reside, I lose no time in informing you, Sir, that on the 19th instant the Combined Fleet, consisting of thirty-three Ships and five Frigates, sailed from Cadiz, their destination certainly for Italy. On the 21st His Majesty's Squadron, consisting of twenty-seven

Ships, and four Frigates, under the command of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, came in sight of them at daylight, and immediately bore down to give them battle, which Admiral Villeneuve waited with great steadiness. The Action began at noon, and after a most severe conflict for three hours, the Enemy gave way, and Admiral Gravina retired with nine Ships towards Cadiz; four others (French Ships) escaped, under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, to the southward, and are supposed to have got into the Mediterranean; leaving to His Majesty's Squadron twenty Sail of the Line captures, with Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander-in-Chief, who is now on board my Ship, the Spanish Vice-Admiral D'Alava, dangerously wounded, the Spanish Rear-Admiral Cisneros, taken, the French Rear-Admiral Magon killed, and a great number of Brigadiers. The most decisive and complete Victory that ever was gained over a powerful Enemy; eighteen of the Enemy's Ships were left without a mast in them, and I will venture to say, had the Battle been fought in the Ocean far from land, and unembarrassed by the rocks and shoals of Trafalgar, there probably would not one of the Enemy's Ships have escaped. On the 22nd a gale of wind arose, which continued for three days, sometimes blowing with extreme fury, dispersed the Fleet in all directions, driving many of the captured hulks on shore, and two or three were driven into the Port of Cadiz; the rest so entirely disabled, that I have been under the necessity of burning or sinking them. I inclose to you, Sir, a list of the Ships captured, and what has been their fate since; and beg to offer you my sincere congratulations on a Victory which adds so much to the glory of England, and which I hope will, in its consequences, promote the interests of our country, and the benefit of mankind.

Such a Victory, Sir, could not be obtained without great loss; and in the death of the noble Commander-in-Chief, Lord Nelson, the British Navy and the British Nation have to lament a hero whose name will be immortal. To support his Country's honour and its interests was the first object of his noble and intelligent mind; and he laid down his life in their defence. In the death of Captains Duff and Cooke the Navy has lost two of its best Officers, and society its most respectable members, besides many highly estimable Officers, who are numbered in our loss. The Combined Fleet is annihilated. I believe there are not more than four or five Ships in Cadiz which can be made ready for sea, for the seven or eight others which are there now are wrecks from the effect of the Battle. I understand there are neither masts, sails, or cordage to refit them—a shattered Fleet and empty magazines. But what has raised their admiration, and excited their dread too, of the British Flag, beyond anything is, the keeping our station before their Port after so severe an Action, which I have done to convince them that we are not to be removed by their utmost efforts, from a station that it is necessary to be kept.

As soon as I can make the necessary arrangements here, I purpose coming into the Mediterranean, and if the Spanish Squadron of Carthagena is in motion, and at sea, use my utmost endeavours

to destroy them also; and send to the Italian Coast such a force as will check any operations the Enemy may have in contemplation there.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD.

TO JAMES GAMBIER, ESQ, CONSUL-GENERAL, LISBON.

[Autograph in the possession of Captain Gambier, R.N.]

Sir, Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 24th, 1805.

I congratulate you on the most complete Victory that ever was obtained over an Enemy. The Battle commenced exactly at noon on the 21st, off Cape Trafalgar. The Combined Fleet under Villeneuve consisted of thirty-three or thirty-four Ships; His Majesty's of twenty-seven. At three o'clock they were defeated. Gravina went off with nine or ten to Cadiz: four French Ships went to the Southward, I suppose for the Mediterranean, leaving us twenty Sail of the Line captures. Villeneuve, the Commander in Chief; Don D'Alava, Vice-Admiral; Cisneros, Rear-Admiral, are captive, and I believe Rear-Admiral Magon. But the gale of wind that immediately succeeded has thrown us into a confusion which the Battle did not. The captures are dispersed, and some gone on shore, others sunk, two burnt. The Santissima Trinidad sunk, the Rayo ashore, and the Santa Ana is missing from us, ashore also I hope. In short, the Victory is complete; and had the Battle been fought on the Ocean, the probability is, that not a Ship would have escaped. The Combined Fleet is destroyed, but I do not know that we shall have one Ship of them which we can get into *Port*.

In this Conflict we have to lament the loss of many brave Officers. The Commander-in-Chief, whose name will be immortal in Naval History, fell during the Action; and England may mourn, for there is nothing left like him. Captains Duff and Cooke also fell; and some other Captains, as Morris, Durham, and Tyler, wounded, but I hope not severely.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD.

TO ADMIRAL SIR PETER PARKER, BART.[3]

[From the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 213.]

Queen, off Cadiz, November 1st, 1805.

"You will have seen from the public accounts that we have fought a great Battle, and had it not been for the fall of our noble friend, who was indeed the glory of England, and the admiration of all who ever saw him in Battle, your pleasure would have been perfect—that two of your own pupils, raised under your eye, and cherished by your kindness, should render such service to their Country as I hope this Battle, in its effect, will be.

[3] Vide vol. i. p. 30.

I am not going to give you a detail of our proceedings, which you have seen in the public papers; but to tell you that I have made advantage of our calamities, and having lost two excellent men, have endeavoured to replace them with those who will in due time, I hope, be as good. I have appointed Captain Parker to the Melpomene, which, I am sure, my dear Nelson would have done had he lived. His own merit entitles him to it, and it is highly gratifying to me to give you such a token of my affection for you.

It was a severe Action, no dodging or manœuvring. They formed their line with nicety, and waited our attack with great composure; nor did they fire a gun until we were close to them, and we began first. Our Ships were fought with a degree of gallantry that would have warmed your heart. Every body exerted themselves, and a glorious day they made of it. People who cannot comprehend how complicated an affair a Battle at sea is, and who judge of an Officer's conduct by the number of sufferers in his Ship, often do him a wrong. Though there will appear great difference in the loss of men, all did admirably well; and the conclusion was grand beyond description; eighteen hulks of the Enemy lying amongst the British Fleet without a stick standing, and the French Achille burning. But we were close to the rocks of Trafalgar, and when I made the signal for anchoring, many Ships had their cables shot, and not an anchor was ready. Providence did for us what no human effort could have done; the wind shifted a few points, and we drifted off the land.

The storm being violent, and many of our own Ships in most perilous situations, I found it necessary to order the captures, all without masts, some without rudders, and many half full of water, to be destroyed, except such as were in better plight; for my object was their ruin, and not what might be made of them.

God bless you, my dear Sir Peter! may you ever be happy. Your affectionate and faithful servant,

C. Collingwood.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

[From the "Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 187.]

Queen, November 2nd, 1805.

I wrote to my dear Sarah a few lines when I sent my first dispatches to the Admiralty, which account I hope will satisfy the good people of England, for there never was such a Combat since England had a Fleet. In three hours the Combined Forces were annihilated, upon their own shores, at the entrance of their Port, amongst their own rocks. It has been a very difficult thing to collect an account of our success, but by the best I have, twenty Sail of the Line surrendered to us; out of which three, in the furious gale we had afterward, being driven to the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, received assistance and got in. These were the Santa Anna, Algeziras, and Neptune, (the last since sunk and lost;)

the Santa Anna's side was battered in. The three we have sent to Gibraltar, are the San Ildefonso, San Juan Nepomuceno, and Swiftsure; fourteen others we have burnt, sunk, and run on shore, but the Bahama I have yet hope of saving; she is gone to Gibraltar. Those Ships which effected their escape into Cadiz are quite wrecks; some have lost their masts since they got in, and they have not a spar or a store to refit them. We took four Admirals, —Villeneuve, the Commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral d'Alava, Rear-Admiral Cisneros, Spanish, and the French Admiral Magon who was killed, —besides a great number of brigadiers (Commodores). D'Alava, wounded, was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna; Gravina, who was not taken, has lost his arm, amputated I have heard, but not from him. Of men, their loss is many thousands, for I reckon, in the captured Ships, we took twenty thousand prisoners, including the troops. This was a Victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it. When my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an Officer to me to tell me of it, and to give his love to me. Though the Officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the Action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. I cannot tell you how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike any thing that I have left in the Navy,— a brotherhood of more than thirty years. In this affair he did nothing without my counsel; we made our line of Battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most admirable style. I shall grow very tired of the sea soon, my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of Victory ruined our prospect of prizes. Our own infirm Ships could scarce keep off the shore; the Prizes were left to their fate; and as they were driven very near the Port, I ordered them to be destroyed by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the Enemy. There has been a great destruction of them; indeed I hardly know what, but not less than fifteen or sixteen,—the total ruin of the Combined Fleet. To alleviate the miseries of the wounded as much as in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis Solana, to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him for this act of humanity; all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solana sent me a present of a cask of wine; and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on, when I tell you he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our wounded men. Our Officers and men who were wrecked in some of the prize Ships were most kindly treated: all the country was on the beach to receive them; the priests and women distributing wine, and bread, and fruit amongst them. The soldiers turned out of their barracks to make lodging for them; whilst their allies the French were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief.

After the Battle I shifted my flag to the Euryalus frigate, that I might the better distribute my orders; and when the Ships were destroyed, and the Squadron in safety, I came here, my own Ship being totally disabled. She lost her last mast in the gale. All the northern boys, and Graydon, are alive; Kennicott has a dangerous wound in his shoulder; Thompson wounded in the arm, and just at the conclusion of the action, his leg was broke by a splinter; little Charles is unhurt, but we have lost a good many youngsters. For myself, I am in a forlorn state: my servants are killed; my luggage, what is left, is on board the Sovereign; and Clavell is wounded. I have appointed Sir Peter Parker's grandson and Captain Thomas, my old Lieutenant, Post-Captains; Clavell and the First Lieutenant of the Victory are made Commanders; but I hope the Admiralty will do more for them, for in the history of our Navy there is no instance of a Victory so complete and so great. The Ships that escaped into Cadiz are wrecks, and they have neither stores nor inclination to refit them. I shall now go as soon as I can get a sufficient Squadron equipped, and see what I can do with the Carthagenians; if I can get at them, the Naval war will be finished in this Country. Prize-money I shall get little or none for this business[4], for though the loss of the Enemy may be estimated at near four millions, it is most of it gone to the bottom. Don Argemoso, who was formerly Captain of the Isidro, commanded the Monarca, one of our captures; he sent to inform me he was in the Leviathan, and I immediately ordered, for our old acquaintance' sake, his liberty on parole. All the Spaniards speak of us in terms of adoration; and Villeneuve, whom I had in the Frigate with me, acknowledges that they cannot contend with us at sea. I do not know what will be thought of it in England, but the effect here is highly advantageous to the British name. Kind remembrances to all my friends. I dare say your neighbour, Mr. ——, will be delighted with the history of the Battle. If he had been in it, it would have animated him more than all his daughter's chemistry; it would have new-strung his nerves, and made him young again. God bless you, my dear Sir, may you ever be happy! It is very long since I heard from home.

I have ordered all the boys to be discharged into this Ship: another such fight will season them pretty well. We had forty-seven killed, ninety-four wounded.

[4] In a Letter to Mr. Blackett, dated on the 1st of January 1806, Lord Collingwood said, "I have had a great destruction of my furniture and stock; I have hardly a chair that has not a shot in it, and many have lost both legs and arms, without hope of pension. My wine broke in moving, and my pigs were slain in battle; and these are heavy losses where they cannot be replaced."—*Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, vol. i. p. 244.

TO ADMIRAL LORD BARHAM, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

[From the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 215.]

Queen, Gibraltar Bay, November 15th, 1805.

I beg to express my earnest hope that your Lordship will take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the late Action, in which as much gallantry was displayed by the Fleet, and a powerful armament of the Enemy ruined in as short a time, as in any Action; but what distinguished it from all others is, that the usual reward to the Captains, arising from the sale of prizes, is almost all lost by the wreck and destruction of the Ships. What Government may please to do in this respect for the Fleet, I cannot say, but none was ever more worthy of its regard.

To the Officers, among whom are many young men who are qualified for Lieutenants, the most grateful reward would be promotion; and if your Lordship would enable me to dispense it to them, by commissioning the four Ships, and appointing the Officers serving in this Fleet, I should feel exceedingly gratified in having it in my power to reward so much merit as is now before me.

I have mentioned this subject in the full confidence that your Lordship feels the same disposition towards them with myself; and in doing it, I have only performed a duty which I owe to them.

I enclose to your Lordship a letter which was sent to me from the Victory. Captain Adair, I understand, was an Officer of highly estimable character; and in submitting the case of his family to the consideration and protection of your Lordship, I feel assured that I place it where due regard will be paid to their misfortunes.[5]

I am, &c., C. COLLINGWOOD.

[5] To this letter Vice-Admiral Collingwood received the following chilling reply, and it may be hoped that it was not the *only* letter which he received from the First Lord of the Admiralty, after such a Victory:—

"Admiralty, November 8, 1805.

"I have been so much engaged for some days past, that I have not had it in my power to turn my attention to the state of the Fleet under your command. We have this day sent you a commission of the same extent as Lord Nelson's; and I shall be glad to be informed fully, and as soon as you are acquainted with the situation of the Enemy at Cadiz, and of the number of line-of-battle Ships which you think is necessary for blockading the Ports, and covering the Convoys to, from, and in the Mediterranean. To this arrangement I shall readily conform, because I am sure you will ask no more than is sufficient for the services of your command, and that you will consider the very extensive demands that are made upon us from every quarter of the globe. On the subject of promotion, I will endeavour to comply with your request, though in one instance not strictly regular; and in order to prevent disappointment to individuals, I must beg that you will strictly conform to the rules laid down by the Admiralty, by which they leave deaths and court-martial vacancies to the Commanding Officer, and reserve all others to themselves. I am the more particular on these subjects, because the neglect of them has created much disappointment to individuals, as well as to their friends here. I shall trouble you, through my Secretary, with a list of such persons as I wish to fill the Admiralty vacancies."—*Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, vol. i. p. 221.

Lord Collingwood's answer ought not to be omitted.—"I assure your Lordship, that in all the appointments I have made I intended to be as regular as circumstances would permit. After the Action, several of the Ships were

TO MRS. MOUTRAY[6].

[From the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 224.]

Queen, off Carthagena, December 9th, 1805.

One of the sweetest fruits of my good fortune is the kind and sincere congratulation of those I love and esteem. I know the delight that my success would give you and dear Kate, and I thank you both in my heart. I have had a most fatiguing and anxious time of it. That unfortunate gale of wind distressed me exceedingly, and has worn me almost to a shadow. After such a Battle, such a glorious fight, having nineteen of their Ships in our possession, to be so completely dispersed by that unhappy gale, that for three days I had every reason to fear that not one of them would have remained to us, but many be driven into their own Port! The condition of some of our own Ships, too, was such, that it was very doubtful what would be their fate. Many a time would I have given the whole group of our captures, to have ensured our own. But affairs were managed better for us. We saved four from the general wreck, and the loss of the Enemy is greater than it would have been without the gale; for of the Ships which came out to try their fortune a second time, two were wrecked, which made us amends for the Santa Anna and Algeziras, which were driven into Cadiz. Such a triumph as the whole would have been coming into Port in England, might have made us proud and presumptuous; and we ought to be content with that good fortune which Providence has thought sufficient. I was afraid the people of England might have attributed our misfortunes to a want of skilful management. I can only say that in my life I never saw such exertions as were made to save those Ships; and would rather fight another Battle, than pass such a week as followed it. It more astonished the Spaniards than the beating they got; and one of them said, when I assured him that none of our Ships were lost, 'How can we contend with such a people, on whom the utmost violence of the elements has no effect?' It would have been great indeed, had it pleased God that our dear friend had survived it. It was about the middle of the Action when an Officer came from the Victory, to tell me he was wounded. He sent his love to me, and desired me to conduct the Fleet. I asked the Officer if the wound was dangerous, and he by his look told what he could not speak, nor I reflect upon now, without suffering again the anguish of that

short of Lieutenants, when the duty was hard upon them. The Sovereign had only six besides my Flag-Lieutenant, the First Lieutenant being dangerously wounded; and the Ship needed all the assistance that could be given her. To supply those vacancies I gave acting orders to young men who were recommended for their activity, and among them to a Mr. Dickenson, whom I found in the Dreadnought, and removed with me into the Sovereign, because he had more knowledge of his profession than is usual, and seemed to be the spirit of the Ship when any thing was to be done. The Victory's Midshipmen are most of them on board the Queen, and they are persons for whom I feel peculiar interest, because they were the Victory's."—*Ibid.* p. 122.

[6] Mrs. Moutray was one of the oldest friends both of Lord Nelson and Lord Collingwood.—Vide vol. i. p. 110, et seq.

moment. You, my dear Madam, who know what our friendship was, can judge what I have felt. All the praise and acclamations of joy for our Victory only bring to my mind what it has cost.

I am to be created a Peer, they tell me; and in making my title I hear considerable difficulty arose in finding where my estate lay, and what it was called. I thought that all the world knew that I was no *Land*-Lord.

God bless you, my dear friend; and give my kindest love to kind Kate. May all that is good, and to be wished for in this world, be hers, and yours. I am, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

TO ADMIRAL LORD RADSTOCK.

[From the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 236.]

Queen, off Carthagena, December 12th, 1805.

Most sincerely do I thank you for all your kindness to me, and particularly for your congratulations on our Victory, in which we gained and lost so much. His Majesty has, indeed, been very gracious to me, and I feel a gratitude to him which I cannot well express; but you, my Lord, can conceive the sort of delight that a man feels in arriving at the summit of his ambition; and mine has ever been the approbation of my Sovereign and my Country. A letter[7] which His Majesty ordered to be written by Colonel Taylor is so highly honourable to me, and so expressive of His Majesty's approbation of my service, that nothing can be more gratifying to me. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence has not been less gracious to me; and, indeed, all persons, known or unknown to me, are doing me honour. I confess I feel a considerable degree of pride in having deserved their praise; and I hope it is the only kind of pride that will ever trouble me. I am here with six Ships watching the Spanish Squadron, eight beauties. The Real Carlos and Rayna Louisa are Spanish perfections, like the Santa Anna; and she towered over the Royal Sovereign like a castle. No Ship fired a shot at her but ourselves, and you have no conception how completely she was ruined. Oh! had Nelson lived! how complete had been my happiness—how perfect my joy! Now, whatever I have felt like pleasure, has been so mixed with the bitterness of woe, that I cannot exult in our success as it would be pardonable to do.

Admiral Villeneuve is a well-bred man, and, I believe, a very good Officer: he has nothing in his manners of the offensive vapouring and boasting which we, perhaps too often, attribute to Frenchmen. I am, &c.,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

[7] This Letter will be found in a subsequent page.

TO H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

[From the "Correspondence of Lord Collingwood," vol. i. p. 234.]

Queen, off Carthagena, December 12th, 1805.

I cannot express how great my gratitude is to your Royal Highness[8], for the high honour which you have done me by your letter, congratulating me on the success of His Majesty's Fleet against his Enemies.

This instance of condescension, and mark of your Royal Highness's kindness to one of the most humble, but one of the most faithful of His Majesty's servants, is deeply engraven in my heart. I shall ever consider it as a great happiness to have merited your Royal Highness's approbation, of which the Sword which you have presented to me is a testimony so highly honourable. I beg your Royal Highness will accept my best thanks for it, and the assurance that, whenever His Majesty's service demands it, I will endeavour to use it in support of our Country's honour, and to the advancement of His Majesty's glory.

The loss which your Royal Highness and myself have sustained in the death of Lord Nelson, can only be estimated by those who had the happiness of sharing his friendship. He had all the qualities that adorn the human heart, and a head which, by its quickness of perception and depth of penetration, qualified him for the highest offices of his profession. But why am I making these observations to your Royal Highness who knew him? Because I cannot speak of him but to do him honour.

Your Royal Highness desires to know the particular circumstances of his death. I have seen Captain Hardy but for a few minutes since, and understood from him, that, at the time, the Victory was very closely engaged in rather a crowd of Ships, and that Lord Nelson was commending some Ship that was conducted much to his satisfaction, when a musket-ball struck him on the left breast. Captain Hardy took hold of him to support him, when he smiled, and said, 'Hardy, I believe they have done it at last.' He was carried below, and when the Ship was disengaged from the crowd, he sent an Officer to inform me that he was wounded. I

[8] The Duke of Clarence's letter was in the following words:—

"Dear Sir, "St. James's, November 9th, 1805.

"As a brother Admiral, and as a sincere well-wisher to my King and Country, permit me to congratulate you on the most important Victory gained on the 21st October by your gallant self, and the brave Officers, Seamen, and Royal Marines, under your command, and formerly under my lamented and invaluable friend Lord Nelson. The Country laments the hero, and you and I feel the loss of our departed friend. Five-and-twenty years have I lived on the most intimate terms with Nelson, and must ever, both publicly and privately, regret his loss. Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, both, in the hour of Victory, accepted from me a Sword, and I hope you will now confer on me the same pleasure. I have accordingly sent a Sword, with which I trust you will accept my sincere wishes for your future welfare. I must request that you will let me have the details of the death of our departed friend; and I ever remain, dear Sir, yours unalterably, WILLIAM."—*Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, vol. i. p. 220.

asked the Officer if his wound was dangerous. He hesitated; then said he hoped it was not; but I saw the fate of my friend in his eye; for his look told what his tongue could not utter. About an hour after, when the Action was over, Captain Hardy brought me the melancholy account of his death. He inquired frequently how the battle went, and expressed joy when the enemy were striking; in his last moments showing an anxiety for the glory of his Country, though regardless of what related to his own person.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your Royal Highness's most obedient and most humble Servant, C. COLLINGWOOD.

TO ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS PASLEY.

[From a copy in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm.]

Queen, off Carthagena, 16th December, 1805.

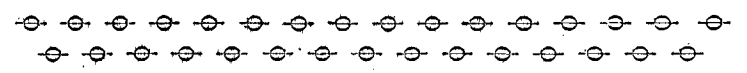
My dear Sir Thomas,

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your late letter of congratulation on the great events; a happy day it would have been indeed had my dear friend survived it; but I cannot separate from the glory of *such* a day the irreparable loss of *such* a hero. He possessed the zeal of an enthusiast, directed by talents which Nature had very bountifully bestowed upon him, and everything seemed as, if by enchantment, to prosper under his direction. But it was the effect of system, and nice combination, not of chance[9]. We must endeavour to follow his example, but it is the lot of very few to attain to his perfection. We knew that, whenever they gave us a

[9] The following "Memorandum of a conversation between Lord Nelson and Admiral Sir Richard Keats, the last time he was in England, before the Battle of Trafalgar," in the handwriting of Edward Hawke Locker, Esq., who wrote on it "Copy of a Paper communicated to me by Sir Richard Keats, and allowed by him to be transcribed by me, 1st October, 1829," ought perhaps to have been inserted in a former page:—

"One morning, walking with Lord Nelson in the grounds at Merton, talking on Naval matters, he said to me, 'No day can be long enough to arrange a couple of Fleets, and fight a decisive Battle, according to the old system. When *we* meet them,' (I was to have been with him,) 'for meet them we shall, I'll tell you how I shall fight them. I shall form the Fleet into three Divisions in three Lines. One Division shall be composed of twelve or fourteen of the fastest two-decked Ships, which I shall keep always to windward, or in a situation of advantage; and I shall put them under an Officer who, I am sure, will employ them in the manner I wish, if possible. I consider it will always be in my power to throw them into Battle in any part I may choose; but if circumstances prevent their being carried against the Enemy where I desire, I shall feel certain he will employ them effectually, and, perhaps, in a more advantageous manner than if he could have followed my orders.' (He never mentioned, or gave any hint by which I could understand who it was he intended for this distinguished service.) He continued—'With the remaining part of the Fleet formed in two Lines, I shall go at them at once, if I can, about one-third of their Line from their leading Ship.' He then said, 'What do you think of it?' Such a question I felt required consideration. I paused. Seeing it, he said, 'but I'll tell you what *I* think of it. I think it will surprise and confound the Enemy. They won't know what I am about. It will bring forward a pell-mell Battle, and that is what I want.'"

meeting, they would be very numerous. You know what time is required to form a regular Line of Battle. Lord Nelson determined to substitute for exact order an impetuous attack in two distinct bodies. The Weather Line he commanded, and left the Lee Line totally to my direction. He had assigned the points to be attacked. It was executed well, and succeeded admirably; probably its novelty was favourable to us, for the Enemy looked for a time when we should form something like a Line. The light wind was unfavourable to us. I thought it a long time after I got through their Line before I found my friends about me. Duff, worthy Duff, was next me, but found a difficulty in getting through; for we had to make a kind of S to pass them in the manner they were formed; and had we to pass them from the leeward, it would have been still more difficult, as it required nice steerage, and which was the cause of so many of our Ships getting on board them. Those dots will give you an idea



how they were formed, except that they did not make a right Line, but the centre bent to leeward; but in half an hour there was nothing like order. The Victory got on board the Redoutable, the Temeraire boarded the Fougueux and another, and many of the Ships astern of me were on board the Frenchmen. The Defiance boarded L'Aigle, and had the possession of her poop for some time, when the Frenchmen rallied and drove them back; and if I could tell you all the histories of all the Ships, you would find much to admire. Everybody was sorry Malcolm was not there, because everybody knows his spirit and his skill would have acquired him honour. He got out of the Gut when nobody else could, and was of infinite service to us after the Action.

If it is in my power to be of use to Mr. Tailour, I shall have pleasure in advancing your friend. Here is a long list, and little means, that I see yet: let us see what time produces.

I wish you health, my dear Sir, and every happiness; and, with many thanks for your kind wishes to me, I am, with great regard, your faithful and most obedient humble servant,

COLLINGWOOD.

P.S.—Truly sorry am I that Calder was not of the party, that he might have settled his account with Villeneuve.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HUGH ELLIOT, ESQ., NAPLES.

[Autograph in the Elliot papers.]

Sir, Queen, off Cadiz, January 25th, 1806.

I beg to give your Excellency my best thanks for your kind congratulations on the success of the Fleet in the late Battle. The victory was a great one; for so complete was the defeat of the

Enemy, that but for the awkward situation in which we were, near the land, and on a very dangerous coast, those Ships which got into Cadiz could not have escaped. In the Ocean we should have taken them all.

Yet this great event has been the cause of far more lamentation than joy. Never did any man's death cause so universal a sorrow as Lord Nelson's. Those who only knew his great name as a Commander, feel the loss the Country sustained: but to me, with whom for more than thirty years there had subsisted the most intimate friendship—to me who had been the companion of his service on many occasions—who had been in the habit of admiring the strength of his mind, the excellence of his judgment, and the magnanimity with which he dared to exercise it, my loss in him is irreparable.

I have succeeded him in his command of the Fleet, and I beg, Sir, you will be pleased to offer my humble duty to their Sicilian Majesties, and assure them that I have succeeded him also in his zeal and ardent desire to render every service to their Majesties, and to their States, that is in my power.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

COLLINGWOOD.

THE DEATH OF LORD NELSON.

It has been already stated that Lord Nelson was wounded about a quarter past one o'clock, and his dying moments are thus described by Mr. Beatty, the Surgeon who attended him:

"It was from this Ship (the Redoutable) that Lord Nelson received his mortal wound. About fifteen minutes past one o'clock, which was in the heat of the engagement, he was walking the middle of the quarter-deck with Captain Hardy, and in the act of turning near the hatchway with his face towards the stern of the Victory, when the fatal ball was fired from the Enemy's mizen-top[1]; which, from the situation of the two ships (lying on board of each other), was brought just abaft, and rather below, the Victory's main-yard, and of course not more than fifteen yards distant from that part of the deck where his Lordship stood. The ball struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, and penetrated his chest. He fell with his face on the deck. Captain Hardy, who was on his right (the side furthest from the Enemy) and advanced some steps before his Lordship, on turning round, saw the Serjeant-Major (Secker) of Marines with two Seamen raising him from the deck; where he had fallen on the same spot on which, a little before, his Secretary had breathed his last, with whose blood his Lordship's clothes were much soiled. Captain Hardy expressed a hope that he was not severely wounded; to which the gallant Chief replied: 'They have done for me at last, Hardy.'—'I hope not,' answered Captain Hardy. 'Yes,' replied his Lordship, 'my backbone is shot through.'

"Captain Hardy ordered the Seamen to carry the Admiral to the cockpit; and now two incidents occurred strikingly characteristic of this great man, and strongly marking that energy and reflection which in his heroic mind rose superior even to the immediate consideration of his present awful condition. While the men were carrying him down the ladder from the middle deck, his Lordship observed that the tiller ropes were not yet replaced; and desired one of the Midshipmen stationed there to go upon the quarter-deck and remind Captain Hardy of that circumstance, and request that

[1] Southey and some other of Nelson's biographers state, that the man who wounded Lord Nelson was recognized by one of the Victory's quarter-masters; that two Midshipmen, Messrs. Collingwood and Pollard, kept firing at the mizen top of the Redoutable, until one of the only two Frenchmen then in it, attempting to escape down the rigging, was shot by Mr. Pollard, and fell on the poop; that while the quarter-master was exclaiming, "'that 's he—that 's he," and pointed at the only other Frenchman who was coming forward to fire again, the quarter-master received a shot in the mouth and fell dead. Both the Midshipmen then fired at the same time, and the fellow dropped in the top. When they took possession of the Prize, they went into the mizen top and found him dead, with one ball through his head, and another through his breast.

new ones should be immediately rove[2]. Having delivered this order, he took his handkerchief from his pocket and covered his face with it, that he might be conveyed to the cockpit at this crisis unnoticed by the crew.

"Several wounded Officers, and about forty men, were likewise carried to the Surgeon for assistance just at this time; and some others had breathed their last during their conveyance below. Among the latter were Lieutenant William Andrew Ram, and Mr. Whipple, Captain's Clerk. The Surgeon had just examined these two Officers, and found that they were dead, when his attention was arrested by several of the wounded calling to him, 'Mr. Beatty, Lord Nelson is here: Mr. Beatty, the Admiral is wounded.' The Surgeon now, on looking round, saw the handkerchief fall from his Lordship's face; when the stars on his coat, which also had been covered by it, appeared. Mr. Burke[3], the Purser, and the Surgeon, ran immediately to the assistance of his Lordship, and took him from the arms of the Seamen who had carried him below. In conveying him to one of the Midshipmen's berths, they stumbled, but recovered themselves without falling. Lord Nelson then inquired who were supporting him; and when the Surgeon informed him, his Lordship replied, 'Ah, Mr. Beatty! you can do nothing for me. I have but a short time to live: my back is shot through.' The Surgeon said, 'he hoped the wound was not so dangerous as his Lordship imagined, and that he might still survive long to enjoy his glorious victory.' The Reverend Dr. Scott[4], who had been

[2] Mr. James doubts the possibility of Lord Nelson's having given such an order, because he could not have expected the tiller-ropes to be rove when the wheel was shot away, and the Ship foul of another; and says no order of the kind ever reached Captain Hardy.—*Naval History*, vol. iv. p. 30.

[3] This gentleman, who is said "to have entered the Navy under the auspices of his illustrious relative the Right Hon. Edmund Burke," died at Wouldham near Rochester, on the 22nd of September, 1815, in the 76th year of his age.

[4] Dr. Scott's description of the cockpit of the Victory, and of the last moments of Lord Nelson, will be read with much interest:—

"The carnage on the deck of the Victory became terrific. Dr. Scott's duties confined him entirely to the cockpit, which was soon crowded with wounded and dying men; and such was the horror that filled his mind at this scene of suffering, that it haunted him like a shocking dream for years afterwards. He never talked of it. Indeed, the only record of a remark on the subject was one extorted from him by the inquiries of a friend, soon after his return home. The expression that escaped him at the moment was, 'it was like a butcher's shambles.' His natural tenderness of feeling, very much heightened by the shock on his nervous system, quite disqualified him for being a calm spectator of death and pain, as there exhibited in their most appalling shapes. But he suppressed his aversion as well as he could, and had been for some time engaged in helping and consoling those who were suffering around him, when a fine young Lieutenant [apparently Mr. Ram] was brought down desperately wounded. This Officer was not aware of the extent of the injury until the Surgeon's examination; but, on discovering it, he tore off with his own hand the ligatures that were being applied, and bled to death. Almost frenzied by the sight of this, Scott hurried wildly to the deck for relief, perfectly regardless of his own safety. He rushed up the companion-ladder, now slippery with gore—the scene above was all noise, confusion, and smoke,—but he had hardly time to breathe there, when Lord Nelson himself fell, and this event at once sobered his disordered mind. He followed his Chief to the cockpit; the scene there has been painfully portrayed by those who have written the Life

absent in another part of the cockpit administering lemonade to the wounded, now came instantly to his Lordship; and in his anguish of grief wrung his hands, and said: 'Alas, Beatty, how prophetic you were!' alluding to the apprehensions expressed by the Surgeon for his Lordship's safety previous to the battle.

"His Lordship was laid upon a bed, stripped of his clothes, and covered with a sheet. While this was effecting, he said to Doctor Scott, 'Doctor, I told you so. Doctor, I am gone;' and after a

of Nelson; his Chaplain's biographer has little to add, but that the confusion of the scene, the pain endured by the hero, and the necessity of alleviating his sufferings by giving lemonade to quench his thirst, and by rubbing his body, of course precluded the reading prayers to him in the regular form, which otherwise would have been done; but often, during the three hours and a half of Nelson's mortal agony, they ejaculated short prayers together, and Nelson frequently said, 'Pray for me, Doctor.' Every interval, indeed, allowed by the intense pain, and not taken up in the conduct of the Action, or in the mention of his private affairs, was thus employed in low and earnest supplications for Divine mercy. The last words which Dr. Scott heard murmured on his lips were, 'God and my Country;' and he passed so quietly out of life, that Scott, who had been occupied ever since he was brought below, in all the offices of the most tender nurse, was still rubbing his stomach when the surgeon perceived that all was over."—*Life of the Reverend Dr. Scott*, p. 185. In a letter written on the 22nd of December, 1805, by Dr. Scott to Mr. Rose, in reply to some inquiries from that gentleman, as to Lord Nelson's mention of himself on his death-bed, he said: "It is my intention to relate everything Lord Nelson said, in which your name was any way connected. He lived about three hours after receiving his wound, was perfectly sensible the whole time, but compelled to speak in broken sentences, which pain and suffering prevented him always from connecting. When I first saw him, he was apprehensive he should not live many minutes, and told me so; adding, in a hurried, agitated manner, though with pauses, 'Remember me to Lady Hamilton! remember me to Horatia! remember me to all my friends. Doctor, remember me to Mr. Rose: tell him I have made a will, and left Lady Hamilton and Horatia to my Country.' He repeated his remembrances to Lady Hamilton and Horatia, and told me to mind what he said, several times. Gradually he became less agitated, and at last calm enough to ask questions about what was going on; this led his mind to Captain Hardy, for whom he sent and inquired with great anxiety, exclaiming aloud, he would not believe he was alive, unless he saw him. He grew agitated at the Captain's not coming, lamented his being unable to go on deck, and do what was to be done, and doubted every assurance given him of the Captain's being safe on the quarter-deck. At last the Captain came, and he instantly grew more composed, listened to his report about the state of the Fleet, directed him to anchor, and told him he should die, but observed, he should live half an hour longer. 'I shall die, Hardy,' said the Admiral. 'Is your pain great, Sir?' 'Yes, but I shall live half an hour yet.—Hardy, kiss me!' The Captain knelt down by his side, and kissed him. Upon the Captain leaving him to return to the deck, Lord Nelson exclaimed very earnestly more than once, 'Hardy, if I live I'll bring the Fleet to an anchor; if I live I'll anchor; if I live I'll anchor;' and this was earnestly repeated even when the Captain was out of hearing. I do not mean to tell you everything he said. After this interview, the Admiral was perfectly tranquil, looking at me in his accustomed manner when alluding to any prior discourse. 'I have not been a great sinner, Doctor,' said he. 'Doctor, I was right—I told you so.—George Rose has not yet got my letter: tell him ——' he was interrupted here by pain. After an interval, he said, 'Mr. Rose will remember—don't forget, Doctor: mind what I say.' There were frequent pauses in his conversation. Our dearly beloved Admiral otherwise mentioned your name—indeed, very kindly, and I will tell you his words when I see you; but it was only in the two above instances he desired you should be told."

short pause he added in a low voice, 'I have to leave Lady Hamilton, and my adopted daughter Horatia, as a legacy to my Country.' The Surgeon then examined the wound, assuring his Lordship that he would not put him to much pain in endeavouring to discover the course of the ball; which he soon found had penetrated deep into the chest, and had probably lodged in the spine. This being explained to his Lordship, he replied, 'he was confident his back was shot through.' The back was then examined externally, but without any injury being perceived; on which his Lordship was requested by the Surgeon to make him acquainted with all his sensations. He replied, that 'he felt a gush of blood every minute within his breast: that he had no feeling in the lower part of his body: and that his breathing was difficult, and attended with very severe pain about that part of the spine where he was confident that the ball had struck; for,' said he, 'I felt it break my back.' These symptoms, but more particularly the gush of blood which his Lordship complained of, together with the state of his pulse, indicated to the Surgeon the hopeless situation of the case; but till after the Victory was ascertained and announced to his Lordship, the true nature of his wound was concealed by the Surgeon from all on board except only Captain Hardy, Doctor Scott, Mr. Burke, and Messrs. Smith and Westemburg, the Assistant Surgeons.

"The Victory's crew cheered whenever they observed an Enemy's Ship surrender. On one of these occasions, Lord Nelson anxiously inquired what was the cause of it; when Lieutenant Pasco[5], who lay wounded at some distance from his Lordship, raised himself up, and told him that another Ship had struck: which appeared to give him much satisfaction. He now felt an ardent thirst; and frequently called for drink, and to be fanned with paper, making use of these words: 'Fan, fan,' and 'drink, drink.' This he continued to repeat, when he wished for drink or the refreshment of cool air, till a very few minutes before he expired. Lemonade, and wine and water, were given to him occasionally. He evinced great solicitude for the event of the battle, and fears for the safety of his friend Captain Hardy. Doctor Scott and Mr. Burke used every argument they could suggest, to relieve his anxiety. Mr. Burke told him 'the Enemy were decisively defeated, and that he hoped his Lordship would still live to be himself the bearer of the joyful tidings to his Country.' He replied, 'It is nonsense, Mr. Burke, to suppose I can live: my sufferings are great, but they will all be soon over.' Dr. Scott entreated his Lordship 'not to despair of living,' and said, 'he trusted that Divine Providence would restore him once more to his dear Country and friends.'—'Ah, Doctor!' replied his Lordship, 'it is all over; it is all over.'

"Many messages were sent to Captain Hardy by the Surgeon, requesting his attendance on his Lordship; who became impatient to see him, and often exclaimed: 'Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed: he is surely destroyed.' The Captain's Aide-de-camp, Mr. Bulkeley, now came below, and stated that 'circumstances respecting the Fleet required Captain Hardy's presence on

[5] Now Captain John Pasco. Vide p. 140, ante.

deck, but that he would avail himself of the first favourable moment to visit his Lordship.' On hearing him deliver this message to the Surgeon, his Lordship inquired who had brought it. Mr. Burke answered, 'It is Mr. Bulkeley, my Lord.'—'It is his voice,' replied his Lordship: he then said to the young gentleman, 'Remember me to your father.'

"An hour and ten minutes however elapsed, from the time of his Lordship's being wounded, before Captain Hardy's first subsequent interview with him; the particulars of which are nearly as follow. They shook hands affectionately, and Lord Nelson said: 'Well, Hardy, how goes the battle? How goes the day with us?'—'Very well, my Lord,' replied Captain Hardy: 'we have got twelve or fourteen of the Enemy's Ships in our possession; but five of their van have tacked[6], and shew an intention of bearing down upon the Victory. I have therefore called two or three of our fresh Ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing.'—'I hope,' said his Lordship, 'none of *our* Ships have struck, Hardy.'—'No, my Lord,' replied Captain Hardy; 'there is no fear of that.' Lord Nelson then said: 'I am a dead man, Hardy. I am going fast: it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Pray let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair, and all other things belonging to me.' Mr. Burke was about to withdraw at the commencement of this conversation; but his Lordship, perceiving his intention, desired he would remain. Captain Hardy observed, that 'he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life.'—'Oh! no,' answered his Lordship; 'it is impossible. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so.' Captain Hardy then returned on deck, and at parting shook hands again with his revered friend and commander.

"His Lordship now requested the Surgeon, who had been previously absent a short time attending Mr. Rivers[7], to return to the wounded, and give his assistance to such of them as he could be useful to; 'for,' said he, 'you can do nothing for me.' The Surgeon assured him that the Assistant Surgeons were doing everything that could be effected for those unfortunate men; but on his Lordship's several times repeating his injunctions to that purpose, he left him, surrounded by Doctor Scott, Mr. Burke, and two of his Lordship's domestics. After the Surgeon[8] had been absent a few

[6] If, as the Victory's Log states, the Enemy's Van did not tack until half-past three, Captain Hardy could not have made this statement in *that* interview. The Logs of other Ships vary on the point between 2.57 and 3.30. Mr. James says that it was about 2.30 that the Enemy's Van began to put about.

[7] Now Lieutenant William Rivers, of Greenwich Hospital. He was a Midshipman of the Victory, and lost a leg at Trafalgar.

[8] Clarke and M'Arthur state, in addition to these particulars of Lord Nelson's death, that "A wounded seaman was lying near him on a pallet waiting for amputation, and, in the bustle that prevailed, was hurt by some person passing by: Nelson, weak as he was, indignantly turned his head, and, with his usual authority, reprimanded the man for not having more humanity." And James says, that "when the Victory opened her larboard guns on Dumanoir's Squadron, the concussion of the firing so affected Lord Nelson, that apostrophizing his Ship he called out 'Oh Victory, Victory, how you distract my poor brain!' Then adding, after a short pause, 'How dear is life to all men!'"—*Naval History*, vol. iv. p. 82.

minutes attending Lieutenants Peake and Reeves of the Marines, who were wounded, he was called by Doctor Scott to his Lordship, who said: 'Ah, Mr. Beatty! I have sent for you to say, what I forgot to tell you before, that all power of motion and feeling below my breast are gone; and *you*,' continued he, 'very well *know* I can live but a short time.' The emphatic manner in which he pronounced these last words, left no doubt in the Surgeon's mind, that he adverted to the case of a man who had some months before received a mortal injury of the spine on board the Victory, and had laboured under similar privations of sense and muscular motion. The case had made a great impression on Lord Nelson: he was anxious to know the cause of such symptoms, which was accordingly explained to him; and he now appeared to apply the situation and fate of this man to himself[9]. The Surgeon answered, 'My Lord, you told me so before:' but he now examined the extremities, to ascertain the fact; when his Lordship said, 'Ah, Beatty! I am too certain of it: Scott and Burke have tried it already. *You know* I am gone.' The Surgeon replied: 'My Lord, unhappily for our Country, nothing can be done for you;' and having made this declaration he was so much affected, that he turned round and withdrew a few steps to conceal his emotions. His Lordship said: 'I know it. I feel something rising in my breast,' putting his hand on his left side, 'which tells me I am gone.' Drink was recommended liberally, and Doctor Scott and Mr. Burke fanned him with paper. He often exclaimed, 'God be praised, I have done my duty;' and upon the Surgeon's inquiring whether his pain was still very great, he declared, 'it continued so very severe, that he wished he was dead. Yet,' said he in a lower voice, 'one would like to live a little longer, too:' and after a pause of a few minutes, he added in the same tone, 'What would become of poor Lady Hamilton, if she knew my situation!'

"The Surgeon, finding it impossible to render his Lordship any further assistance, left him, to attend Lieutenant Bligh, Messrs. Smith and Westphal[1], Midshipmen, and some Seamen, recently

[9] "The instance here alluded to occurred in the month of July, in the Victory's return to Europe from the West Indies; and the man survived the injury thirteen days. His Lordship, during the whole of that time, manifested much anxiety at the protracted sufferings of an individual whose dissolution was certain, and was expected every hour." The man alluded to appears to have been James Bush, Seaman, who died on the 13th of July 1805.—*Victory's Log.*

[1] Now Captain Sir George Westphal, who, in reply to the Editor's inquiry respecting the Coat worn by Lord Nelson at Trafalgar (which will be again alluded to), was good enough to write to him on the 20th of November 1844:—"I feel persuaded that you cannot have better authority than my own for the truth of this disputed question, because, when I was carried down wounded, I was placed by the side of his Lordship, and his coat was rolled up, and put as the substitute for a pillow under my head, which was then bleeding very much from the wound I had received; and when the Battle was over, and an attempt was made to remove the coat, several of the bullions of the epaulettes were found to be so firmly glued into my hair, by the coagulated blood from my wound, that the bullions, four or five of them, were cut off, and left in my hair, one of which I have still in my possession."

wounded. Captain Hardy now came to the cockpit to see his Lordship a second time, which was after an interval of about fifty minutes from the conclusion of his first visit. Before he quitted the deck, he sent Lieutenant Hills to acquaint Admiral Collingwood with the lamentable circumstance of Lord Nelson's being wounded[2].—Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy shook hands again:

[2] Mr. Beatty says, in a note, "Captain Hardy deemed it his duty to give this information to Admiral Collingwood as soon as the fate of the day was decided; but thinking that his Lordship might feel some repugnance to this communication, he left directions for Lieutenant Hills to be detained on deck at his return, till he himself (Captain Hardy) should come up from the cockpit. Lieutenant Hills was dispatched on this mission from the Victory, at the very time when the Enemy's van Ships that had tacked were passing her to windward and firing at her."

But Mr. James (vol. iv. p. 83) denies this statement, and says, "The moment it was announced to Captain Hardy that Lord Nelson was no more, and not previously, as stated by Dr. Beatty, Captain Hardy directed Lieutenant Alexander Hills to take the punt, the only remaining boat, proceed in her to the Royal Sovereign, and acquaint Vice-Admiral Collingwood, not that Lord Nelson was actually dead, but, to save the feelings of a dear friend of the deceased, that he was mortally or dangerously wounded. Shortly afterwards Captain Blackwood came on board the Victory, to inquire after the safety of his friend and patron, and then learnt the first tidings of Lord Nelson's wound and death. Captain Hardy, soon afterwards, embarking with Captain Blackwood in the Euryalus' boat, went himself to acquaint Vice-Admiral Collingwood with what had really happened, as well as to deliver to the new Commander-in-Chief Lord Nelson's dying request, that for their preservation in reference to the shore, and the prospect of a gale, the Fleet and Prizes, as soon as was practicable, might be brought to an anchor." It is surprising that a Naval historian could suppose that Captain Hardy would have ventured to conceal the *death* of the Commander-in-Chief from the Second in Command a single moment after it was in his power to communicate it; and the facts were, as nearly as possible, as Dr. Beatty has related them. In his public dispatch, Vice-Admiral Collingwood states, that "His Lordship received a musket ball in his left breast about the middle of the Action, and sent an Officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired." In his letter to his father-in-law, Mr. Blackett, he repeated this statement, and added that, "Though the Officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the Action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death." To the Duke of Clarence, Admiral Collingwood gave the same account, except that, instead of saying Captain Hardy sent to him immediately, he says, the Officer was sent to him "when the Victory was disengaged from the crowd;" and, instead of stating that the Officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, he says, "I asked the Officer if his wound was dangerous; he hesitated, then said he hoped it was not; but I saw the fate of my friend in his eye, for his look told what his tongue could not utter. About an hour after, when the Action was over, Captain Hardy brought me the melancholy account of his death;" and he made the same statement to Mrs. Moutray. (Vide these four letters in pages 214, 235, 238, 240, ante.) It is impossible that Lord Collingwood could have been mistaken on this subject, though it is remarkable that no notice of Lord Nelson's affectionate message to him should occur in Dr. Beatty's, or in any other account of his conversation. The time when Lieutenant Hills (who is now dead) was sent to the Royal Sovereign, appears to have been about half or forty minutes past three, that is, two hours and a quarter after Lord Nelson was wounded, and just an hour before his death. This agrees with Dr. Beatty's statements, with the time (as shown by the Victory's Log), when the Enemy's Van Ships tacked—vide p. 153, ante—and with the account of Michael Rowe, a seaman, who was in the boat that conveyed Lieutenant Hills to the Royal Sovereign, who informed Lieutenant Rivers (at the request of Mr. Locker), that it was "between three and four o'clock, as nigh as I can

and while the Captain retained his Lordship's hand, he congratulated him, even in the arms of death, on his brilliant victory; 'which,' said he, 'was complete; though he did not know how many of the Enemy were captured, as it was impossible to perceive every Ship distinctly. He was certain however of fourteen or fifteen having surrendered.' His Lordship answered, 'That is well, but I bargained for twenty:' and then emphatically exclaimed, '*Anchor*, Hardy, *anchor!*' To this the Captain replied: 'I suppose, my Lord, Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs.'—'Not while I live, I hope, Hardy!' cried the dying Chief; and at that moment endeavoured ineffectually to raise himself from the bed. 'No,' added he; 'do *you* anchor, Hardy.' Captain Hardy then said: 'Shall *we* make the signal, Sir?'—'Yes,' answered his Lordship, 'for if I live, I'll anchor[3].' The energetic manner in which he uttered these his last orders to Captain Hardy, accompanied with his efforts to raise himself, evinced his determination never to resign the Command while he retained the exercise of his transcendent faculties, and that he expected Captain Hardy still to carry into effect the suggestions of his exalted mind; a sense of his duty overcoming the pains of death. He then told Captain Hardy, 'he felt that in a few minutes he should be no more;' adding in a low tone, 'Don't throw me overboard, Hardy.' The Captain answered: 'Oh! no, certainly not.'—'Then,' replied his Lordship, 'you know what to do[4]: and,' continued he, 'take care of my dear Lady Hamilton, Hardy: take care of poor Lady Hamilton. Kiss me, Hardy.' The Captain now knelt down, and kissed his cheek; when his Lordship said, 'Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty.' Captain Hardy stood for a minute or two in silent contemplation: he knelt down again, and kissed his Lordship's forehead. His Lordship said: 'Who is that?' The Captain answered: 'It is Hardy;' to which his Lordship replied, 'God bless you, Hardy!' After this affecting scene Captain Hardy withdrew, and returned to the quarter-deck, having spent about eight minutes in this his last interview with his dying friend.

"Lord Nelson now desired Mr. Chevalier, his Steward, to turn him upon his right side; which being effected, his Lordship said: 'I wish I had not left the deck, for I shall soon be gone.' He afterwards became very low; his breathing was oppressed, and his voice faint. He said to Doctor Scott, 'Doctor, I have *not* been a *great* sinner;' and after a short pause, '*Remember*, that I leave Lady Hamilton and my Daughter Horatia as a legacy to my

guess." This old veteran also told Lieutenant Rivers, that when Lord Nelson saw the Royal Sovereign in Action, he struck his hand on his thigh, exclaimed, "Bravo!" three times; and added, "What a glorious salute the Royal Sovereign is in."

[3] "Meaning that in case his Lordship's surviving till all resistance on the part of the Enemy had ceased, Captain Hardy was then to anchor the British Fleet and the prizes, if it should be found practicable."—*Beatty*.

[4] "Alluding to some wishes previously expressed by his Lordship to Captain Hardy respecting the place of his interment."—*Beatty*.

Country: and,' added he, 'never forget Horatia.' His thirst now increased; and he called for 'drink, drink,' 'fan, fan,' and 'rub, rub,' addressing himself in the last case to Doctor Scott, who had been rubbing his Lordship's breast with his hand, from which he found some relief. These words he spoke in a very rapid manner, which rendered his articulation difficult: but he every now and then, with evident increase of pain, made a greater effort with his vocal powers, and pronounced distinctly these last words: 'Thank God, I have done my duty;' and this great sentiment he continued to repeat as long as he was able to give it utterance.

"His Lordship became speechless in about fifteen minutes after Captain Hardy left him. Dr. Scott and Mr. Burke, who had all along sustained the bed under his shoulders (which raised him in nearly a semi-recumbent posture, the only one that was supportable to him), forbore to disturb him by speaking to him; and when he had remained speechless about five minutes, his Lordship's Steward went to the Surgeon, who had been a short time occupied with the wounded in another part of the cockpit, and stated his apprehensions that his Lordship was dying. The Surgeon immediately repaired to him, and found him on the verge of dissolution. He knelt down by his side, and took up his hand; which was cold, and the pulse gone from the wrist. On the Surgeon's feeling his forehead, which was likewise cold, his Lordship opened his eyes, looked up, and shut them again. The Surgeon again left him, and returned to the wounded who required his assistance; but was not absent five minutes before the Steward announced to him that 'he believed his Lordship had expired.' The Surgeon returned, and found that the report was but too well founded: his Lordship had breathed his last, at thirty minutes past four o'clock; at which period Doctor Scott was in the act of rubbing his Lordship's breast, and Mr. Burke supporting the bed under his shoulders[5]."

Here it is impossible to refrain from interrupting Dr. Beatty's Narrative by inserting Southey's magnificent conclusion of his "Life of Nelson;"—

"He cannot be said to have fallen prematurely whose work was done, nor ought he to be lamented who died so full of honours, and at the height of human fame. The most triumphant death is that of the martyr; the most awful that of the martyred patriot; the most splendid that of the Hero in the hour of Victory: and if the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for Nelson's translation, he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. He has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example, which are at this hour inspiring thou-

[5] The Death of Nelson has been made the subject of several pictures. The celebrated painting by West, is now in the possession of Mr. Stroud, of Wardour Street.

sands of the youth of England—a name which is our pride, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength." To this splendid passage the following spirited lines are a fitting addition :—

> "What Cressy's sable Hero fail'd to gain,
> And Monmouth's Harry sought from foes in vain,
> Fighting He fell amidst successful toils,
> 'Midst captive Navies and triumphal spoils:
> Saw Conquest round him beam: saw Glory shed
> Her keenest radiance round his sinking head:
> Like Rome's great Founder, scarcely seem'd to die,
> But rose from earth, and mounted to the sky[6]."

"From the time of his Lordship's being wounded till his death, a period of about two hours and forty-five minutes[7] elapsed; but a knowledge of the decisive victory which was gained, he acquired of Captain Hardy within the first hour and a quarter of this period. A partial cannonade, however, was still maintained, in consequence of the Enemy's running Ships passing the British at different points; and the last distant guns which were fired at their van Ships that were making off, were heard a minute or two before his Lordship expired[8].

"It is by no means certain, though highly probable, that Lord Nelson was particularly aimed at by the Enemy. There were only

[6] "Monody on Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, by George Richards, M.A., F.A.S., late Fellow of Oriel College." 4to. Oxford, 1805.

[7] In this statement Dr. Beatty must, however, have been mistaken, as all authorities, including himself (except Mr. James, who says it was about 1.25 P.M.), state that Lord Nelson was wounded at a quarter past one, and that he died at half-past four—i. e. *three* hours and *a quarter*. The following analysis of Dr. Beatty's Narrative leaves twenty-seven minutes unaccounted for; hence a longer interval must have elapsed between some of the circumstances than he assigns ;—

	H.	M.	H.	M.
Lord Nelson was wounded at	....	....	1	15
Captain Hardy came to him below, one hour and ten minutes afterwards	1	10	2	25
Allowing for this interview	....	10	2	35
Captain Hardy again came below, about fifty minutes after he left him	....	50	3	25
Duration of the second interview	....	8	3	33
Lord Nelson became speechless, fifteen minutes after Captain Hardy quitted him	....	15	3	48
Mr. Chevalier fetched Mr. Beatty, about five minutes after Lord Nelson became speechless, saying Lord Nelson was dying	....	5	3	53
Mr. Beatty remained with him, probably	....	5	3	58
Five minutes after Dr. Beatty left him he expired	....	5	4	3
	2	48		

[8] "It must occur to the reader, that from the nature of the scene passing in the cockpit, and the noise of the guns, the whole of his Lordship's expressions could not be borne in mind, nor even distinctly heard, by the different persons attending him. The most interesting parts are here detailed."—*Beatty.*

two Frenchmen left alive in the mizen-top of the Redoutable at the time of his Lordship's being wounded, and by the hands of one of these he fell. These men continued firing at Captains Hardy and Adair, Lieutenant Rotely of the Marines, and some of the Midshipmen on the Victory's poop, for some time afterwards. At length one of them was killed by a musket-ball: and on the other's then attempting to make his escape from the top down the rigging, Mr. Pollard (Midshipman) fired his musket at him, and shot him in the back; when he fell dead from the shrouds, on the Redoutable's poop. The writer of this will not attempt to depict the heart-rending sorrow, and melancholy gloom, which pervaded the breast and the countenance of every individual on board the Victory when his Lordship's death became generally known. The anguish felt by all for such a loss, rendered doubly heavy to *them*, is more easy to be conceived than described: by his lamented fall they were at once deprived of their adored commander, and their friend and patron."

"On the day after the Battle, as soon as circumstances permitted the Surgeon to devote a portion of his attention to the care of Lord Nelson's honoured remains, measures were adopted to preserve them as effectually as the means then on board the Victory allowed. On the Surgeon's examining the nature of the wound, and the course of the ball, a quantity of blood was evacuated from the left side of the breast: none had escaped before. The ball was traced by a probe to the spine, but its lodgment could not at that time be discovered. There was no lead on board to make a coffin: a cask called a leaguer, which is of the largest size on shipboard, was therefore chosen for the reception of the body; which, after the hair had been cut off, was stripped of the clothes except the shirt, and put into it, and the cask was then filled with brandy[9].

"In the evening after this melancholy task was accomplished, the gale came on with violence from the south-west, and continued that night and the succeeding day without any abatement. During this boisterous weather, Lord Nelson's body remained under the charge of a sentinel on the middle deck. The cask was placed on its end, having a closed aperture at its top and another below; the object of which was, that as a frequent renewal of the spirit was thought necessary, the old could thus be drawn off below and a fresh quantity introduced above, without moving the cask, or occasioning the least agitation of the body. On the 24th there was a disengagement of air from the body to such a degree, that the

[9] "Brandy was recommended by the Surgeon in preference to rum, of which spirit also there was plenty on board. This circumstance is here noticed, because a very general but erroneous opinion was found to prevail on the Victory's arrival in England, that rum preserves the dead body from decay much longer and more perfectly than any other spirit, and ought therefore to have been used: but the fact is quite the reverse, for there are several kinds of spirit much better for that purpose than rum; and as their appropriateness in this respect arises from their degree of strength, on which alone their antiseptic quality depends, brandy is superior. Spirit of wine, however, is certainly by far the best, when it can be procured."

sentinel became alarmed on seeing the head of the cask raised: he therefore applied to the Officers, who were under the necessity of having the cask spiled to give the air a discharge. After this, no considerable collection of air took place. The spirit was drawn off once, and the cask filled again, before the arrival of the Victory at Gibraltar (on the 28th of October), where the spirit of wine was procured; and the cask, shewing a deficit produced by the body's absorbing a considerable quantity of the brandy, was then filled up with it.

"On the 29th the Victory's Seamen and Marines dangerously wounded in the action, were sent on shore to the Naval hospital at Gibraltar[1]. The interval between this day and the 2nd of November was employed in repairing the damage sustained by the Ship, erecting jury-masts, fitting her rigging, and completing her in every respect for the voyage to England. On the 2nd of November, preparations were made on board to receive the wounded from the hospital, who had unanimously entreated Captain Hardy not to leave them behind: but their embarkation could not be effected this day; and the Victory being ordered to quit the anchorage in Gibraltar Bay, to make room for the disabled ships and prizes daily arriving, she sailed in the evening for Tetuan Bay, for the purpose of taking on board a supply of fresh water, and awaiting there a favourable wind to pass the Straits. During the night, however, and before the Victory gained the Coast of Barbary, the wind, which had blown for several days from the west, shifted to the eastward, and a fresh breeze sprung up; she therefore changed her course, and stood back again for Gibraltar, where she arrived early in the

[1] Extracts from the Victory's *Journal*, from the 24th of October to the 22nd of December 1805.

"*Thursday*, 24th October, 1805.—At 11 A.M. H. M. Ship Polyphemus took us in tow. P.M. Observed a Ship on fire astern. At 9.45 she blew up. 26th.—P.M. Neptune took us in tow. 28th.—P.M. At 7 anchored in Rosia Bay, Gibraltar. 29th.—A.M. Departed this life Mr. Palmer, Midshipman. *November* 3rd.—P.M. At 1.40 weighed and made sail. 5th.—P.M. Joined the Fleet under Vice-Admiral Collingwood, H. M. Ship Queen—At 4.15 bore up and made sail in company with H. M. Ship Belleisle. 7th.—Performed Divine service conformable to the order of Vice-Admiral Collingwood, for a General Thanksgiving for the Victory of the 21st ultimo. Mustered the Ship's Company and read the Vice-Admiral's letter of thanks to them. *December* 1st.—At 10 showed our number to H. M. Ship L'Aigle. At 10.30 L'Aigle cheered us, which we answered. 2nd.—Warrior took us in tow. 3rd.—Passed through the Channel Fleet. P.M. Cast off the towing cable. 4th.—A.M. At 6 saw the Needles' Light bearing N.N.E., five leagues standing for St. Helens. Hoisted the Flag and Colours of the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B. P.M. At 1.30 anchored in St. Helens. 5th.—A.M. At 8.10 weighed, and at 10 anchored at Spithead. 11th.—A.M. At 8 weighed, and made sail through St. Helens. 12th.—P.M. At 2.40 anchored in Dover Roads. The Victory attempted to sail several times, but was obliged to anchor again. 17th.—A.M. Weighed—At 11 anchored in the Downs. 19th.—A.M. Weighed and made sail through the Gull Stream. At 11 anchored in the Queen's Channel. 22nd.—At 9 weighed. P.M. At 1.40 anchored in the Swin. Came alongside Commissioner Grey's Yacht, from Sheerness, and received the remains of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B., and Vice-Admiral of the White. Got a Pilot on board to take the Ship to Chatham. Wednesday 15th.—Hauled down the Pendant."

morning. She then lay-to in the bay without anchoring, and the boats were immediately sent on shore for the wounded; who were all brought off by noon, except five of the worst cases who could not be removed[2]. In the afternoon the Victory and Belleisle sailed from Gibraltar Bay, and passed through the Straits during the night of the 4th. The next day at noon they joined the Squadron under the command of Admiral Collingwood, then cruizing off Cadiz; from which they parted company the same evening, and pursued their course together for England.

"When the Victory had proceeded some weeks on her voyage, adverse winds and tempestuous weather having prolonged the passage much beyond the period that is generally expected, it was thought proper to draw off the spirit from the cask containing Lord Nelson's body, and renew it; and this was done twice. On these occasions brandy was used in the proportion of two-thirds to one of spirit of wine.

"At length the Victory arrived at Spithead, after a tedious passage of nearly five weeks from Gibraltar: and as no instructions respecting his Lordship's remains were received at Portsmouth while the Ship remained there, and orders being transmitted to Captain Hardy for her to proceed to the Nore, the Surgeon represented to him the necessity of examining the state of the body; common report giving reason to believe that it was intended to lie in state at Greenwich Hospital, and to be literally exposed to the public. On the 11th of December, therefore, the day on which the Victory sailed from Spithead for the Nore, Lord Nelson's body was taken from the cask in which it had been kept since the day after his death. On inspecting it externally, it exhibited a state of perfect preservation, without being in the smallest degree offensive. There were, however, some appearances that induced the Surgeon to examine the conditions of the bowels which were found to be much decayed, and likely in a short time to communicate the process of putrefaction to the rest of the body; the parts already injured were therefore removed. It was at this time that the fatal ball was discovered: it had passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side; and a little below the shoulder-blade. A very considerable portion of the gold-lace, pad, and lining of the epaulette, with a piece of the coat, was found attached to the ball: the lace of the epaulette was as firmly so, as if it had been inserted into the metal while in a state of fusion[3].

"The following is the Professional Report on his Lordship's wound and death, made by the Surgeon on this occasion:

[2] "Of the Victory's wounded, three died before she reached Gibraltar, one on the day of her arrival there, and another at the naval hospital at that place a few days afterwards: all the rest got well on board except the five left at Gibraltar, and five others not perfectly recovered from their wounds in January following; when the Victory being put out of commission at Chatham, they were sent to the Sussex hospital-ship at Sheerness."

[3] "The ball was *not* fired from a rifle piece."

"'His Majesty's Ship Victory, at Sea,
11th December, 1805.

"'About the middle of the Action with the Combined Fleets on the 21st of October last, the late illustrious Commander-in-Chief Lord Nelson was mortally wounded in the left breast by a musket-ball, supposed to be fired from the mizen-top of La Redoutable, French Ship of the Line, which the Victory fell on board of early in the battle. His Lordship was in the act of turning on the quarter-deck with his face towards the Enemy, when he received his wound: he instantly fell; and was carried to the cockpit, where he lived about two hours[4]. On being brought below, he complained of acute pain about the sixth or seventh dorsal vertebra, and of privation of sense and motion of the body and inferior extremities. His respiration was short and difficult; pulse weak, small, and irregular. He frequently declared his back was shot through, that he felt every instant a gush of blood within his breast, and that he had sensations which indicated to him the approach of death. In the course of an hour his pulse became indistinct, and was gradually lost in the arm. His extremities and forehead became soon afterwards cold. He retained his wonted energy of mind, and exercise of his faculties, till the last moment of his existence; and when the victory as signal as decisive was announced to him, he expressed his pious acknowledgments, and heartfelt satisfaction at the glorious event, in the most emphatic language. He then delivered his last orders with his usual precision, and in a few minutes afterwards expired without a struggle.

"'COURSE AND SITE OF THE BALL, AS ASCERTAINED SINCE DEATH.

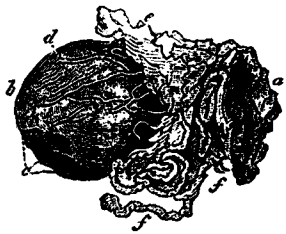
"'The ball struck the fore part of his Lordship's epaulette; and entered the left shoulder immediately before the processus acromoni scapulæ, which it slightly fractured. It then descended obliquely into the thorax, fracturing the second and third ribs: and after penetrating the left lobe of the lungs, and dividing in its passage a large branch of the pulmonary artery, it entered the left side of the spine between the sixth and seventh dorsal vertebræ, fractured the left transverse process of the sixth dorsal vertebra, wounded the medulla spinalis, and fracturing the right transverse process of the seventh vertebra, made its way from the right side of the spine, directing its course through the muscles of the back; and lodged therein, about two inches below the inferior angle of the right scapula. On removing the ball[5], a portion of the gold-lace and pad

[4] "It was not deemed necessary to insert in this Report the precise time which his Lordship survived his wound. This, as before stated, was in reality two hours and three quarters."—*Dr. Beatty;* but see Note 7 in p. 253.

[5] "The Ball, in perforating the epaulette, passed through many of the silk cords supporting the bullions, and through the pad and a doubling of silk besides; as the bag of the pad was composed of yellow silk. This circumstance militates strongly against an opinion entertained by some, that silk possesses in an eminent degree the power of resisting the force, or arresting the velocity, of a musket or

of the epaulette, together with a small piece of his Lordship's coat, was found firmly attached to it.

"'W. BEATTY.'



a Piece of the Coat.
b The Ball.
c Depressions in the Ball by striking against bone.
d Gold lace fixed in the Ball.
e Piece of the silk pad.
ff Lace of the bullion.

Mr. Beatty then relates what was done with the Corpse after the Victory arrived in England:—

"The remains were wrapped in cotton vestments, and rolled from head to foot with bandages of the same material, in the ancient mode of embalming. The body was then put into a leaden coffin, filled with brandy holding in solution camphor and myrrh[6]. This coffin was inclosed in a wooden one, and placed in the after-part of his Lordship's cabin; where it remained till the 21st of December, when an order was received from the Admiralty for the removal of the body. The coffin that had been made from the mainmast of the French Commander's Ship L'Orient, and presented to his Lordship by his friend Captain Hallowell, after the battle of the Nile, being then received on board, the leaden coffin was opened, and the body taken out; when it was found still in most excellent condition, and completely plastic. The features were somewhat tumid, from absorption of the spirit; but on using friction with a napkin, they resumed in a great degree their natural character. All the Officers of the Ship, and several of his Lordship's friends, as well as some of Captain Hardy's, who had come on board the Victory that day from the shore, were present at the time of the body's being removed from the leaden coffin; and witnessed its undecayed state after a lapse of two months since death, which

pistol ball."—*Dr. Beatty.* The fatal Ball was given by Captain Hardy to Mr. (afterwards Dr. Sir William) Beatty: on his death in March, 1842, it became the property of his brother Colonel George Beatty, of the Royal Marines, who presented it to THE QUEEN. Among the other relics of TRAFALGAR in Her Majesty's possession, and now in Windsor Castle, is a part of the foremast of the *Victory*, which was perforated by a large shot: it supports a bust of Nelson, and formerly belonged to King William the Fourth. The Coat in which Nelson fell was (as will afterwards be stated) generously purchased by H. R. H. Prince Albert for Greenwich Hospital.

[6] "The stock of spirit of wine on board was exhausted; and from the sound state of the body, brandy was judged sufficient for its preservation."

excited the surprise of all who beheld it. This was the last time the mortal part of the lamented Hero was seen by human eyes; as the body, after being dressed in a shirt, stockings, uniform small-clothes and waistcoat, neckcloth, and night-cap, was then placed in the shell made from L'Orient's mast, and covered with the shrouding. This was inclosed in a leaden coffin; which was soldered up immediately, and put into another wooden shell: in which manner it was sent out of the Victory into Commissioner Grey's yacht, which was hauled alongside for that purpose. In this vessel the revered remains were conveyed to Greenwich Hospital; attended by the Reverend Doctor Scott, and Messrs. Tyson and Whitby.

"Lord Nelson had often talked with Captain Hardy on the subject of his being killed in battle, which appeared indeed to be a favourite topic of conversation with him. He was always prepared to lay down his life in the service of his Country; and whenever it should please Providence to remove him from this world, it was the most ambitious wish of his soul to die in the fight, and in the very hour of a great and signal victory. In this he was gratified: his end was glorious; and he died as he had lived, one of the greatest among men."

Dr. Beatty concludes his Narrative with several interesting statements:—

"His Lordship had on several occasions told Captain Hardy, that if he should fall in battle in a foreign climate, he wished his body to be conveyed to England; and that if his country should think proper to inter him at the public expense, he wished to be buried in Saint Paul's, as well as that his monument should be erected there. He explained his reasons for preferring Saint Paul's to Westminster Abbey, which were rather curious: he said that he remembered hearing it stated as an old tradition when he was a boy, that Westminster Abbey was built on a spot where once existed a deep morass; and he thought it likely that the lapse of time would reduce the ground on which it now stands to its primitive state of a swamp, without leaving a trace of the Abbey. He added, that his actual observations confirmed the probability of this event. He also repeated to Captain Hardy several times during the last two years of his life: 'Should I be killed, Hardy, and my country not bury me, you know what to do with me;' meaning that his body was in that case to be laid by the side of his Father's, in his native village of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk: and this, as has been before mentioned, he adverted to in his last moments.

"An opinion has been very generally entertained, that Lord Nelson's state of health, and supposed infirmities arising from his former wounds and hard services, precluded the probability of his long surviving the battle of Trafalgar, had he fortunately escaped the Enemy's shot: but the writer of this can assert that his Lordship's health was uniformly good, with the exception of some slight

attacks of indisposition arising from accidental causes; and which never continued above two or three days, nor confined him in any degree with respect to either exercise or regimen[7]: and during the last twelve months of his life, he complained only three times in this way. It is true, that his Lordship, about the meridian of life, had been subject to frequent fits of the gout[8]: which disease, however, as well as his constitutional tendency to it, he totally overcame by abstaining for the space of nearly two years from animal food, and wine, and all other fermented drink; confining his diet to vegetables, and commonly milk and water. And it is also a fact, that early in life, when he first went to sea, he left off the use of salt, which he then believed to be the sole cause of scurvy, and never took it afterwards with his food.

"His Lordship used a great deal of exercise, generally walking on deck six or seven hours in the day. He always rose early, for the most part shortly after daybreak. He breakfasted in summer about six, and at seven in winter: and if not occupied in reading or writing despatches, or examining into the details of the Fleet, he walked on the quarter-deck the greater part of the forenoon; going down to his cabin occasionally to commit to paper such incidents or reflections as occurred to him during that time, and as might be hereafter useful to the service of his country. He dined generally about half-past two o'clock. At his table there were seldom less than eight or nine persons, consisting of the different Officers of the Ship: and when the weather and the service permitted, he very often had several of the Admirals and Captains in the Fleet to dine with him; who were mostly invited by signal, the rotation of seniority being commonly observed by his Lordship in these invitations. At dinner he was alike affable and attentive to every one: he ate very sparingly himself; the liver and wing of a fowl, and a small plate of macaroni, in general composing his meal, during which he occasionally took a glass of champagne. He never exceeded four glasses of wine after dinner, and seldom drank three; and even those were diluted with either Bristol or common water.

"Few men subject to the vicissitudes of a Naval life, equalled his Lordship in an habitual systematic mode of living. He possessed such a wonderful activity of mind, as even prevented him from taking ordinary repose, seldom enjoying two hours of uninterrupted sleep; and on several occasions he did not quit the deck during the whole night. At these times he took no pains to protect himself from the effects of wet, or the night air; wearing only a thin great coat: and he has frequently, after having his clothes wet through

[7] "These complaints were the consequence of indigestion, brought on by writing for several hours together. His Lordship had one of these attacks from that cause a few days before the battle, but on resuming his accustomed exercise he got rid of it. This attack alarmed him, as he attributed it to sudden and violent spasm; but it was merely an unpleasant symptom (*globus hystericus*) attending indigestion."—*Dr. Beatty.*

[8] This is the only notice of the circumstance, and Dr. Beatty may have been misinformed.

with rain, refused to have them changed, saying that the leather waistcoat which he wore over his flannel one would secure him from complaint. He seldom wore boots, and was consequently very liable to have his feet wet. When this occurred he has often been known to go down to his cabin, throw off his shoes, and walk on the carpet in his stockings for the purpose of drying the feet of them. He chose rather to adopt this uncomfortable expedient, than to give his servants the trouble of assisting him to put on fresh stockings; which, from his having only one hand, he could not himself conveniently effect.

"From these circumstance it may be inferred, that though Lord Nelson's constitution was not of that kind which is generally denominated strong, yet it was not very susceptible of complaint from the common occasional causes of disease necessarily attending a Naval life. The only bodily pain which his Lordship felt in consequence of his many wounds, was a slight rheumatic affection of the stump of his amputated arm on any sudden variation in the state of the weather; which is generally experienced by those who have the misfortune to lose a limb after the middle age. His Lordship usually predicted an alteration in the weather with as much certainty from feeling transient pains in his stump, as he could by his marine barometer; from the indications of which latter he kept a diary of the atmospheric changes, which was written with his own hand [9].

"His Lordship had lost his right eye by a contusion which he received at the siege of Calvi, in the island of Corsica. The vision of the other was likewise considerably impaired: he always therefore wore a green shade over his forehead, to defend this eye from the effect of strong light; but as he was in the habit of looking much through a glass while on deck, there is little doubt that had he lived a few years longer, and continued at sea, he would have lost his sight totally.

"The Surgeon had, on the occasion of opening his Lordship's body, an opportunity of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the sound and healthy state of the thoracic and abdominal viscera, none of which appeared to have ever been the seat of inflammation or disease. There were no morbid indications to be seen; other than those unavoidably attending the human body six weeks after death, even under circumstances more favourable to its preservation. The heart was small, and dense in its substance; its valves, pericardium, and the large vessels, were sound, and firm in their structure. The lungs were sound, and free from adhesions. The liver was very small, in its colour natural, firm in its texture, and in every way free from the smallest appearance of disorganization. The stomach, as well as the spleen and other abdominal contents, was alike free from the traces of disease. Indeed, all the vital parts were so perfectly healthy in their appearance, and so small, that they resembled more those of a youth, than of a man who had attained his forty-seventh year; which state of the body,

[9] See the extracts from this Diary in a former volume.

associated with habits of life favourable to health, gives every reason to believe that his Lordship might have lived to a great age.

"The immediate cause of his Lordship's death was a wound of the left pulmonary artery, which poured out its blood into the cavity of the chest. The quantity of blood thus effused did not appear to be very great: but as the hemorrhage was from a vessel so near the heart, and the blood was consequently lost in a very short time, it produced death sooner than would have been effected by a larger quantity of blood lost from an artery in a more remote part of the body. The injury done to the spine must of itself have proved mortal, but his Lordship might perhaps have survived this alone for two or three days; though his existence protracted even for that short period, would have been miserable to himself, and highly distressing to the feelings of all around him.

"W. BEATTY."

FRENCH ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

No Official report of the BATTLE of TRAFALGAR by the French Commander-in-Chief, or by any other French Officer, has ever appeared; nor did the "Moniteur," the organ of the French Government, contain a single line to indicate that such an event had taken place. The silence of the "Moniteur" on the subject is the more remarkable, because it regularly transferred to its pages from the English Journals, notices of the movements of our Ships, and even quoted the English Newspapers which were filled with accounts of the Battle. A still more extraordinary instance of the restraint imposed upon the "Moniteur" was shown by that Journal on the 30th of November, when it mentioned the proclamation in the London Gazette of the 18th of that month, commanding a general Thanksgiving to be observed on the 5th of December, but carefully suppressed that it was "for the late signal and important Victory obtained over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain."

The "Journal de Paris" of the 16th Frimaire, An xiv., *i. e.* 7th of December 1805, printed, though with some variations, a translation of one of the Spanish accounts[1] of the disastrous state of our Fleet, which represented that six Sail of the Line were sunk, one burnt, and one stranded; and it actually added to the falsehood, the audacious assertion, that the statement was taken from Vice-Admiral Collingwood's report to the Admiralty:—

"Londres, 26 Novembre.

"Dans les cercles, aux loges de spectacles et dans les bals, les dames en grande parure portent une couronne de cyprès en mémoire de Lord Nelson.

"La mort de Lord Nelson n'est pas la seule grande perte que nous ayons à déplorer dans le terrible Combat que notre Flotte a livré devant Cadiz, à la Flotte Combinée. On jugera des autres en lisant l'extrait suivant du rapport que le Vice-Amiral Collingwood a envoyé à l'Amirauté;—

"ETAT DE L'ESCADRE ANGLAISE, APRES LE COMBAT DU 19 OCTOBRE, 1805.

"VICTORY, de 100 canons, démâté de tous ses mâts dans le combat, ou lorsqu'il coupa la ligne; l'Amiral Nelson, blessé, mourut sept heures après le combat.

[1] Vide a subsequent page.

"Le Prince de Galles[2]*, 98, coulé dans le combat.

"Le Britannia, 100, démâté et coulé dans le combat.

"Le Neptune et Le Prince, 98, coulés; les mâts du premier et le gouvernail du second, se trouvent sur la côte de Conil.

"Le Drioğnaute, 98, démâté et coulé dans le combat.

"Le Temeraire, 98, abordé par L'Aigle, vaisseau Français, qui lui a tué beaucoup de monde.

"La Queen*, démâté du mât de hune et d'artimon; sa carcasse en mauvais état est à Gibraltar.

"Le Canopus*, 80, démâté et placé à côté du Ponton, à Gibraltar.

"Le Donnegal*, 74, démâté, à la côte de Barbarie.

"Le Tigre*. 74, coulé dans la plage de Sainte Marie.

"Le Tonnant, 80, démâté de son grand mât, à Gibraltar.

"Le Spencer*, 74, coulé après le combat.

"Le Spartiate, 74, remarqué par une Frégate demandant du secours.

"Le Defens, 74, brûlé par l'Escadre, au nord-ouest.

"Le Swicsure, 74, démâté du petit mât de hune, à Gibraltar.

"La Reine[3], 98, démâté, à la côte d'Afrique.

"Le Leviathan, 74, à la voilé, démâté du petit mât de hune.

"Le Zele*, 74, beaucoup d'avarie; sa carcasse à Gibraltar.

"Le Conquerant, 74, à la voile.

"La Revanche et L'Achille, à Gibraltar, le deuxième sans une vergue de hune.

"Le Colossus et Le Minautore, 74, échoués à la côte du Conil et de St. Lucas.

"Le Mars, Bellerophon, 74, et le Poliphemus, 64, à la voile, le troisième sans mât d'artimont.

"Le Carne[4]†, démâté de son grand mât, à la voile.

"Hardi[5], ou L'Effronte, en pagaille, à la voile (c'est-à-dire presque défarienté).

"Vaisseaux qui ont joint l'Escadre, a 5 heures de relevee, le 21 Octobre.

"Le Duc de Yorck[6]†, 90, à la voile.

"Le Royal Souverain, 110, coulé avec 400 mille livres sterlings qu'il avoit à bord, pour Malte.

"Le Leger†, 80, remorqué par une frégate.

"Le Relampuyo[7]†, 74, à la voile de conserve avec un navire Suédois.

"L'Achille[8]†, 74, à la voile.

"Ce rapport est un éclatant témoignage rendu à la valeur des Français. Cinq Vaisseaux de Ligne et un Sloop partis le 19, pour aller rejoindre la Flotte en station devant Cadiz."

[2] None of these (*) Ships were in the Battle.

[3] The "Queen" is already mentioned, and the Ship meant was probably the "Orion."

[4] Probably intended for the "Carnatic," then an old Receiving Hulk at Plymouth.

[5] Query, the "Defiance."

[6] There were no Ships of those (†) Names in the British Navy.

[7] *i. e.* the "Lightning." This Ship is included in the preceding list, possibly meant for the "Thunderer."

[8] Apparently a mistake for the "Eagle," but that Ship was not in the Battle.

Twenty-nine British Sail of the Line are thus represented to have been in the Battle, and five more are said to have joined in the afternoon of the same day, making in all thirty-four Line of Battle Ships. Of the twenty-nine enumerated, eight, viz., the "Prince of Wales," "Queen," "Canopus," "Donegal," "Tigre," "Spencer," "Zealous," and "Le Carne" (probably the "Carnatic"), were not in the Action. Two "Queens" are mentioned, but the second was evidently intended for the "Orion," which Ship was present. Of the five Ships which are said to have joined in the afternoon of the 21st (though no such junction took place until the 23rd), the Royal Sovereign led the Lee division into the Battle, and was the first British Ship that opened her fire. There were no such Ships in the British Navy as the "Duke of York," "Le Leger," or the "Relampuyo," and the "Achille" was included among those previously mentioned. By the "Relampuyo," the "Thunderer" was perhaps meant; and as that Ship was in the Battle, she should have been included in the first list. "L'Achille" was no doubt meant for the "Eagle," which Ship, however, was neither in the Action, nor joined the British Fleet afterwards. Those of our Ships which were actually present and are not mentioned, were the "Belleisle," "Ajax," "Africa," and "Agamemnon[9]."

It is satisfactory, after such ridiculous statements, to be able to give the rational French History of the Battle, in the celebrated work entitled "Monumens des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français;" and which it has not been thought advisable either to translate or abridge.

"Quoiqu'il en soit du motif qui l'y décida, l'Amiral Villeneuve sortit de Cadix avec sa flotte, le 19 Octobre. La manière dont il la partagea en escadres et en divisions donne quelque poids aux assertions des écrivains Anglais. 'Dans le principe,' disent-ils, 'Villeneuve, croyant que la flotte Anglaise n'était composée que de vingt-un vaisseaux, avait eu l'intention de l'attaquer en ligne, suivant l'usage ordinaire, avec un pareil nombre de vaisseaux, tandis que les douze restans, choisis parmi les meilleurs voiliers pour former un corps de réserve, devaient, une fois le combat commencé, venir doubler la ligne Anglaise et en mettr eune partie entre deux feux.' En effet, Villeneuve avait divisé ses forces en deux parties distinctes. La première, désignée sous le nom de ligne de bataille, était composée de trois escadres, chacune de sept vaisseaux, ou vingt-un vaisseaux

[9] The "Naval Chronicle" for 1805 (vol. xiv. p. 377), reprinted from "The Herald," what purported to be a translation of the "First Bulletin of the Grand Naval Army," describing the Battle; dated "Head Quarters, Cadiz, October 25th," and which was said to have been taken from the "Moniteur;" but it is not in that Journal, and is such a perfect travesty of the facts, that it is presumed to have been an English parody of those mendacious Bulletins of the "Grand Army" which continually disgraced the "Moniteur."

en tout ; la seconde, appelée corps de réserve, était composée des douze vaisseaux restans, partagés en deux divisions égales. Cette formation fut mise à l'ordre de la flotte avant le départ et exécutée dès la sortie ; elle se retrouve à peu de chose près dans l'ordre suivant lequel étaient rangés les vaisseaux lors du combat que nous allons raconter.

"En exposant les conjectures qu'on forma sur les intentions de Villeneuve lorsqu'il sortit du port de Cadix, nous ne les donnons que comme telles. Sans en former nous-mêmes, nous allons émettre nos doutes sur une partie de celles-ci, et rapporter des circonstances qui les affaiblissent. D'abord, il ne nous paraît pas certain que Villeneuve soit sorti dans l'intention de livrer combat aux Anglais, et de rentrer dans le port pour y mettre en sûreté ses prises s'il était vainqueur, ou pour s'y réparer s'il était battu : en effet, il avait pris à bord de ses vaisseaux toutes les troupes qui avaient fait la campagne avec lui, et l'on ne s'encombre pas ainsi d'hommes quand on sort uniquement pour aller combattre. D'un autre côté, les vaisseaux Espagnols n'avaient pas embarqué de troupes, et cette circonstance prouverait que la Flotte Combinée ne sortait pas pour aller tenter une expédition contre quelqu'une des possessions Britanniques. Ce qui paraîtrait plus probable, c'est que, la guerre continentale et l'absence de Napoléon ayant fait ajourner le grand plan contre l'Angleterre, il était inutile que Villeneuve demeurât à Cadix avec ses vaisseaux, et qu'il avait eu ordre de les ramener dans un port de France. La sortie des vaisseaux Espagnols n'aurait été, en ce cas, qu'un mouvement pareil à celui qu'avait fait, neuf ans auparavant, l'escadre de l'Amiral Solano, lorsqu'elle sortit pour assurer le passage de l'escadre Française de Richery ; le combat conséquemment n'eût été qu'un événement accidentel, et non l'objet principal de la campagne. Quant à l'époque choisie par Villeneuve pour effectuer son mouvement, elle a pu l'être par tant de motifs divers, qu'on ne voit rien là qui détruise ni qui confirme le reste des conjectures que nous avons rapportées. La vérité sur ce point sera publiée un jour ; mais à présent ceux, en bien petit nombre, à qui elle est connue, ont peut-être intérêt à la cacher, ou ne sont pas assez indépendans pour oser la dire.

"Il faisait presque calme, le 19, et huit ou dix bâtimens seuls purent sortir de la rade de Cadix. Le 20, la brise variable du S.E. au S.S.E. étant devenue plus forte, le reste de la Flotte Combinée mit dehors : les signaux de la tour de Cadix et ceux des frégates chargées d'éclairer la route annonçaient en ce moment dix-huit voiles au sud. A midi, tous les bâtimens étant ralliés, l'Amiral fit former l'ordre de marche sur trois colonnes, la flotte se dirigeant au S.O. A quatre heures, les vents changèrent et commencèrent à souffler, quoique faiblement, de la partie du S.S.O : l'ordre fut donné de gouverner au S.E. La flotte fit peu de chemin pendant cette journée ; elle eut constamment à vue plusieurs bâtimens ennemis ; le soir on en comptait dix-huit. On aperçut, dès que la nuit fut tombée, des feux dans toutes les parties de l'horizon, depuis le S. jusqu'à l'O.N.O., et l'on entendit par intervalles des volées entières tirées par des bâtimens Anglais qui indiquaient à Nelson la

position de la Flotte Combinée. Le voisinage de l'ennemi engagea l'Amiral Villeneuve à prendre quelques précautions ; en conséquence il signala de former une ligne de bataille sans égard au poste, et de se préparer au combat. Ce dernier signal n'était pas absolument nécessaire ; car une flotte, en sortant du port, et surtout d'un port gardé par une flotte ennemie, doit être en *branle-bas de combat*, jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait gagné le large.

"Toute la nuit, la flotte demeura assez bien ralliée, et chacun se tint sur ses gardes. Au point du jour, le 21, le vent soufflait faiblement de l'O.N.O. ; la mer était houleuse : l'ennemi parut au vent à quatre ou cinq lieues de distance, au nombre de plus de trente voiles. L'Amiral fit alors le signal de former l'ordre de bataille naturel tribord amures, ce qui dirigeait la route de la flotte au S.O. D'après ce signal, toute la flotte était rangée sur une seule ligne ; les deux divisions du corps de réserve, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, marchaient en tête, et les trois escadres de bataille suivaient, dans l'ordre prescrit par la tactique navale : la seconde en avant, la première au centre, et la troisième en arrière de celle-ci. La séparation de la flotte en deux corps n'avait été faite par Villeneuve que pour le cas où il se trouverait au vent d'un ennemi inférieur en force ; dans celui-ci, où l'ennemi était au vent et en nombre à peu près égal à la Flotte Combinée, il crut devoir ranger ses vaisseaux comme il l'avait indiqué dans la circulaire dont nous avons donné des extraits, c'est-à-dire *sur une ligne de bataille bien serrée*. La flotte ennemie, au contraire, se sépara en deux portions, et s'avança ainsi, toutes voiles dehors, vers la Flotte Combinée. A huit heures, la force de l'ennemi fut reconnue être de vingt-sept vaisseaux de ligne, dont sept à trois ponts, quatre frégates et quelques bâtimens légers. Un quart d'heure après, l'Amiral Villeneuve fit virer la flotte tout à la fois, *lof pour lof* (vent arrière) : par ce mouvement, l'ordre de bataille se trouva renversé, de manière que le chef de file de la ligne en devint le serre-file, et réciproquement, et la route se trouva dirigée vers le Nord.

"En ordonnant cette évolution, Villeneuve paraît avoir eu pour but de se conserver le port de Cadix sous le vent, afin de pouvoir s'y réfugier en cas de malheur. En effet, la Flotte Combinée, au moment où elle vira de bord, se trouvait à environ huit lieues dans la direction E. et O. du Cap Trafalgar, par conséquent à huit ou neuf lieues dans le S.S.O. de Cadix, et, en gouvernant au N., elle devait se conserver ce port ouvert. Le virement de bord exécuté, la ligne Franco-Espagnole, quoique très-serrée, se trouva mal formée ; la faiblesse de la brise ne permettait de la rectifier parfaitement qu'en arrivant sur les vaisseaux le plus sous le vent ; l'Amiral, au contraire, fit signal au chef de file de serrer le vent, et, ce mouvement, imité successivement par toute la ligne, ôta aux vaisseaux affalés le moyen d'atteindre leur poste. La flotte Anglaise venait presque vent arrière, et non-seulement cette allure par elle-même, mais encore la plus grande quantité de voiles qu'elle pouvait porter, lui faisaient faire assez de sillage pour se ranger facilement dans un ordre quelconque. Elle rectifia celui dans lequel d'abord elle s'était formée, et continua de s'avancer vers la Flotte Combinée en

deux colonnes qui paraissaient se diriger sur le centre de la ligne Franco-Espagnole.

"Cette manière inusitée de se présenter au combat avait été choisie par Nelson pour éviter le retard que met toujours une flotte nombreuse à se former en ligne de bataille, et par d'autres motifs détaillés dans son ordre général du 10 Octobre, adressé aux capitaines des vaisseaux de sa flotte. Cet ordre est considéré comme un chef-d'œuvre par les marins éclairés. On y lit la défaite presque inévitable de toute flotte qui n'opposera à cette attaque d'un genre nouveau que les moyens de défense ordinaires. En considérant l'état de la science navale à cette époque, on ne peut guère s'empêcher de penser avec les Anglais, que *cette attaque était irrésistible*, du moins en se conformant aux règles de la tactique. Que devait-il donc arriver, si, par impéritie, indécision, ou toute autre cause, on négligeait ou l'on tardait d'employer à la défense commune les ressources insuffisantes qu'offrait la tactique[1]?

"Conformément aux dispositions principales de son ordre du 10 Octobre, Nelson avait, ainsi que nous venons de le dire, rangé sa Flotte en deux colonnes; mais il n'avait pas formé d'escadre avancée. Il se réserva le commandement de la première colonne, qui était composée de douze vaisseaux, et donna celui de la seconde, forte de quinze vaisseaux, au Vice-Amiral Collingwood[2]. Pendant qu'il dirigeait sa Flotte ainsi formée sur le centre de la ligne de bataille de la Flotte Combinée, il faisait parcourir ses deux colonnes par des frégates chargées de faire connaître aux Capitaines des vaisseaux Anglais ses dernières intentions. Lorsqu'il fut assuré qu'elles étaient bien comprises de tous les Capitaines, il adressa aux équipages (à l'aide du télégraphe naval) ces paroles mémorables: 'L'Angleterre compte que chacun fera son devoir!' Ce signal fut accueilli dans la Flotte Britannique par des acclamations universelles et tous les signes du plus vif enthousiasme: officiers et matelots entendirent la voix de la patrie, et tous s'apprêtèrent à combattre comme si les regards de leurs concitoyens eussent été fixés sur eux.

"La même ardeur animait les équipages de la Flotte Combinée, les officiers et matelots Français surtout; mais si le moyen employé par Nelson manquait à Villeneuve pour la faire éclater, elle n'en était pas moins réelle. La vue de l'ennemi avait fait tout oublier à ces braves marins, et le fâcheux résultat du combat du 22 Juillet, et les préventions défavorables dont il les avait armés contre leur chef:

[1] "Quand on compare l'instruction de Villeneuve, dont nous avons cité plus haut les passages les plus saillans, avec l'ordre ci-dessus de Nelson, que de réflexions se présentent à l'esprit? Nous n'en hasarderons qu'une ici. Suivant l'Amiral Anglais, 'placer son vaisseau par le travers d'un vaisseau ennemi,' est le moins que puisse faire un capitaine; quant à Villeneuve, c'est tout ce qu'il en exigeait: la différence est grande."

[2] "Il est utile de faire voir qu'en cela Nelson ne manqua pas, comme on pourrait le croire, de suivre le plan qu'il avait formé d'avance. En effet, s'il ne s'avança que sur deux colonnes, et s'il fit la seconde plus forte que la première, c'est qu'il s'aperçut que le vaisseau de Villeneuve n'était pas placé au centre de sa ligne de bataille, et que cette ligne présentait un plus grand nombre de vaisseaux dans la partie sur laquelle devait être dirigée l'attaque de la colonne commandée par l'Amiral Collingwood."

ils brûlaient de signaler leur intrépidité et leur dévouement à leur pays, et l'on verra, dans la suite de notre récit, de quels héroïques efforts furent capables des hommes qu'une foule de circonstances pouvaient avoir découragés. Telles étaient les dispositions morales des deux Flottes aux approches du terrible combat qui allait s'engager. La faiblesse de la brise en retardait l'instant, et, à onze heures, la Flotte Anglaise, malgré toutes les voiles dont ses vaisseaux étaient couverts, n'était pas encore arrivée à portée de canon de la ligne Franco-Espagnole.

"Nous avons dit que cette ligne était mal formée. L'espace compris entre le Neptuno et le Bucentaure n'était pas suffisant pour les dix vaisseaux qui devaient s'y placer; quelques uns se doublaient; d'autres se trouvaient sous le vent de leur poste, qui demeurait vide sans qu'ils pussent s'y placer. Le Duguay-Trouin était dans ce dernier cas, ainsi que les deux vaisseaux le San-Francisco de Assis et le San-Augustino. Le Héros, la Santissima-Trinidad et le Bucentaure étaient parfaitement formés; le Neptune, matelot d'arrière du vaisseau amiral dans l'ordre de bataille renversé, était sous le vent de son poste; le San-Leandro, placé alors dans les eaux du Neptune, était également hors de la ligne. Le Redoutable était exactement à son poste, qu'il ne devait abandonner bientôt que pour en prendre un à la fois plus honorable et plus périlleux; en arrière de ce vaisseau, il existait un grand vide; le San-Justo et l'Indomptable, qui devaient le remplir, étaient non-seulement acculés, mais un peu sous le vent de la ligne. Depuis la Santa-Anna jusques et compris l'Argonaute, l'ordre était assez bien établi; le Montagnès et l'Argonauta se trouvaient sous le vent de leur poste; le reste des vaisseaux, quoiqu'un peu sous le vent aussi, présentait une ligne régulièrement formée, à l'exception de l'Achille, dont on n'avait pas laissé la place vide, et qui doublait le San-Ildefonso. Les frégates et les bricks étaient à une distance considérable sous le vent; les premières (surtout à cause de l'état du temps) se trouvaient par là dans l'impossibilité de rendre à la Flotte les services qu'elle avait droit d'en attendre d'après les instructions de l'Amiral.

"Lorsque les deux colonnes de la Flotte Anglaise furent sur le point d'arriver à portée de canon du centre de la ligne Franco-Espagnole, elles se divisèrent. Celle que conduisait le Vice-Amiral Collingwood fit porter et se dirigea sur le vaisseau la Santa-Anna; celle que Nelson conduisait en personne gouverna droit sur le Bucentaure. En ce moment, l'Amiral Villeneuve fit le signal de commencer le feu dès qu'on serait à portée. C'est alors que le Capitaine Lucas, commandant du Redoutable, voyant le danger auquel était exposé le vaisseau Amiral par l'éloignement de son matelot d'arrière, le Neptune, et jugeant de l'impossibilité où se trouvait ce bâtiment de prendre son poste, força de voiles, et vint audacieusement poster son vaisseau dans la hanche du vent du Bucentaure. Par cette manœuvre, digne des plus grands éloges, le capitaine Lucas couvrait son général, et rendait impossible à l'ennemi de couper la ligne en arrière du Bucentaure, sans aborder le Redoutable et l'entraîner hors du poste où l'intrépidité de son chef l'avait placé.

"Quoique, dans les combats de mer, en général, on doive éviter de tirer de loin, il existe néanmoins des circonstances où il est utile de le faire. Ici, par exemple, ainsi qu'au combat d'Aboukir, il semble qu'on eût dû tirer de bonne heure sur les deux colonnes ennemies, dont les vaisseaux s'avançaient en présentant le devant, pour tâcher, en les démâtant et en les dégréant, de porter le désordre parmi eux et de troubler leur manœuvre. Quel but avantageux offraient aux canonniers ces deux groupes de vaisseaux, dont chacun présentait une quantité de mâts et de vergues et une masse de cordages et de voiles, où pas un boulet ne devait être perdu! Malgré ces chances favorables, on attendit, pour commencer le feu, que l'ennemi fût tout proche de la ligne. Enfin, à midi un quart, le Fougueux tira les premiers coups de canon sur le Royal Sovereign, qui manœuvrait pour couper la ligne entre lui et la Santa-Anna: l'Admiral Collingwood réussit dans cette tentative, et la canonnade s'engagea immédiatement entre sa colonne et la plupart des vaisseaux Français et Espagnols placés en arrière de la Santa-Anna[3]. Cette colonne se rompit alors, et quelques-uns des vaisseaux qui suivaient le Royal Sovereign vinrent couper la queue de la ligne Franco-Espagnole en divers endroits, tandis que d'autres vaisseaux s'avançaient à l'abri de ceux-ci, et se plaçaient ensuite au vent des vaisseaux coupés, dans les positions les plus avantageuses pour les écraser de leur artillerie, sans en recevoir de grands dommages; enfin, ceux qui ne purent ni couper la ligne, ni prendre une des positions dont nous parlons, forcèrent de voiles et passèrent en arrière du Principe de Asturias, serre-file de la ligne, pour en mettre la queue entre deux feux.

"Les mouvemens que nous venons de décrire ne furent pas tous exécutés avant que la colonne dirigée par Nelson n'eût commencé l'attaque de son côté; mais comme elle ne se trouva engagée qu'après celle de Collingwood, nous avons dû nous occuper d'abord uniquement de celle-ci. La colonne de Nelson, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, gouvernait sur le Bucentaure. Peu de temps après que l'arrière-garde eut ouvert son feu sur le Royal Sovereign, le vaisseau amiral Français, la Santissima-Trinidad et le Redoutable ouvrirent le leur sur le Victory, et les vaisseaux qui marchaient à sa suite. L'effet qu'il produisit dut faire regretter de n'avoir pas tiré plus tôt: en peu d'instans, le Victory fut désemparé de toutes ses bonnettes, eut un mât de hune coupé, ainsi qu'une vergue et quantité de manœuvres; ses pertes en hommes furent aussi rapides, et il en eut plus de cinquante mis hors de combat, avant qu'il eût franchi le court espace qui le séparait encore de la ligne Franco-Espagnole. Soit que les

[3] "En coupant la ligne en arrière de la Santa-Anna, Collingwood ne se conforma pas aux dispositions prescrites par Nelson, qui voulait que les vaisseaux Anglais fussent toujours d'un quart plus nombreux que les vaisseaux ennemis coupés, puisque les vaisseaux alliés qui suivaient la Santa Anna, étaient au nombre de quinze, comme ceux de sa colonne; mais il espérait sans doute, en attaquant ces quinze vaisseaux partiellement, en laisser quelques-uns dans l'inaction, et accabler les autres d'abord, puis ceux-ci. C'était aux vaisseaux alliés, qui se trouvaient en nombre égal, à s'opposer à ce genre d'attaque, et à ramener l'affaire à un combat corps à corps."

avaries éprouvées par le Victory l'eussent fait tomber à tribord de sa route primitive, soit que Nelson l'eût ainsi ordonné (par quelque motif plus facile à supposer qu'à connaître), son vaisseau cessa de gouverner sur le Bucentaure, pour porter droit sur le vaisseau du Capitaine Lucas ; mais ce capitaine tint ferme au poste qu'il avait choisi. Nelson, voyant qu'il n'était pas disposé à plier, fit venir le Victory au vent tout d'un coup, et, le laissant tomber en travers, il aborda de long en long le Redoutable ; le Téméraire se dirigea alors pour passer en arrière de ce même vaisseau. Entraîné sous le vent par l'effet de l'abordage, le Redoutable ouvrit forcément derrière le Bucentaure un passage, dont quelques vaisseaux de la tête de la colonne Anglaise purent profiter ; les vaisseaux de queue de cette colonne, au contraire, serrèrent un peu le vent, comme pour s'approcher des vaisseaux de l'avant-garde de la Flotte Combinée ; mais, après avoir reçu quelques bordées de ces vaisseaux, ils abandonnèrent ce dessein, et se portèrent vers les vaisseaux placés entre le Redoutable et la Santa-Anna, ou vinrent unir leurs efforts à ceux des vaisseaux Anglais qui combattaient déjà le Bucentaure et la Santissima-Trinidad. Depuis ce dernier bâtiment jusqu'à la queue de la ligne tous les vaisseaux paraissaient en ce moment prendre plus ou moins de part au combat ; mais les dix vaisseaux qui le précédaient n'avaient plus un seul ennemi à combattre.

" Tel est le premier aspect du combat, et l'on voit que, bien que le succès en parût compromis pour la Flotte Combinée par la savante attaque de Nelson, elle n'en devait pas désespérer entièrement, si l'arrière-garde soutenait vigoureusement le choc d'une colonne ennemie dont la force n'était pas supérieure à la sienne, et surtout si les dix vaisseaux placés en avant de la Santissima-Trinidad se hâtaient de venir empêcher douze vaisseaux ennemis d'en menacer sept Français ou Espagnols et de se réunir pour en écraser trois. A la vérité, les Anglais avaient pour eux le temps et l'espace ; mais, par une résistance opiniâtre d'une part, de la décision, de la célérité et de l'audace de l'autre, la Flotte Combinée pouvait encore ramener la fortune sous ses pavillons.

" Il était un peu plus de midi et demi lorsque les deux flottes se trouvèrent engagées de la sorte. Villeneuve, voyant les dix vaisseaux de tête immobiles à leur poste de bataille, leur fit un signal dont l'expression est : 'L'armée navale Française combattant au vent ou sous le vent, ordre aux vaisseaux qui, par leur position actuelle, ne combattent pas, d'en prendre une *quelconque*, qui les reporte le plus promptement possible au feu[1].' Ce signal, qui, suivant l'expression de l'Amiral réduit alors à le faire, devait être une tache déshonorante pour ceux auxquels il serait adressé, ne fut immédiatement suivi d'aucun mouvement. Dès lors, on put préjuger l'issue du combat, et le plan de Nelson, dont la réussite avait été calculée sur le temps qu'il fallait aux vaisseaux non attaqués pour se porter au secours de leurs compagnons, rencontra encore moins d'obstacles que l'habile Amiral ne l'avait prévu.

[1] "A cet article des signaux se trouve joint le nota suivant :—' Si les frégates s'apercevaient que des vaisseaux ne donnassent pas, les capitaines sont autorisés à leur faire ce signal, et à en tenir note sur leurs journaux.' "

"Ignorant le sort qui les attendait, et persuadés qu'ils allaient être secourus, les équipages de la plupart des vaisseaux attaqués par l'ennemi combattaient avec la plus rare intrépidité. Les prodiges de valeur qui marquèrent, dans la première guerre maritime de la Révolution, la défense du Vengeur, du Ca-Ira, du Tigre, et de ce même Formidable dont on pourra dire bientôt, *Quantùm mutatus ab illo !* se renouvelèrent dix fois dans le combat que nous racontons. En suivant les progrès de l'action, nous esquisserons rapidement ces glorieux épisodes d'une catastrophe si funeste à la puissance maritime de la France.

"A peine le Victory eut-il accosté le Redoutable, que les grapins d'abordage de ce vaisseau furent lancés à bord de l'Amiral Anglais; en même temps, les bordées de ces deux vaisseaux tirées à bout portant firent de part et d'autre un massacre horrible. Le feu continua encore quelque temps dans cette position: mais bientôt l'équipage Anglais abandonna les batteries, et se porta en foule sur les gaillards, d'où il paraissait menacer le Redoutable de l'abordage. Le Capitaine Lucas fit également monter son monde: alors une vive fusillade s'engage entre les deux équipages, et les grenades pleuvent des hunes du Redoutable. En peu d'instans, les passavants et les gaillards du Victory sont jonchés de morts et de blessés; Nelson lui-même tombe atteint d'une balle qui le blesse mortellement. Cet accident fatal porte à son comble le trouble à bord du Victory. En un clin d'œil, les gaillards de ce vaisseau sont déserts: les braves du Redoutable veulent s'y précipiter, mais *la rentrée* des deux vaisseaux y met obstacle. Afin d'y remédier, le Capitaine Lucas donne l'ordre d'amener la grande vergue de son vaisseau, et d'en faire un pont pour passer à bord du vaisseau ennemi. Dans ce moment, le vaisseau à trois ponts le Téméraire vient aborder le Redoutable du côté opposé au Victory, en lui lâchant toute sa bordée. L'effet de cette bordée est terrible sur l'équipage du Redoutable, rassemblé alors tout entier sur les gaillards et les passavants: près de deux cents hommes sont atteints par les boulets ou la mitraille, dont les canons du vaisseau Anglais étaient chargés jusqu'à la bouche. Le brave Capitaine Lucas est blessé, mais sa blessure est légère, et ne l'empêche pas de demeurer sur le pont. L'arrivée du Téméraire ranime le courage de l'équipage du Victory, et le feu recommence à bord de ce vaisseau, qui le cesse ensuite presque entièrement pour s'occuper de se dégager d'avec le vaisseau Français. Pressé de la sorte entre deux vaisseaux à trois ponts ennemis, le Redoutable se défend avec vigueur; mais déjà la moitié de son équipage est hors de combat, une grande partie de ses pièces sont démontées, et sa résistance est plus glorieuse qu'efficace. Le feu du Téméraire l'écrase; cependant, comme si ce n'était pas assez de deux des plus forts vaisseaux de la Flotte Britannique pour réduire un vaisseau de 74 Français, un troisième vaisseau ennemi vient se placer en travers de la poupe du Redoutable, et le foudroie à portée de pistolet. Par sa position avantageuse, ce dernier assaillant complette bientôt le délabrement du Redoutable. Voyant ce vaisseau réduit à l'état le plus déplorable, le Capitaine du Téméraire lui hèle de se rendre et de ne pas prolonger davantage

une résistance inutile. Le brave Lucas, qui ne peut tirer de coups de canon que par intervalles, fait répondre à cette sommation par une décharge de coups de fusil. Presque au même instant, le grand mât du Redoutable tombe en travers sur le Téméraire; les deux mâts de hune de ce vaisseau tombent à leur tour sur le pont du Redoutable, qu'ils enfoncent. Pour dernier désastre, le feu prend à bord du vaisseau Français; mais la poignée de défenseurs qu'il conserve encore parvient, tout en combattant, à éteindre l'incendie. Ainsi se défendit le Redoutable pendant deux heures entières, à compter du moment où il fut abordé par le Victory. Jamais équipage, de quelque nation qu'il fût, ne déploya plus de bravoure, aucun sans doute ne montra une opiniâtreté pareille: sur six cent quarante-trois hommes qui le composaient, cinq cent vingt-deux avaient été mis hors de combat, et le courage du petit nombre qui restait, loin d'en être ébranlé, semblait croître à chaque instant. Ils veulent tous périr plutôt que de voir leur vaisseau conduit en triomphe dans un port de la Grande-Bretagne. Pénétré des mêmes sentimens, le Capitaine Lucas ne rendra le Redoutable que lorsqu'on sera certain qu'il ne doit pas tarder à couler à fond. Enfin, cette certitude est acquise, et Lucas ordonne d'amener le pavillon; mais, avant qu'on ait le temps d'exécuter cet ordre douloureux, ce pavillon, si noblement défendu, tombe avec le mât d'artimon, auquel il est arboré[5]. Sur trente officiers et aspirans qui composaient l'état-major du Redoutable, treize furent tués et dix grièvement blessés[6]. Tous se montrèrent dignes des éloges du Capitaine Lucas, qui, en rendant justice à leur bravoure éclatante, cita particulièrement le Lieutenant de vaisseau Dupotet, Capitaine en second du Redoutable.

"Le centre de la Flotte Combinée, objet des attaques de la colonne de Nelson, comptait quatre vaisseaux qui se trouvaient hors de la ligne. Cette circonstance, qui ne leur permettait pas de s'opposer vigoureusement au dessein qu'avait l'Amiral Anglais de la couper, fit qu'ils ne furent d'abord que faiblement attaqués, et qu'ils prirent alors peu de part à l'action. Ainsi se trouvèrent paralysés deux des plus forts vaisseaux Français, l'Indomptable et le Neptune, chacun de 80 canons. Le combat qui se livrait alors eût dû fournir au Capitaine du dernier de ces vaisseaux une nouvelle occasion de faire éclater une bravoure et une habileté dont il avait donné des preuves si récemment encore; malheureusement, sa position la lui enleva. Demeuré, malgré tous ses efforts, sous le vent de la ligne, et masqué par le Redoutable, le Capitaine Maistral se vit dans l'impossibilité de tirer sur la colonne de Nelson. Jaloux d'opposer quelque obstacle à la manœuvre de l'ennemi, il fit *une arrivée* pour pouvoir diriger son feu sur la colonne de l'Amiral Collingwood. Ce

[5] "Le glorieux combat du Redoutable était bien digne d'être retracé par un pinceau patriote; il a fourni à MM. Genillou et Crépin le sujet de deux tableaux qui seront gravés pour faire partie de la collection des 'Monumens des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français.'"

[6] "Des 643 hommes qui composaient l'équipage du Redoutable, 169 seulement tombèrent au pouvoir des Anglais, et même, sur ce nombre, il n'y en eut que 35 qui furent conduits en Angleterre; les autres, tous blessés (et plus de la moitié grièvement), furent renvoyés à Cadix."

mouvement, dont l'intention était louable, donna au Neptune l'apparence d'un vaisseau qui s'éloigne du champ de bataille, et ternit, dans l'opinion d'un grand nombre de personnes, la réputation jusque-là si belle du Capitaine Maistral. Le fait est que cette *arrivée* écarta de plus en plus le Neptune du vaisseau amiral, derrière lequel était son poste, et que le Capitaine Maistral n'eut plus alors d'autre ressource que de rallier l'arrière-garde pour combattre avec elle. L'Indomptable, le San-Justo et le San-Leandro imitèrent cette manœuvre.

"Si la tête de la ligne Franco-Espagnole ne prit, pendant assez long-temps, aucune part à l'action, et si quatre vaisseaux du centre ne s'opposèrent que faiblement aux desseins de l'ennemi, il y eut aussi nécessairement à la queue des vaisseaux qui, dans le principe, combattirent peu, puisque cette portion de la Flotte, à partir de la Santa-Anna, comptait un vaisseau de plus que la colonne Anglaise qui vint l'attaquer, et que différens vaisseaux Français et Espagnols eurent à se défendre contre plusieurs vaisseaux Britanniques à la fois. Le relevé des divers journaux nautiques des frégates et vaisseaux Français prouve effectivement que l'arrière-garde de la Flotte Combinée fut attaquée plus vivement dans certaines parties que dans d'autres. Les ennemis s'acharnèrent en particulier sur quelques vaisseaux, qu'ils démâtèrent et dégréèrent au point de les mettre dans l'impossibilité de manœuvrer. Il paraît qu'alors des vaisseaux qui n'avaient reçu que de légères avaries *laissèrent arriver*, et abandonnèrent ceux sur lesquels les ennemis dirigeaient plus particulièrement leurs efforts. Cette manœuvre, que nous nous abstenons de qualifier, ne les déroba pas tous au sort qu'ils cherchaient à éviter. En effet, les Anglais, cessant pour un moment de combattre les vaisseaux qu'ils avaient mis hors d'état de manœuvrer, fondirent sur ceux qui avaient *laissé arriver*, les trouvèrent épars et en désordre, les combattirent en détail, et les maltraitèrent autant que les premiers.

"Parmi ces vaisseaux, qui, à l'arrière-garde, soutinrent si mal le premier choc de l'ennemi, on cite le Montagnès, vaisseau Espagnol, qui, de bonne heure, *laissa arriver* jusque dans la ligne des frégates, et ne prit plus aucune part à l'action.

"Un vaisseau Français manœuvra aussi d'une manière propre à donner à la flotte une faible idée du courage de son Capitaine. Après avoir combattu assez long-temps, l'Argonaute laisse arriver, et quitte la ligne sans être désemparé d'aucune partie de sa mâture; peu de minutes après, il revient en travers; mais, à peine a-t-il tiré quelques coups de canon sur un vaisseau Anglais, qu'il reprend sa route vent arrière, et présente la poupe à l'ennemi, qui profite de cette position. La frégate l'Hermione hisse aussitôt le signal dont nous avons déjà parlé, et qui ordonne aux vaisseaux qui ne combattent pas de se porter au feu: voyant qu'on n'y répond pas, elle y ajoute le numéro de l'Argonaute, et garde ces deux signaux pendant une heure à tête de mâts; mais l'Argonaute continue à s'éloigner. Il paraît, toutefois, que ce vaisseau, qui avait combattu de très-près un vaisseau Anglais, avait reçu presque toutes ses avaries dans la coque, ce qui ne les rendait pas apparentes, et néanmoins avait pu

faire juger nécessaire au Capitaine de se retirer du feu. Sa perte en hommes, dans le sérieux engagement qu'il venait de soutenir, avait aussi été considérable: elle s'élevait à plus de cent soixante tués ou blessés.

" Après avoir rempli le triste devoir d'indiquer les causes qui, à l'arrière-garde, contribuèrent à la défaite de la Flotte Combinée, il nous est agréable de porter nos regards sur les nobles efforts des Amiraux et de la plupart des Capitaines de vaisseau pour prévenir ce fatal résultat.

" Le vaisseau la Santa-Anna, vaillamment attaqué par l'Amiral Collingwood, fut non moins vaillamment défendu par le Vice-Amiral Alava; mais, accablé par le nombre, il dut céder: le brave Amiral Alava fut grièvement blessé en défendant l'honneur du pavillon Espagnol.

" Le Fougueux, qui n'avait pu empêcher l'ennemi de couper la ligne entre lui et la Santa-Anna, put encore moins s'opposer à ce qu'elle fût coupée sur son arrière. Il se trouva de la sorte bientôt enveloppé par plusieurs vaisseaux ennemis; mais il se défendit de la manière la plus brillante. En cherchant à se dégager, il alla aborder le vaisseau Anglais le Téméraire, déjà abordé avec le Redoutable. Affaibli par plusieurs combats successifs, privé du brave Capitaine Beaudoin, qui avait été tué, l'équipage du Fougueux ne put résister au Téméraire et aux autres vaisseaux qui vinrent pour le combattre; il amena son pavillon. La défense du Fougueux, dont les détails sont restés ignorés, fait le plus grand honneur aux braves qui le montaient, et dont les trois quarts périrent avant que le reste consentît à se rendre.

" Le commandant du Pluton, l'habile et intrépide Cosmao, imita et surpassa encore la belle conduite que nous l'avons vu tenir au combat du 22 Juillet. Il manœuvra constamment pour empêcher la ligne d'être coupée, et pour soutenir les vaisseaux voisins du sien, qu'il voyait trop pressés par l'ennemi. Dès le commencement de l'action, un vaisseau Anglais de 80 voulut passer sur l'avant du Pluton; le Capitaine Cosmao força de voiles en venant au vent, il obligea par là le vaisseau ennemi à renoncer à son dessein, à tenir le vent lui-même, et à chercher un autre point de la ligne où on lui opposât moins de résistance. Il se dirigea alors entre le Monarca et le Fougueux: l'intervalle qui séparait ces deux vaisseaux favorisait ses intentions; mais le Capitaine Cosmao, qui l'avait suivi dans son mouvement, plaça le Pluton dans cet intervalle, et força le vaisseau Anglais à lui présenter le travers pour éviter d'être enfilé par l'avant. Le combat entre ces deux vaisseaux dura près d'une demi-heure, pendant laquelle le Capitaine Cosmao s'approchait de plus en plus de son adversaire. Il allait enfin ordonner l'abordage lorsqu'un vaisseau Anglais à trois ponts et un autre moins fort s'avancèrent pour prendre le Pluton en poupe: le brave Cosmao sut se tirer de cette position critique. Par une manœuvre habile, il parvint à prendre par la hanche le vaisseau qu'il combattait primitivement, et à présenter le travers au vaisseau à trois ponts; il se trouva même bientôt en position de tirer quelques volées dans la poupe du premier, qui ne tarda pas à s'éloigner. Lorsque le Capi-

taine Cosmoa le vit engagé avec un vaisseau Espagnol, il mit toute son attention à se défendre contre les trois ponts. Après s'en être fait abandonner, il continua de tenir le vent avec son vaisseau et de se porter partout où son feu pouvait contribuer à dégager quelque vaisseau Français ou Espagnol.

"La défense de l'Algésiras ne fut pas moins glorieuse que celle de quelques-uns des vaisseaux que nous avons cités. Ce vaisseau, portant un pavillon de contre-amiral, fut un de ceux auxquels les ennemis s'attachèrent plus particulièrement. Dans la mêlée, un vaisseau ennemi, le Tonnant, de 80, tomba sur lui et embarrassa son gréement dans le sien. Les marins de l'Algésiras regardent cette circonstance comme un moyen de triompher promptement d'un ennemi dont l'artillerie les foudroyait; les Anglais, de leur côté, se disposent à aller à l'abordage, et tour à tour chaque équipage tente de passer à bord du vaisseau ennemi; mais, de part et d'autre, la résistance est égale, et aucun des deux ne peut réussir dans son audacieuse tentative. Cependant le Tonnant se dégage et recommence la canonnade avec plus de vigueur. Le Contre-Amiral Magon, déjà blessé en deux endroits, tombe frappé d'un coup mortel. Plusieurs officiers éprouvent le même sort, tous les autres sont blessés plus ou moins grièvement, plus de deux cents hommes sont mis hors de combat; enfin les trois mâts de l'Algésiras s'abattent successivement, et ses intrépides défenseurs sont contraints à se rendre.

"L'Aigle eut à combattre plusieurs vaisseaux ennemis et fut extrêmement maltraité; le Capitaine Gourège et son second furent tués, et les deux tiers de l'équipage mis hors de combat. C'est dans cet état et le feu à bord qu'il amena son pavillon.

"Le Swiftsure succomba également. Il avait combattu opiniâtrément et avec quelque avantage un vaisseau de sa force, lorsqu'un autre vaisseau Anglais à trois ponts vint le prendre en poupe, le démâta complétement et le força à se rendre, après avoir perdu trois officiers et deux cent cinquante hommes.

"Le Berwick, rasé comme un ponton, ayant perdu le brave Capitaine Camas et son Capitaine en second, ainsi qu'une partie de son équipage, tomba au pouvoir des Anglais.

"Les vaisseaux Espagnols le Bahama, l'Argonauta, le San-Juan Nepomuceno, et le San-Ildefonso devinrent aussi la proie de l'ennemi après une résistance plus ou moins vigoureuse.

"Le Principe de Asturias et l'Achille, qui occupaient l'extrémité de la ligne, luttèrent avec opiniâtreté contre plusieurs vaisseaux ennemis, et la blessure grave dont fut atteint l'Amiral Gravina ne ralentit pas l'ardeur des braves marins du vaisseau qu'il montait. L'Achille fut, dès le commencement de l'action, démâté de son mât d'artimon, bientôt après il perdit son grand mât de hune; mais ces avaries majeures ne l'empêchèrent pas de faire un feu terrible sur les vaisseaux qui l'approchaient, et de se défendre contre leurs attaques successives de la manière la plus remarquable.

"Trois vaisseaux, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, soutinrent d'abord seuls presque tous les efforts des douze vaisseaux de la colonne de Nelson. Attaqués chacun par plusieurs vaisseaux, de même que le Redoutable,

mais n'étant pas serrés d'aussi près, le Bucentaure et la Santissima-Trinidad purent se défendre un peu plus long-temps. Depuis deux heures, les équipages de ces deux vaisseaux combattaient avec le courage le plus héroïque, et pas un vaisseau de la Flotte Combinée ne s'avançait pour les secourir. La fumée dont le Bucentaure était enveloppé dérobait à l'Amiral Villeneuve la vue du reste de sa ligne de bataille, dont il avait peine à apercevoir un ou deux vaisseaux par intervalles ; cependant une éclaircie lui fit découvrir l'avant-garde immobile à son poste. Il s'empressa de lui faire le signal de virer de bord vent arrière tout à la fois, et presque aussitôt la fumée vint de nouveau l'empêcher de voir si cet ordre était mis à exécution. Bientôt le grand mât et le mât d'artimon du Bucentaure s'abattirent. Ces mâts, leur gréement, les vergues et les voiles qu'ils portaient masquèrent une grande partie des canons du côté où ils tombèrent et diminuèrent considérablement les moyens de défense du vaisseau. Cependant l'on continua à faire feu de toutes les pièces qui n'étaient pas engagées ou démontées ; mais la chute du mât de misaine ne tarda guère à suivre celle des deux autres mâts. C'est alors, sans doute, que quelqu'une des frégates Françaises eût dû s'exposer à tous les dangers pour venir donner la remorque au Bucentaure, et remplir ainsi le service périlleux mais honorable que l'Amiral attendait d'elles : c'était plus particulièrement le devoir du Capitaine de l'Hortense, frégate amirale. Il nous répugnerait de penser que ce Capitaine (que du reste on a déjà vu se comporter avec une excessive prudence) n'osa pas se porter au secours de son général, et nous cherchons un autre motif à sa conduite. L'Hortense, qui, ainsi que toutes les autres frégates, avait fait la faute de prendre position à une trop grande distance sous le vent de la ligne des vaisseaux, n'eût peut-être pas pu, à cause de la faiblesse de la brise, parvenir jusqu'au Bucentaure : n'importe, fût-ce même impossible, il fallait le tenter, et marquer sa bonne volonté d'une manière non équivoque. Dans ce moment, les gaillards et les passavants du Bucentaure, jonchés de morts et couverts de débris, présentaient le plus triste aspect. L'Amiral Villeneuve, qui, depuis le commencement de l'action, n'avait cessé de montrer le courage le plus calme, se promenait tranquillement au milieu de cette scène de désastre. Lorsqu'il vit son vaisseau totalement démâté, et qu'aucun bâtiment ne se présentait pour le remorquer, on assure qu'il dit : ' Le Bucentaure a rempli sa tâche, la mienne n'est pas encore achevée.' En même temps il donna ordre qu'on le transportât, avec son pavillon, à bord d'un des vaisseaux de l'avant-garde, et il se berçait de l'espoir de faire, avec ces dix vaisseaux frais, un effort capable d'arracher la victoire à l'ennemi : l'illusion du brave et malheureux Amiral ne fut pas de longue durée. On vint lui apprendre que le canot qu'on avait préparé avant le combat pour le transporter, s'il le jugeait à propos, à bord d'un autre vaisseau, avait d'abord été criblé par les boulets de l'ennemi et ensuite anéanti par la chute de la mâture : tous ceux qui restaient à bord avaient été également mis en pièces. On héla à la Santissima-Trinidad d'en envoyer un, mais ce vaisseau ne répondit pas. Villeneuve sentit alors amèrement tout ce que sa

position avait de cruel. Il se voyait enchaîné à bord d'un vaisseau qui ne pouvait plus combattre, tandis qu'un tiers de sa Flotte combattait encore, et qu'un second tiers n'avait pas encore combattu. Il maudit le sort qui l'avait épargné au milieu du carnage dont il était environné; et, contraint d'oublier la Flotte pour ne voir que son seul vaisseau, forcé de songer à ménager la vie d'une poignée de braves que l'humanité lui défendait de faire massacrer sans défense, il laissa le commandant du Bucentaure amener son pavillon. La Santissima-Trinidad, dont la résistance fut on ne peut plus honorable, succomba bientôt après.

"Il était trois heures après midi lorsque l'Amiral Villeneuve se vit dans la dure nécessité de se rendre. L'avant-garde avait viré de bord; mais ses vaisseaux étaient dispersés et suivaient des routes différentes. Il serait assez important, sans doute, de préciser l'instant où l'avant-garde de la Flotte Combinée exécuta l'ordre de virer de bord pour venir prendre part au combat; mais cela nous est impossible[7]: on n'a jusqu'à présent d'autres autorités sur ce sujet, que les journaux des vaisseaux et frégates de la Flotte, et ces journaux ne s'accordent pas entre eux; l'heure des signaux de l'Amiral et des mouvemens des différens bâtimens ne s'y trouve pas partout la même. Quel que soit, au reste, le degré de célérité qu'on mit à exécuter un ordre qu'on n'eût pas dû attendre, le mouvement qui en résulta fut sans utilité pour le salut de la Flotte Franco-Espagnole. La faiblesse de la brise rendit d'abord ce mouvement lent, et ensuite tous les vaisseaux ne continuant pas de manœuvrer de la même manière, ne purent présenter à l'ennemi une masse de forces capable de lui résister efficacement.

"Il semble que, en ordonnant à l'avant-garde de virer de bord vent arrière tout à la fois, l'Amiral Villeneuve voulait que les vaisseaux de cette partie de la Flotte se portassent le plus promptement possible vers le centre, en passant sous le vent de la ligne, afin de mettre entre deux feux les vaisseaux ennemis qui l'avaient coupée. Cependant, sur dix vaisseaux, quatre seulement parurent exécuter ponctuellement cet ordre, savoir: le Neptuno, le San-Augustino, le Héros et l'Intrépide: deux autres, le Rayo et le San-Francisco de Assis, laissèrent porter pour s'éloigner de la ligne et renoncer au combat; enfin, le Contre-Amiral Dumanoir, avec les quatre derniers, le Formidable, le Dugay-Trouin, le Mont-Blanc et le Scipion, serra le vent aussitôt après avoir viré, et dirigea sa route pour passer au vent des deux Flottes.

"Le Héros, comme le plus voisin de la Santissima-Trinidad, se trouva le premier rendu au feu. Seul, il ne put soutenir le choc de plusieurs vaisseaux ennemis, qui vinrent l'assaillir à la fois, et, après avoir perdu son commandant, le brave Capitaine Poulain, il quitta le combat: toutefois, l'état du vaisseau et le petit nombre d'hommes tués à bord du Héros font penser que cette retraite fut prématurée.

"Le San-Augustino vit se réunir contre lui tous les ennemis, que le Héros aurait pu occuper plus long-temps, et, après avoir opposé une résistance assez prolongée, il fut contraint de se rendre.

7 Vide p. 248, note 6, ante.

" Le Neptuno et l'Intrépide, arrivés les derniers sur le champ de bataille, et après que le Bucentaure et la Santissima-Trinidad furent amenés, eurent par conséquent à combattre tous les vaisseaux ennemis qui se trouvaient au centre, à la réserve du Victory et du Téméraire encore abordés alors avec le Redoutable et le Fougueux. Le Capitaine Valdès, du Neptuno, déploya, dans cette lutte inégale, des talens et un courage dignes d'éloges ; mais, accablé par le nombre, son vaisseau dut succomber.

" L'Intrépide, qui s'était signalé au combat du 22 Juillet, sous le commandement du brave Deperronne, s'illustra encore plus dans celui que nous décrivons. Son nouveau commandant, le Capitaine Infernet, se plaça, dans cette journée, au rang des marins Français dont les noms seront à jamais célèbres. L'Intrépide combattit deux, trois, quatre et jusqu'à cinq vaisseaux ennemis à la fois. Enfin, démâté de tous ses mâts, ayant plus de la moitié de son équipage mis hors de combat, et entouré de sept vaisseaux Anglais, le courageux Infernet attendit encore pour se rendre, que l'Intrépide fût près de couler sous ses pieds.

" Une triste réflexion vient se mêler, malgré nous, au sentiment d'orgueil que doivent naturellement éprouver des écrivains Français en retraçant des actions aussi glorieuses. Pourquoi faut-il que tant de bravoure ait toujours été déployée en pure perte? Ici, par exemple, toutes les belles actions que le courage et l'amour de la patrie peuvent enfanter, n'auraient pas suffi pour changer la face du combat: la bataille était irrévocablement perdue pour la Flotte Combinée, dès que le mouvement de l'avant-garde s'opérait si tard et avec aussi peu d'ensemble. Pour se conformer aux instructions de l'Amiral Villeneuve, les Capitaines des dix vaisseaux placés en avant de la Santissima-Trinidad ne devaient attendre pour se porter au feu ni les signaux de cet Amiral, ni les ordres du Contre-Amiral commandant la partie de la ligne où ils se trouvaient, et ceux qui combattirent avec le plus de valeur ne firent pas encore assez: ils se couvrirent de gloire, il est vrai; mais cette gloire, toute personnelle, fut sans fruit pour leur pays.

" Des six pavillons de commandement que la Flotte Combinée avait déployés au commencement de l'action, un seul flottait encore, outre celui du Contre-Amiral Dumanoir; c'était le pavillon de l'Amiral Espagnol sur le vaisseau le Principe de Asturias. Ce vaisseau, attaqué sans relâche depuis le commencement du combat, aurait fini par succomber, s'il n'eût été dégagé, à ce qu'on assure, par les vaisseaux le Neptune et le San-Justo. Le Capitaine Maistral, commandant du premier de ces vaisseaux, avait cherché, aussitôt qu'il eut rallié l'arrière-garde, à s'y rendre plus utile qu'il ne l'avait été au centre. Divers journaux des bâtimens de la Flotte Combinée disent que cet officier supérieur, après avoir porté secours à quelques vaisseaux engagés avec ceux de l'ennemi, voulut aller attaquer d'autres vaisseaux Anglais ; qu'il fit en conséquence signal de ralliement, et qu'il ajouta à ce signal l'ordre aux vaisseaux Français qui ne seraient pas totalement désemparés de le suivre ; mais que, ne se voyant accompagné que du Pluton, il fut (après avoir, de concert avec ce vaisseau, harcelé quelques vaisseaux ennemis) obligé

de laisser arriver pour rejoindre l'Amiral Gravina. Cet Amiral, lorsqu'il vit la victoire complétement assuré aux Anglais, ne songea plus qu'à leur dérober le plus de vaisseaux qu'il serait possible. En conséquence, il fit signal de ralliement général et absolu, et, remarqué par la frégate la Thémis, il se dirigea vers les vaisseaux qui avaient laissé arriver à diverses époques du combat.

"Il était environ cinq heures: dans ce moment, l'Achille était en feu: il y avait plus de deux heures que le commandant de ce vaisseau, le Capitaine de Nieport, avait été atteint d'un coup mortel. Cette circonstance ne ralentit pas l'ardeur des braves marins de l'Achille, alors entouré de vaisseaux ennemis et se battant des deux bords. Il était parvenu en quelques bordées à démâter de son grand mât et de son mât d'artimon le vaisseau ennemi qui s'était placé par son travers à tribord. Il engagea alors le vaisseau Anglais qui portait le même nom que lui, et en peu d'instans son feu avait pris la supériorité sur celui de ce vaisseau, lorsque le vaisseau à trois ponts le Prince vint au secours de l'Achille Anglais. Par malheur, le feu se manifesta en ce moment dans la hune de misaine de l'Achille Français. La pompe à incendie ayant été brisée par les boulets de l'ennemi, on n'eut d'autre ressource que de couper ce mât (le seul qui fût encore debout) de manière à ce qu'il tombât à la mer. On s'y disposait, lorsque les boulets du Prince l'abattirent; le sort voulut que la hune embrasée tombât dans le centre du vaisseau. Le feu prit aux embarcations, et, en peu d'instans, les flammes envahirent la batterie de 18. Malgré cet épouvantable accident, la canonnade ne se ralentit point dans la batterie de *36*, et ce ne fut qu'au moment où les vaisseaux Anglais, craignant les effets de l'explosion de l'Achille, s'en éloignèrent, que l'équipage cessa de tirer, pour songer à son salut. Dans l'impossibilité d'éteindre le feu, on jeta à la mer tous les débris de mâture, toutes les pièces de bois et en général tous les objets susceptibles de flotter et d'offrir au plus grand nombre possible d'hommes les moyens de se soutenir sur l'eau. Quelques embarcations Anglaises, ainsi que la goëlette le Pickle et le cutter l'Entreprenante, s'approchèrent et recueillirent une portion des braves défenseurs de l'Achille. Vers cinq heures et demie, ce vaisseau, dont le pavillon flottait encore, sauta en l'air, avec l'Enseigne du vaisseau, Cauchard, qui le commandait alors, et une portion de son équipage.

"Pendant que l'Amiral Gravina ralliait sous le vent ce qu'il pouvait de vaisseaux, non plus pour combattre, mais pour faire retraite, les quatre vaisseaux du Contre-Amiral Dumanoir, poussés par une faible brise, s'avançaient lentement en prolongeant au vent, non la ligne de bataille de la Flotte Combinée, alors entièrement rompue, mais la place qu'elle avait occupée. Nous avons dit qu'il nous semblait que cette manœuvre du Contre-Amiral Dumanoir avait pu contrarier les intentions de l'Amiral Villeneuve, puisque le premier, après avoir viré vent arrière comme il lui avait été ordonné, se trouva dans la même position que s'il eût fait le contraire et viré vent devant: il appartient aux marins de juger si cette opinion est erronée. Au reste, quand on est libre de sa manœuvre (était-ce le cas?), il est bon, si l'on peut, de gagner le vent, parce que dans

cette position l'on a la facilité d'exécuter tous les mouvemens possibles. Ainsi, en prenant sur les deux Flottes l'avantage du vent, le Contre-Amiral Dumanoir se rendait maître de faire tout ce qu'il voudrait : l'événement le prouva.

" Le Formidable, le Dugay-Trouin, le Mont-Blanc et le Scipion, en suivant leur route dans la direction du sud et au vent des deux Flottes, alors pêle-mêle, essuyèrent le feu de tous les vaisseaux Anglais à portée desquels ils passèrent. Ils reçurent dans cette passade d'assez forts avaries. Lorsqu'ils furent parvenus par le travers et de la Santissima-Trinidad et du Bucentaure, ils trouvèrent ces deux vaisseaux rendus : cette circonstance détermina le Contre-Amiral Dumanoir à passer outre. Il se dirigea donc (en se maintenant toujours au vent) du côté de l'arrière-garde Franco-Espagnole, dont quelques vaisseaux combattaient encore. Arrivé à la hauteur de cette arrière-garde, l'Amiral Dumanoir jugea qu'il ne pouvait plus rien pour le salut de la Flotte Combinée, et, songeant à celui de ses quatre vaisseaux, il continua sa route au même bord, pour s'éloigner du champ de bataille [8] : les ennemis ne troublèrent point sa retraite.

" L'Amiral Gravina s'éloignait aussi de son côté. Il avait rallié à son pavillon cinq vaisseaux Français : le Pluton, le Neptune, l'Argonaute, l'Indomptable et le Héros ; six vaisseaux Espagnols : le Principe de Asturias, le Rayo, le San-Francisco de Assis, le San-Leandro, le San-Justo et le Montagnès ; les cinq frégates et les deux bricks. Avec ces dix-huit bâtimens, il se dirigea vers la rade de Cadix, à l'entrée de laquelle il mouilla dans la nuit sans avoir été poursuivi par l'ennemi.

" Le résultat immédiat de ce combat, qui reçut le nom de combat de Trafalgar, fut donc : dix-sept vaisseaux de la Flotte Combinée pris par l'ennemi, et un dix-huitième brûlé par accident pendant qu'il résistait encore [9]. Des événemens que nous allons raconter, ne

[8] " Le Formidable quittant ainsi, presque sans avoir combattu, les mêmes parages où, quatre ans auparavant, il s'était illustré sous le commandement du Capitaine Troude."

[9] " Lorsque 33 vaisseaux ont été aussi complétement battus par 27 vaisseaux ennemis, et qu'on s'est défendu avec autant d'intrépidité que le firent la plupart des équipages Français, il faut bien qu'il y ait eu de grandes fautes de faites dans la Flotte qui éprouva un pareil échec. Divers endroits de notre récit montrent des fautes partielles commises pendant l'action, et nous ne reviendrons pas sur ces fautes ; mais la principale n'appartient pas plus à Villeneuve qu'à aucun des autres Amiraux Français qui commandèrent des flottes ou escadres durant la guerre de la Révolution ; elle leur est commune : c'est celle d'attendre l'ennemi en ligne de bataille, lorsqu'il n'attaque pas de cette manière. Il est reconnu, dans la tactique militaire (et ceci est parfaitement applicable à la tactique navale), que l'ordre de bataille où les deux armées s'établissent et combattent chacune sur une ligne parallèle à celle de l'ennemi, est l'enfance de l'art, et qu'on doit s'attacher à porter rapidement des masses sur certaines portions de l'armée ennemie, pour les écraser avant que les autres puissent venir à leur secours. Napoléon dut ses succès sur terre à la manière habile dont il sut mettre ce système en pratique. C'est à l'emploi de ce même système que les Anglais furent redevables des brillans avantages qu'ils remportèrent sur mer dans les trente années qui viennent de s'écouler. Dès ce moment, la tactique navale était devenue insuffisante ; il fallait la modifier, il fallait imaginer un ordre de bataille tel, que l'ennemi ne pût sans

tardèrent pas à diminuer encore le nombre des vaisseaux échappés à ce grand désastre. Les pertes en hommes à bord de la Flotte Franco-Espagnole durent être énormes, si l'on en juge par le nombre des morts et des blessés des vaisseaux dont les renseignemens nous sont parvenus. Celle des Anglais s'éleva, suivant leurs rapports, à 1587 tués ou blessés ; mais il en est une qui leur parut irréparable et qui plongea la nation Britannique dans le deuil : la perte du célèbre Amiral Nelson.

"Des vaisseaux dont les Anglais s'étaient emparés, plusieurs coulèrent le soir même ou le lendemain par suite des avaries qu'ils avaient reçues dans le combat; ils furent obligés d'en couler ou brûler d'autres qu'il leur était impossible de mettre en état de tenir la mer, même pour le court trajet des environs de Cadix à Gibraltar; enfin les Français leur en reprirent quelques-uns; voici comment la chose arriva. Dans la nuit qui suivit le combat, le vent souffla avec violence, et, le lendemain, il devint plus impétueux encore. Les équipages de quelques vaisseaux Français qu'on n'en avait pu retirer, profitèrent de cette circonstance pour se révolter contre les Anglais qu'on avait mis à bord, reprendre leurs bâtimens et les diriger vers Cadix. Le 23, le vent était bon pour sortir de ce port: le Capitaine Cosmao, qui se trouvait le plus ancien des capitaines Français arbora le guidon de commandement, et, malgré la faiblesse de son équipage, réduit presque à 400 hommes, et l'état du Pluton, qui faisait environ trois pieds d'eau à l'heure, il fit signal aux autres vaisseaux d'appareiller, pour aller enlever aux ennemis quelques-unes de leurs prises qu'ils avaient à la remorque. Le Pluton ne fut suivi que par deux vaisseaux Français, deux vaisseaux Espagnols, les cinq frégates et les deux

danger tenter d'envelopper une partie de la flotte, et que, s'il y parvenait, les autres parties se trouvassent à même de secourir promptement celle-ci. Ce problème ne doit pas être impossible à résoudre. Cependant les Amiraux Français, victimes du nouveau mode d'attaque des Anglais, ne surent y apporter aucun remède positif, et les plus habiles mêmes se bornèrent à prescrire vaguement à leurs Capitaines de ne pas attendre leurs signaux, et de se porter au secours des vaisseaux qu'ils verraient trop pressés par l'ennemi; mais une pareille injonction ne diminuait pas l'étendue de leur ligne de bataille, n'en rapprochait pas les diverses parties, et n'obviait nullement à l'inconvénient que nous avons signalé dans une note du tome v. page 292.

"Nous avons donné plus haut un extrait des instructions de Villeneuve à ses Capitaines: on vient de voir qu'elles ne furent pas parfaitement suivies par tous ceux à qui elles avaient été adressées. Les instructions de Bruix, antérieures de six ans à celles de Villeneuve, avertissaient ses capitaines, d'une manière encore plus énergique, que leur poste n'était qu'au feu;—

"'A moins d'impossibilité de rester au feu (portaient-elles), nul ne peut, sans se couvrir d'opprobre et sans encourir la peine capitale, se dispenser de combattre quand le général n'a pas ordonné de cesser le feu.....Beaucoup de Capitaines, qui, malgré la valeur la plus brillante, sont tombés au pouvoir de l'ennemi, n'y seraient pas restés, si des vaisseaux de leur ligne, qui pouvaient encore combattre et les dégager, en divisant les forces de l'ennemi, ne s'étaient pas prématurément retirés du feu.... C'est à cette seule cause qu'il faut attribuer les revers de nos armées navales, et il suffit, pour qu'ils ne se renouvellent plus, qu'elles soient composées de Capitaines qui sachent que, dans un combat, on n'est à son poste que lorsqu'on est au feu, et que, partout ailleurs, à moins d'un signal contraire, on désobéit également au général, à l'honneur, et l'on trahit sa patrie.'"

corvettes. Avec ces seuls bâtimens, le brave Cosmao se porta à la rencontre des ennemis, et leur fit abandonner deux des vaisseaux Espagnols qu'ils remorquaient; quelques vaisseaux Français saisirent cette occasion pour se reprendre. Malheureusement, presque tous ces vaisseaux se jetèrent à la côte près de l'entrée du port de Cadix et furent brisés; un des vaisseaux Espagnols qui avaient appareillé avec le Capitaine Cosmao, se sépara de sa division et fut pris, dit-on, sans se défendre: c'était le Rayo, l'un des deux vaisseaux de l'avant-garde, qui, le jour du combat, avaient pris des premiers la fuite; il fit ensuite naufrage près de San-Lucar. Il résulte de ces diverses circonstances que les Anglais ne purent emmener à Gibraltar qu'un vaisseau Français et trois Espagnols, qu'ils n'y firent même arriver qu'avec des peines incroyables."

SPANISH ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

TRANSLATION OF A DISPATCH TO THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE FROM DON ANTONIO DE ESCANO, REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE COMBINED FLEET[1].

[From the Madrid Gazette of November the 5th, 1806.]

"Most Excellent Sir, "Cadiz, October 22nd, 1805.

"The unfortunate condition in which Admiral Gravina at present lies, in consequence of his left arm having been shattered by a grape-shot at the close of the late Action, totally incapacitates him from giving your Excellency an account of the sanguinary Engagement of the 21st instant—and although the satisfaction of shedding my own blood in the service of His Majesty has not been denied me, having myself received a similar wound in the leg, yet being less seriously hurt than the worthy and gallant Admiral, to whom His Majesty, in well-founded confidence, has entrusted the command of his Fleet, I am under the painful, but unavoidable necessity of discharging this duty by informing your Excellency that the most strenuous efforts and utter recklessness of life on our part have failed to avert a calamity which would, indeed, be most deplorable, but for the firmest conviction, that everything that could be done, was done, and that, therefore, our honour is intact.

"I am aware that by a former dispatch of the 18th instant, Admiral Gravina informed your Excellency, that Admiral Villeneuve had notified to him his determination to sail the next day, inquiring, at the same time, if the Spanish Fleet was in sailing order. Your Excellency also knows that the Admiral's answer was,

[1] The translation of this and of the other Spanish documents has been made by John Davenport, Esq. These Papers, with several others both printed and manuscript, relating to the Battle of Trafalgar, are bound together in the Egerton MS. 382, in the British Museum.

that his Squadron would promptly and cheerfully act in concert with the French, pursuant to the repeated orders of your Excellency. This being understood, the French Admiral repaired on board his Ship, and immediately made the signal to weigh anchor, and to collect all the smaller craft; signals which were forthwith repeated on board this Ship, the Principe de Asturias, and which were followed by the greatest exertions to call in the look-out Vessels, and to get on board the gunners and seamen who, for various causes, were on shore.

"On the morning of the 19th, some of the Spanish and French set sail in obedience to the signal made by Admiral Villeneuve; in consequence, however, of the wind shifting to the S.E., we could not all succeed in so doing until the 20th, when the wind got round again to the E.S.E. Scarcely was the Combined Fleet clear of the harbour's mouth, when the wind came to S.S.E. with so much violence and with such threatening appearances, that one of the first signals made by the Bucentaur, the Flag-ship of Admiral Villeneuve, was to sail with double-reefed topsails. This change of the wind necessarily caused a considerable dispersion of the Fleet until two o'clock in the afternoon, when, fortunately the wind veered to the S.E., and the horizon being clear and unobscured, signal was made for the forming of five Columns, and afterwards for a junction. An advanced Frigate signalled eighteen Sail of the Enemy in sight, in consequence of which information we cleared for Action, and sailed in fighting order. At three, we all tacked and stood for the Straits, still preserving the same disposition of five Columns in which we had been before the last evolution. After having so done, we descried four of the Enemy's Frigates, to which, by order of Admiral Villeneuve we gave chase; signal being made, at the same time, from our Ship, for the Achille, Algesiras and San Juan, as attached to the Squadron of observation, to reinforce those sent in support, with orders to rejoin the main body of the Fleet before night-fall. At half-past six o'clock a French vessel informed us that they had made out eighteen Enemy's vessels, all in Line of Battle, and shortly afterwards we began to perceive, at no great distance, gleams of light, that could proceed only from the Enemy's Frigates, which were stationed midway between the two Fleets. At nine o'clock, the English Squadron made signals by the firing of guns, and from the interval which elapsed between the flash and the report, they must have been about two miles from us. We informed the French Admiral by signal-lanterns, that it was expedient to lose no time in forming the Line of Battle upon the leeward Ships, upon which an order to that effect was immediately given by the Commander-in-Chief; and, in this position we beheld the dawn of the 21st, with the Enemy in sight, consisting of twenty-eight Ships, eight of which were three-deckers, to windward of us, and in Line of Battle upon the opposite tack.

"At three o'clock in the morning, the Enemy stood towards us in different columns, bearing down upon our Centre and Rear, on which account Admiral Villeneuve ordered the Fleet to tack, the result of which movement was, that the Squadron of observation,

under the command of Admiral Gravina, remained in the Rear. The Admiral then signalled that the leading Ship of each Column should haul her wind, as also that all the others should follow in her wake, which obliged the Fleet to work to windward, for the purpose of forming into line. Admiral Gravina gave his Squadron the necessary orders for the due execution of these manœuvres with the celerity and promptitude which the urgency of the case required; and, upon the Enemy's nearing, directed that the distance between each Ship should be lessened, and the line improved.

"It wanted eight minutes to noon when an English three-decker broke through the centre of our line, being seconded in this manœuvre by the Vessels which followed in its wake. The other leading Ships of the Enemy's columns did the same; one of them passed down our Rear, a third laid herself between the Achille and the St. Ildefonso, and from this moment the Action was nothing but so many sanguinary single combats within pistol-shot: the greater part of them being between the whole of the Enemy's Fleet and the half of ours, several boardings necessarily took place. I do not possess the data necessary for giving your Highness a detailed and particular account of these single fights, nor can I speak with certainty of the movements of the Van, which, I am informed, tacked at the commencement of the Battle, in order to support those who were attacked. I can, however, confidently assure you that every Ship, French as well as Spanish, which fought in my sight, performed its duty to the utmost, and that this Ship, after a terrific contest of four hours with three or four of the Enemy's Vessels, its rigging destroyed, its sails shot through and through, its masts and topmasts riddled with balls, and in every respect in a most deplorable condition, was most seasonably relieved by the San Justo, a Spanish, and the Neptune, a French Ship, which junction drove off the Enemy, and enabled the Rayo, the Montañes, the Asis, and the San Leandro, all of which had suffered severely, to unite with the other French Ships, that were in just as bad a plight. As soon as this Vessel found itself free from the Enemy, it directed the Ships which had joined company to assist such Vessels as were in need of their aid; and at night-fall, the cannonade having ceased on both sides, the Thémis frigate was ordered to tow us towards Cadiz Bay, into which, however, we could not enter that night, in consequence of a severe gale from the S.S.E. accompanied by a heavy rain, which obliged us to ride at anchor, at half-past one o'clock, in the Placer de Rota, with the other Ships above mentioned; and the wind still continuing to freshen, we lost our main and mizen masts, notwithstanding all our efforts to save them: a misfortune which likewise befell the San Leandro, also at anchor near us.

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that I fulfil the pleasing duty of making known to your Excellency the noble and generous enthusiasm which actuated all the officers and men belonging to my Ship, as well as the zeal with which they performed their respective duties; their cool, gallant, and intrepid bearing was, indeed, beyond all praise. Our loss amounts to 41 killed, amongst whom is the second Lieutenant, Don Luis Perez del Camino, and 107 wounded,

all severely, including Don Bernardo Corral, Lieutenant in the Royal Volunteers, and Don Alexandro Rua, Brigadier of the Marines. I have also been informed that Don Francisco Alcedo, Captain and Commander of the Ship Montañes, was killed in the Action; and that the Second in Command, Don Antonio Castaños, was severely wounded. The loss on board the Fleet generally, must, there is no doubt, have been very great, many of our Ships having been totally dismasted, a misfortune which always implies a sacrifice of life. A correct list of the killed and wounded, as well as of the Vessels lost, shall be forwarded to your Excellency as soon as they can be ascertained with certainty."

FROM THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE, GENERALISSIMO OF HIS MAJESTY'S LAND AND SEA FORCES, TO DON ANTONIO ESCANO.

[From the Madrid Gazette of November the 5th, 1806.]

"27th October, 1805.

"I have just received three letters from your Excellency, one dated the 22nd of this month, and the two others the 23rd, giving me, for the information of His Majesty, an account of the Battle which was fought in the afternoon and evening of the 21st, between the Combined Fleet and the English one commanded by Lord Nelson, off Cadiz: which intelligence your Excellency has communicated to me, notwithstanding the suffering caused by a severe wound in the leg, Admiral Don Federico Gravina being wholly incapacitated from so doing by wounds he received in the same Action. All these three letters of your Excellency bespeak the greatest fortitude, valour, and loyalty. His Majesty has been made acquainted with the event, and he anxiously desires, as well as myself, to hear of the recovery of your Excellency, as also of that of Don Federico Gravina: hoping at the same time to receive the details of this glorious but unfortunate Action, in order that he may reward the deserving, console afflicted families, and relieve the necessitous. The noble and generous soul of the King cannot rest satisfied until he sees his paternal wishes fully accomplished, nor shall I be free from anxiety whilst the least of them remains to be effected. The present answer, which I have the honour of sending your Excellency, you will be pleased to communicate to Admiral Don Federico Gravina."

[From the Madrid Gazette of November the 5th, 1805.]

"Further particulars of this event have been received up to the 25th instant; and it appears that on the 23rd, Admiral Escaño ordered the French and Spanish Vessels which had entered the harbour the preceding evening, again to put to sea, in order to assist such disabled Ships as they might fall in with, and attack such English Vessels as were carrying away Prizes. In this manner they

succeeded in recovering the Spanish Ships Santa Ana and Neptuno, and in assisting the Achille, Algésire, and Bucentaur, French ones, notwithstanding a severe storm from the S.S.E. which drove from their moorings and stranded upon the coast of the Puerto de Santa Maria, the Asis and the Neptune, on the night of the 23rd. Don Cayetano Valdes, commander of the Neptuno, was severely wounded, as was also Vice-Admiral Don Ignacio Maria de Alava, who has returned to Cadiz in his Ship the Santa Ana. The English loss in this Engagement has also been very great, Lord Nelson and many other Officers of distinction having been killed, according to the news received from Gibraltar."

ACCOUNT OF THE NAVAL BATTLE FOUGHT ON THE 21ST OF OCTOBER, 1805, BETWEEN THE COMBINED FLEETS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, AND THAT OF ENGLAND.

[Original Spanish MS. in the Egerton MSS., 382, f. 3.]

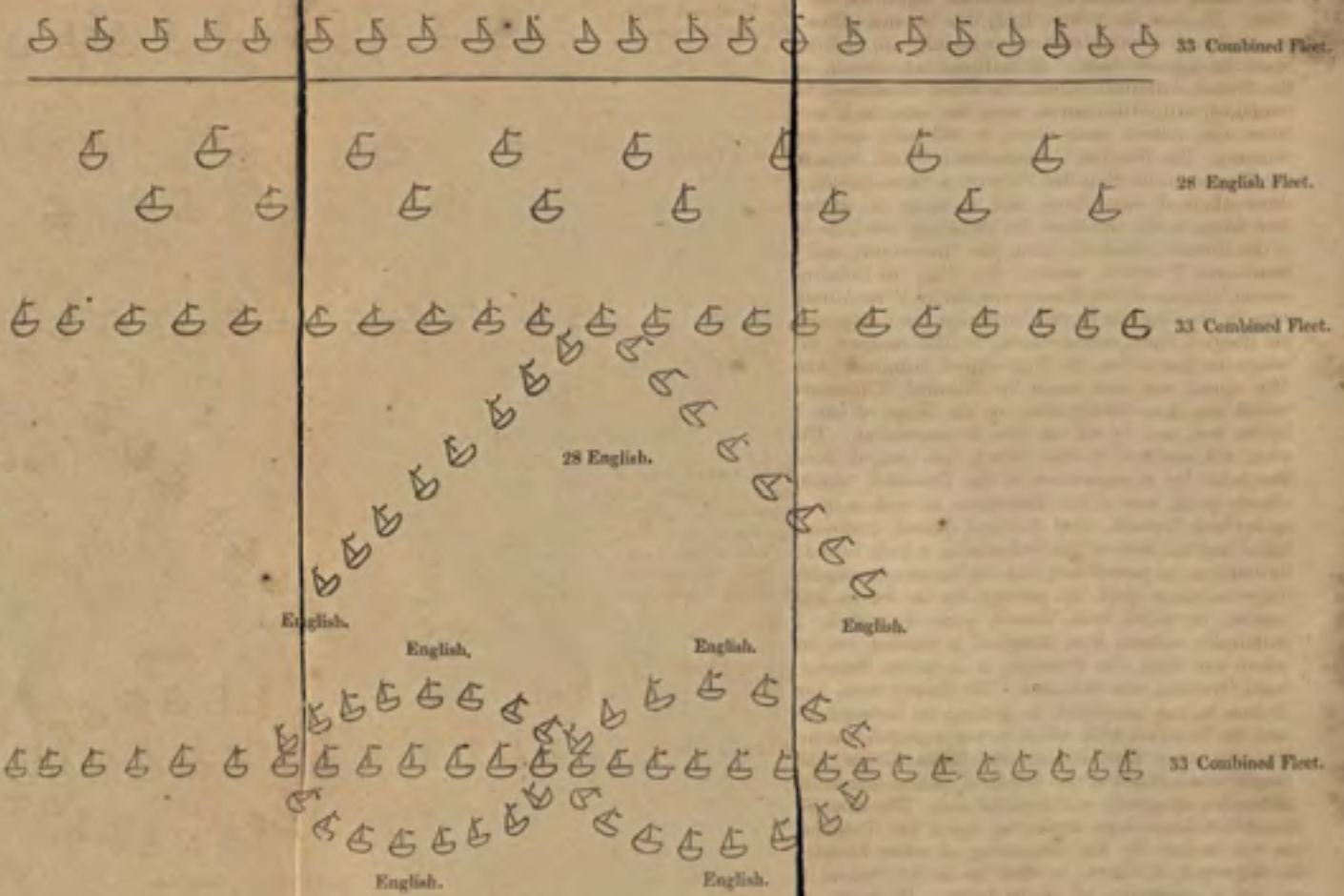
"Signal having been made in the afternoon of the 18th instant, on board the Bucentaur, flag-ship of Admiral Villeneuve, for the Fleet to prepare to put to sea, and repeated by Admiral Gravina and the other French and Spanish Commanders, the necessary measures were adopted for carrying the order into effect by recalling on board whatever seamen might be on shore; notwithstanding which, however, the Spanish Ships were far from having their full complement. At daybreak, on the 19th, the signal of the preceding afternoon was repeated, and several Ships belonging to either Fleet began to sail with a light land-breeze; these were, however, again obliged to cast anchor, in consequence of the wind's lulling and afterwards shifting to the opposite quarter, in which it continued during the remainder of the day. This manœuvre having been seen by five of the Enemy's Frigates, which were in sight, they made repeated signals by guns, and some of them sailed off to give information to their Fleet. As it was a calm during the night, every effort was made to warp up the Ships that had fallen to leeward, and to make all ready for sailing. The morning of the 20th dawned with the wind to the S.E. but with every appearance of its blowing hard from the S. by W. The signal was now again made to put to sea, which was executed by the entire Fleet. We cleared the Port about ten o'clock in the morning, and sailed in a westerly direction, following the course of the wind, now in its third quarter[2]. Some haziness which had hung about having cleared off towards the afternoon, and the wind shifting more to the West the French Admiral made the signal for the Fleet to tack to the southward, and to form into three Columns, which was done accordingly, and we lay in this order when night came on. At half-past six o'clock in the evening several strange signals were seen to windward, made with lanterns and guns, and by the report of the latter, the Vessels making them could not be more than four or five miles from us. Admiral Gra-

[2] "Siguiendo la vuelta del O. con el viento ya en el tercer quadrante."

vina immediately signalled that no time was to be lost in forming the Line of Battle, and this signal having been repeated by the French Admiral, the two windward columns fell to leeward, in close order, upon the remaining column, the result being an ill-formed line, which was, however, somewhat improved on the dawn of the 21st. As soon as it was light, the Enemy's Fleet was discovered to windward, coming towards us in full sail, and forming into Line upon the opposite tack. At half-past six o'clock, in consequence of the French Admiral's signal, the whole Combined Fleet tacked, and remained, with little canvas, upon the same tack as the Enemy, who about nine o'clock came down in full sail, and deployed into two columns. The English Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Nelson, heading the one in his Ship the Victory, a three-decker, and followed by three others of equal force, and as many as thirteen smaller ones, bore down in the direction for breaking our Line between the bow of the French Admiral's Ship, the Bucentaur, and the stern of the Santissima Trinidad, bearing the Flag of Admiral Cisñeros: the second Column of the Enemy was led by Vice-Admiral Collingwood, who, in his Ship the Royal Sovereign, and supported by the rest of the English Fleet, endeavoured, in like manner, to break our Line where the Santa Ana, the Flag-ship of Admiral Alava, was stationed. The signal was now made by Admiral Villeneuve to open fire, which was immediately done by the Ships of our Rear, at a quarter to two, and by all our line in succession. The Enemy, however, still persisted in their object, but that of Nelson having been frustrated by a manœuvre of the Trinidad, which grappled itself closely to the bow of the Bucentaur, as well as by the hot fire kept up by both Vessels, that Admiral passed between the stern of the latter and the bow of the Redoutable, which Vessel he attacked so furiously as he passed her, that she became a complete wreck. Collingwood made good his passage by the Santa Ana, after a severe combat, in which both Vessels were dismasted. From the Vice-Admiral's column was detached a smaller one to break the line where our Ship, the Principe de Asturias, bearing the flag of Admiral Gravina, was stationed. The Enemy were, however, repulsed. Nelson having succeeded in getting to leeward of the Bucentaur and the Trinidad, with which he was engaged, was now supported by the two other three-deckers that followed him; these having first fought to windward of the Trinidad, passed also to leeward, and laid themselves alongside, within pistol-shot. The other Ships of both the Enemy's columns kept deploying upon the Combined Fleet, whose line was broken by the dismasting of some Vessels, the flight and the shipwreck of others; so that the Action was no longer a general one, but a succession of single fights. It is out of my power to furnish you with the details of these combats, it having been impossible to perceive what was going on, through the dense clouds of smoke which enveloped the Vessels, and most of those who might have made known the particulars having perished. The fighting continued until half-past four in the afternoon, when both the hostile Fleets having been disabled, and the sea covered with wrecks and corpses, were thus compelled to desist from further contest, all being

SPANISH PLAN OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT ON THE 21ST OF OCTOBER, BETWEEN THE COMBINED FLEET OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, AND THAT OF ENGLAND.

[Egerton MS., 382.]


Line of the Combined Fleet, at 10 o'clock in the morning, in a calm.
33 Combined Fleet.
English Line; Vessels dispersed, and out of order.
28 English Fleet.
33 Combined Fleet.
The English, formed into a wedge, advance and break the Combined Line in the middle, then forming a figure of 8, they cut off the flanks of the Combined Fleet from their centre, seventeen of which Vessels they inclose.
28 English.
English.
English.
English.
English.
Combined Fleet in right line.
33 Combined Fleet.
English.
English.
New position of the English breaking the Combined Line in three parts, then extending themselves the wings, by which means the Ships in the centre were rendered useless.

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dispersed, and dismantled. The Trinidad and Bucentaur alone continued the contest with the three-deckers, and two other smaller Vessels, until about half-past three o'clock, when the last-mentioned Ship having lost all her masts, ceased firing; and at four o'clock the Trinidad did the same, not being able any longer to work her guns, owing to the mass of wreck which covered her decks and hung over her sides, and the heaps of dead which choked up her batteries. Her loss has been very severe, her Admiral, second and third Lieutenants and twenty-two other Officers having been wounded, seven of whom have since died. Nelson's Ship, as well as another of the three-deckers, was totally disabled, and unable to fire, the Admiral himself having been killed in the act of breaking the line. At sunset, such Vessels as were able so to do, joined company, and these, being five Spanish and five French, directed their course to Cadiz with Admiral Gravina, while a Division of the French, consisting of four Ships, under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, proceeded westward. The English Fleet, in a crippled state, lay dispersed, like the French and Spanish one; and as they were in this condition, the night of the 21st came on. In the morning of the 22nd, the English were reuniting and manning their Prizes, whose shattered state rendered them unmanageable; in which occupation they continued employed throughout the day, the heavens threatening every instant a furious tempest. In the afternoon of the 23rd there appeared to leeward a Division of the Combined Fleet, which recovered the Spanish Ships Santa Ana and the Neptuno, which had been abandoned by the English Vessels who had them in tow, and brought them into Cadiz. The crippled state of our Ships obliged the Enemy to abandon the San Agustin, which they burnt, and also the Santissima Trinidad and the Argonauta, both of which foundered in consequence of their leaky state: several of the French Ships suffered in the same manner. On the morning of the 24th there arose a violent storm, again dispersing the English Fleet, and causing the loss of several of its Ships, in consequence of their bad condition, as well as their being unable to get out of Cadiz Bay. A like misfortune befel the Monarca, Rayo, Neptuno, and Asis, Spanish Vessels, and the Bucentaur, Fougueux, and some other French ones. The English Vessels, who rode rode at anchor upon the coast of Conil, saved themselves and their Prizes, the Spanish Vessels Nepomuceno, Bahama, San Ildefonso, and the Swiftsure, a French one, the only four Vessels which they carried into Gibraltar after the storm, but in so wretched a condition that it was very doubtful if they would be able to get them over to England.

"The account of the relative strength of the two hostile Fleets, sufficiently proves the great superiority of the English one: for although at the commencement of the Action, it had only twenty-eight Ships, eight of these were three-deckers, to which were afterwards added four smaller ones, which joined the said Fleet, and but for which its boasted victory would have been less certain, since in these four Vessels, not having suffered in the general Action, were a condition effectually to aid those who were on the point of striking their colours." [Then follows a List of the Combined Fleets.]

TRANSLATION OF AN "EXTRACT FROM A LETTER, DATED CADIZ, OCTOBER 25TH, 1805."

[Egerton MSS. 382, f. 28.]

"Dear Friend,

"Although I wish very much to be able to give you a circumstantial account of the calamitous Battle, which I announced to you in my former letter, yet the reports in circulation here are so vague and uncertain, that I have my doubts if the Admirals themselves could do it with any degree of accuracy. Of this, however, there is no doubt, that Nelson and his Englishmen have gained a complete and decisive victory, and that our Fleet has been, all of it, absolutely destroyed. The number of killed and wounded is from 10 to 12,000. Villeneuve taken prisoner, Magon killed, Gravina severely wounded in the arm, Escaño, in the leg, and Alava in the head: Cisneros and Dumanoir are by some reported to have been made prisoners; by others, to have been killed. Out of the thirty-three Ships which left this Port, only nine or ten have reentered it, and that in so miserable and shattered a condition, that the hulls of some are almost unserviceable. The rest of the Fleet have been either taken, burnt, or sunk. In the offing some are seen dismasted, which the English have manned and are towing away. Two or three have run ashore upon the coast, without the possibility of receiving any assistance, in consequence of the furious tempest which raged immediately after the Battle. In the Playa the sea is continually throwing up portions of wreck, together with numbers of dead bodies, all which increases the desolate aspect of that shore. All have exhibited a courage worthy of a better issue; but the event has demonstrated that valour is not sufficient to insure success, and that victory always inclines towards intrepidity united to skilful discipline. Perhaps in eight or ten days the details of the Action may be learnt with some degree of certainty, but the disorder and confusion which reigned throughout this fearful Battle, have rendered it almost impossible for the Commanders themselves to know what occurred on board their own Ships."

TRANSLATION OF THE "COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN AT CADIZ, 29TH OCTOBER, 1805."

[Original Spanish in the Egerton MSS. 382, 41.]

"In my last letter I communicated to you all the particulars which had come to my knowledge respecting the fatal Action that took place on the 21st, between the Combined Fleet and that of the English. I shall now add, that the French Vessel, the Mont-Blanc, foundered shortly after the Battle; and that the other French Ship, the Aigle, got herself off the coast of Terra-Gorda, where she had stranded, and, after succeeding in entering Cadiz Bay, most unfortunately ran ashore near Puerto de Santa Maria, where she was yesterday abandoned, the crew getting safe to land. Her Captain, M. Courage, is just dead of the wounds which he received in the

Battle; he is sincerely deplored by all who knew him. The Indomptable, which was riding at anchor in our Bay near the Puercas, after having saved 300 men belonging to the Bucentaur, the French Admiral's flag-ship, lost her anchors in the night of Friday the 25th instant, and went to pieces on the Rosa rocks, where all hands, except 160, perished.

"In short, the number of Vessels belonging to the Combined Fleet is now reduced to those riding at anchor in the Bay, of which three only have their masts standing; but if this weather continue, they are far from being out of danger. Of these ten Ships, five are French and five Spanish, which with the other four French ones that entered the Strait of Gibraltar after the Action, under the command of Admiral Dumanoir, are all that remain of this once efficient and splendid Fleet.

"This dreadful and calamitous loss is owing to the rash and injudicious resolution of Admiral Villeneuve, who hurried into Battle without having previously ascertained the numbers, strength, and position of the Enemy, and at a time too when the tempest which afterwards raged with such fury, was hanging over him. History does not record a better contested Action, as is proved by the crippled state of our Ships, and the slaughter on board of them. There are more than 1000 wounded in our hospitals, besides others who are expected, as well as such as are still on board the Ships taken by the Enemy.

"Yesterday there came in here a Cartel to effect an exchange of prisoners, and the delivery up of the wounded. We have been informed by two British Officers belonging to the above Cartel, who, after disembarking, dined with our Governor, and slept on shore, that some of the English Fleet, together with the Prizes they had taken, anchored in a small Bay, about six leagues from Cadiz, where they rode out the storm. The Santissima Trinidad, which was reported to have foundered, is in the hands of the Enemy, as well as the San Ildefonso, with her Captain, Señor Vargas, who is wounded. We have likewise learnt from the same Officers, that Nelson died six hours after the Action, having in that time composed and written the dispatches which were to be forwarded to his Court. It appears that the rash and unfortunate departure of our Fleet was, in some measure, a great mercy for this City of Cadiz, for the English had determined to bombard it, in order to force the Combined Fleet to come to action. The same Officers confess that the Action could not have been more obstinate, and that the English had resolved to blow up one of their own Ships, the Colossus, it having become unmanageable. It is said that Admiral Rosily, who arrived here from Paris, two days after the Fleet had sailed, will return immediately, as there is now nothing for him to do in Spain. Scarcely a third part remains of the French troops who were embarked on board the Fleet, and it is really heart-rending to see their soldiers wandering about the streets. Admirals Alava and Escaño are better, although the former is not yet out of danger."

"THE FOLLOWING DISPATCH FROM DON ANTONIO DE ESCANOS TO THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE, GENERALISSIMO OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES BY SEA AND LAND, WAS RECEIVED ON THE 1ST OF NOVEMBER, 1805."

[From the Madrid Gazette, November 12th, 1805.]

"Most Excellent Sir,

"I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency a report of the actual state of the Vessels composing the Combined Fleet, which sailed from Cadiz under the command of Vice-Admiral Villeneuve and Admiral Don F. Gravina, as well as of the results of the late Action, and the effects of the storm which followed. It will be seen by that report that the only Vessels which have fallen into the Enemy's hands, are the Nepomuceno, now at Gibraltar, and the San Ildefonso, which they towed off yesterday in a very shattered state; for the Santissima Trinidad, Bahama, San Agustin, and Argonauta, said to have been captured, foundered at sea after the Battle.

"I think it also necessary to inform your Excellency that I have learnt from Officers who had been prisoners on board some of the English Ships, that at the commencement of the Action, Admiral Nelson repeated, three times, the signal for fighting yard-arm to yard-arm, in order to insure the victory by a lavish effusion of blood, and by the total disabling of our Vessels.

"It is my duty, at the same time, to lay before the notice of your Highness the names of Officers, both Naval and Military, belonging to the Fleet, who so honourably shed their blood in this terrific encounter. This list, necessarily at present incomplete, will receive further additions in proportion, as with the deepest regret, I acquire fresh information of the irreparable loss of so many gallant and devoted subjects worthy of a better fate.

"LIST OF THE OFFICERS BELONGING TO THE FLEET, WHO WERE EITHER KILLED OR WOUNDED IN THE NAVAL BATTLE OF THE 21ST OCTOBER, 1805, ACCORDING TO INFORMATION OBTAINED UP TO NOVEMBER 1ST; THE FATE OF MANY OFFICERS, BOTH NAVAL AND MILITARY, BEING STILL UNKNOWN.

RANK.	SHIP.	NAME.	
Commander-in-Chief	Principe de Asturias	Don Frederico Gravina	wounded.
Second in Command	S. Ana	Don I. Maria de Alava	wounded.
Rear-Admirals	Principe de Asturias	Don A. de Escano, Rear-Admiral.....	wounded.
	Trinidad	Don B. Hildago de Cisneros	wounded.
Commodores	Nepomuceno	Don C. Churrucca, Captain	killed.
	Bahama	Don D. A. Galiano, Idem	killed.
	Trinidad	Don F. Uriarte y Borja, Idem	wounded.
	S. Agustin	Don F. Jado Cagigal, Idem	wounded.
	Neptuno.....	Don C. Valdes, Idem.....	wounded.
	S. Ildefonso	Don J. de Varaez, Idem	wounded.

Rank.	Ship.	Name.	
Captains of Ships	Montanez	Don F. de Alcedo y Bustamente	killed.
	S. Ana	Don J. Gardoqui, Captain	wounded.
	Trinidad	Don I. Olaeta, Second Captain	wounded.
	Argonauta	Don A. Pareja, Captain	wounded.
	Monarca	Don T. Argumosa, Captain	wounded.
Captains of Frigates	Montanez	Don A. Castanos, Second Captain	killed.
	Nepomuceno	Don F. Moyua, Idem	killed.
	Neptuno	Don J. Somoza, Idem	wounded.
	Bahama	Don T. Rameri, Idem	wounded.
	S. Agustin	Don J. Brandaris, Idem	wounded.

Lieutenants[3] of Ships	killed, 6	wounded, 5.
Lieutenants of Frigates	killed, 4	wounded, 3.
Lieutenant of a Bomb-Ketch	killed, 1	
"Alferezes de Navio"	killed, 3	wounded, 6.
"Alferezes de Fregata"	killed, 1	wounded, 5.
Lieutenant of Fire-Ship		wounded, 1.

"Admiral Cisneros has also communicated to the Prince of Peace several interesting particulars of the combat maintained by his Flag-Ship, the Santissima Trinidad; and, from his account, it appears that Admiral Nelson, in his Ship the Victory, and with two three-deckers, bore down to break the Line between the stern of the Santissima Trinidad and the bow of the Bucentaur, the Flag-Ship of Admiral Villeneuve. Admiral Cisneros immediately gave orders to back the top-sails of the Trinidad, and brought that Ship so close to the French Vessel that by this manœuvre, as well as by the destructive fire which followed, he frustrated the intention of Admiral Nelson, who was only able to open for himself a passage, and thus to break the Line, by the stern of the Bucentaur: which being effected, the Victory took her position on the starboard quarter of the Trinidad, and the two other three-deckers placing themselves on the larboard side, the combat raged with unexampled fury until four o'clock P.M., by which time the Santissima Trinidad was totally dismasted, and had lost more than 300 men. The Vessel was, indeed, in so shattered a condition, that notwithstanding the English Officers placed in possession of her had been expressly informed that it was Admiral Nelson's particular wish she should be, if possible, preserved and carried to England, they were compelled to abandon the attempt: the water gained upon her so fast, that the pumps were utterly useless, so that in the night of the third day after the Battle she sunk, the crew having previously been taken out of her.

"It is worthy of notice that from the accounts hitherto received, it appears that the English made three distinct attempts to break the Line, and were on each occasion completely repulsed by our Ships. We have already seen Admiral Nelson's want of success in his endeavour to pass by the stern of the Santissima Trinidad; equally unfortunate was the attempt of Admiral Collingwood, who, leading the Van of the English Fleet, in his Flag-Ship the Royal Sovereign, tried to break our Line by the bow of the Santa Ana,

[3] The names of all these Officers are given in the Madrid Gazette.

the Flag-Ship of Don Ignacio Maria Alava, and this Commander defeated the manœuvre in such a manner that the Santa Ana running alongside the Royal Sovereign, a murderous fight ensued, which ended only by both Vessels being totally dismasted. The third Column of the Enemy made a similar attempt, by the bow of the Principe de Asturias, the Flag-Ship of Admiral Gravina, but that Ship by closing up, and opening a very sharp and well-directed fire, forced the Enemy to abandon his intention and to retreat."

"LIST OF SHIPS BELONGING TO THE COMBINED FLEET WHICH HAVE COME INTO PORT.

[Egerton MSS. 382, f. 7.]

SPANISH.

PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS, 120 guns.
Entirely dismasted.

S. ANA, 120.
Entirely dismasted.

NEPTUNO, 80.
Ran ashore.

FR. DE ASIS, 74.
Dismasted at the mouth of the harbour on the 23rd, and ran ashore.

LEANDRO, 64.
Lost her main and mizen-masts.

MONTANEZ, 74.
Lost her masts.

JUSTO, 74.
Lost her masts.

RAYO, 100.
This Vessel came in on the night of the 21st, having again sailed on the 23rd she lost her masts and was taken by the English, in whose possession she still remains, and in sight of the Port.

ILDEFONSO, 74.
Dismasted; taken and manned by the English, in whose possession she still remains in sight.

FRENCH.

ALGESIRAS, 74.
Dismasted.

ARGONAUTE, 74.
Dismasted.

INDOMPTABLE, 74.
Dismasted.

AIGLE, 74.
Riding at anchor in the Praya del Sol.

BUCENTAUR, 80.
Dismasted and manned by the English; ran ashore on the 23rd, being dashed against the Castillo, in St. Catulina.

PLUTON, 74.
HEROS, 74.
NEPTUNE, 74.
} With all their masts; and some damage.

5 FRIGATES, 40.
2 BRIGS, 40.
} One Frigate and one Brig ran ashore.

Admiral Magon, killed. Taken, or rather delivered up by himself, Admiral Villeneuve. Admirals Gravina and Escano, killed. The Captains Valdes and Alzedo, with others unknown, wounded. In one word, the sight of the coast covered with dead bodies, and the state of the Ships which are saved is truly horrifying."

"RESULTS OF THE NAVAL BATTLE FOUGHT AT EIGHT LEAGUES' DISTANCE FROM CADIZ, ON THE 21ST OCTOBER, 1805, BETWEEN THE COMBINED FRENCH AND SPANISH FLEET, CONSISTING OF 33 SAIL OF THE LINE, 5 FRIGATES, AND 2 BRIGS, COMMANDED BY ADMIRAL VILLENEUVE, AND THE ENGLISH FLEET OF 28 SAIL OF THE LINE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF ADMIRAL NELSON.

Ships returned into Port—some stranded, and all dismasted but three.	Shipwrecked on the coast with great loss of life.	Sunk during the Battle, for refusing to strike.	Blown up at the close of the Battle	Seen from the tower in the hands of the English.	Not forthcoming and supposed to be captured.	Total.
Prince of A. Sn. Ana.* Sn. Justo. Sn. Leandro. Montanes.	Neptuno.* Asis.* Monarca.*			Rayo. Ildefonso. Bahama. Nepomuceno.	Trinidad. Argonauta. Sn. Agustin.	15 Spanish.
Algesiras. Pluton. Argonaute. Héros.	Bucentaur.* Indomptable. L'Aigle.* Fougueux.*	Intrépide. Mont Blanc.	Achille.		Formidable. Redoutable. Du Guay Trouin. Scipion. Berwick. Swiftsure. Neptune.	18 French.

N.B.—The Vessels marked (*) were captured and manned by the English, but afterwards ran aground."

"ACCOUNT OF THE COMBINED FLEET WHICH SAILED FROM THE PORT OF CADIZ ON THE 19TH AND 20TH OCTOBER.

[Original Spanish, in the Egerton MSS. 382, No. 31.]

SPANISH SHIPS.

PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS, 112 guns.
Is anchored in the Bay, having lost her main and mizen masts. Its Admiral, Gravina, wounded in the arm.

SAN LEANDRO, 64.
Anchored in the Bay, having lost her three masts and bowsprit.

SAN JUSTO, 74. } At anchor in the
MONTANES, 74. } Bay.

SANTA ANA, 112.
Surrendered to the English during the Battle. She afterwards came into the Bay totally dismasted, and with an English crew. The Admiral Alava has three wounds.

SAN F. DE ASIS, 74 } Run aground near
NEPTUNO.....80 } the Puerto de Santa Maria.

FRENCH SHIPS.

PLUTON .....74 guns } Are at anchor in the Bay.
HERO.....74
ARGONAUTE 74
NEPTUNE 84
INDOMPTABLE, 80

ALGESIRAS ....74.
Was given up to the English, and came into the Bay totally dismasted, with an English crew. Admiral Magon dead.

AIGLE, 74.
Is said to have stranded in front of Torre Gorda, totally dismasted.

FOUGUEUX, 74.
Was surrendered to the English, and was afterwards lost upon Sancti Petri, five men only being saved.

ACHILLE, 74.
Blew up during the Battle.

SPANISH SHIPS.

Rayo	100	Fate not known.
Monarca	74	
Santissima Trinidad	136	
San Agustino	74	
Nepomuceno	74	
Argonauta	80	
Bahama	74	
San Ildefonso	74	

By this evening's Parte de la Torre, it is ascertained that the Ildefonso and the Rayo are in the hands of the Enemy. The latter had come into the Bay on the 22nd instant, and on the 23rd had again sailed in order to protect several dismasted vessels. It returned with them that same evening; and, according to accounts from the Torre de Tavira, having run ashore during the night, and lost all her masts, she fell at day-break into the hands of the Enemy, about six leagues to the N.W. of Cadiz.

FRENCH SHIPS.

Bucentaur, 80.

This Ship, which bore the Admiral's flag, was given up to the Enemy. Admiral Villeneuve remaining a prisoner on board of the English Admiral's vessel. It afterwards came into Cadiz Bay totally dismasted, and foundered off the Caleta; all hands, English as well French, saved.

Intrepide	74	Fate not known.
Redoutable	74	
Mont-Blanc	74	
Dugaitron	74	
Formidable	80	
Scipion	74	
Berwick	74	
Sufisure	74	

The five Frigates and the two Sloops have entered Cadiz Bay, and are at anchor there.

Of the fate of the British Fleet there are three Spanish accounts; which, though alike mendacious and absurd, differ from each other.

The following was printed, apparently for general circulation; and there are two copies of it in the same volume; the variations between it, and one in MS., are shown by the Notes:—

"STATEMENT OF THE DAMAGE AND LOSSES SUSTAINED BY THE ENGLISH FLEET IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE NAVAL BATTLE OF THE 21ST OCTOBER, 1805, WITH THE COMBINED FRENCH AND SPANISH FLEET, OFF CADIZ.

[Egerton MSS. 312, f. 18. This statement was published in the "Gazeta de Madrid" of the 19th of November 1805, and in the "Diario de Valencia" of the 27th of the same month. It was also translated and printed in the "Journal de Paris" of the 16 Frimaire, An xiv. (7 December, 1805.) Vide p. 263, ante.]

Victory	100	Entirely dismasted in the act of cutting the Line. Admiral Nelson wounded; died seven hours after the action.
*Prince of Wales	98	Sunk in the action.
Britannya	98	Sunk in the action[4].
Dreadnought	98	All the hull riddled with balls.
Temeraire	98	Without any mast; those of the French ship l'Aigle fell on her deck, and killed many of her crew.
Neptune	98	Both sunk, and the masts of the first, and the rudder of the second, have been found on the Playa de Conil.
Prince	98	
*Queen	98	Lost her fore-top and mizen-mast; in Gibraltar, much damaged.

[4] Dismasted and sunk in the Straits.—MS.

*Donegal	80	Dismasted on the Barbary coast.
*Canopus	80	Dismasted and placed alongside the pontoons at Gibraltar.
*Tigre	80	Sunk on the Playa of Santa Maria.
Tonnant	80	Burnt by the Fleet 5 or 6 leagues N.W. off Cadiz[5].
*Spencer	74	Came into Gibraltar; towed by a frigate, making signals for assistance.
Le Spartiate	74	Sunk after the action on the coast of Rota.
Defence	74	Without mainmast in Gibraltar[6].
Swiftsure	74	Lost her fore-top-mast in Gibraltar.
Orion	74	Dismasted, on the coast of Africa.
Leviathan	74	Under sail, and lost her main-top-mast[7].
*Zealous	74	Hull damaged. In Gibraltar.
Conqueror	74	Under sail.
Revenge	74	In Gibraltar, the second without a top-sail-yard.
Achille	74	
Minotaur	74	Ran ashore on the coast of Conil and San Lucar[8].
Colossus	74	Idem[9].
Mars	74	Under sail.
Bellerophon	74	
Polypheme	74	Under sail, without mizen-mast[1].
Esparciata	74	Sunk after the battle, on the coast of Rota[2].
*Carnatic	74	With jury-masts, under sail[3].

SHIPS WHICH JOINED THE ENGLISH FLEET at 5 P.M., 21ST OCTOBER.

†The Duke of York	90	Under sail.
Royal Sovereign	100	Lost, with 400,000*l.* sterling, on her way to Malta.
†Le Leger	80	Towed by an English frigate.
†Relampago	74	Under sail, under the care of a Swedish ship.
*Aquila	74	Under sail.

"*Note.*—Rear-Admiral Bickerton was wounded at the beginning of the Action, and died three hours after it was ended. A hundred-gun Ship, three Frigates, and one Corvette, have sailed from Gibraltar to the Westward, to protect the Vessels which have grounded or are dismasted. This account is taken from that dispatched from Gibraltar by Admiral Collingwood, and from those given by Ships who have come into that Port. It is to be expected that the English would not exaggerate their losses, and that they are much greater than they choose to represent them. But it is sufficiently evident that their Fleet is destroyed; and some accounts from Cadiz state their loss to be seven or eight thousand men—a loss which England can with difficulty replace."

N.B.—The Ships marked thus (*) were not in the Battle.

† There were no such Ships in the British Navy. (Vide p. 264, ante.)

[5] Burnt on account of being unable to continue her voyage.—MS.

[6] Burnt by the Fleet towards the N.E.—*Ibid.*

[7] Under sail, and lost her main-top-mast; in Gibraltar.—*Ibid.*

[8] Under sail. In Gibraltar.—*Ibid.*

[9] Burnt on account of not being able to continue her voyage.—*Ibid.*

[1] Sunk in the Action.—*Ibid.*

[2] This Ship is not mentioned in the MS. list, but appears to be replaced by the *Atrevido*, 64, [i. e. the Defiance] who is represented to be "under jury-masts," and which does not occur in the printed one.

[3] Under sail; without a main-mast.

The following translation of an account of the fate of the British Ships gives the details of their loss, and is thus "a lie with circumstance:"—

"LOSSES AND DAMAGES SUSTAINED BY THE ENGLISH FLEET, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT BETWEEN IT AND THE COMBINED FLEET OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, OFF CADIZ, ON THE 21ST OCTOBER, 1805.

[Egerton MSS. 382.]

FIRST DIVISION, ADMIRAL NELSON.

VICTORY 100.—Totally dismasted during the Battle, and taken in tow by a Frigate; foundered in front of Gibraltar on the 22nd. Admiral Nelson received two wounds, and died seven hours after the Action.—Killed 2 Captains; 1 Rear-Admiral; 11 Officers. Wounded 7.—Killed 590 seamen; drowned 96; wounded 209.

BRITANNIA 100.—Dismasted and sunk during the Action by the Spanish Vessel the Santissima Trinidad.—Killed 7 Officers. Wounded 11.—Killed 359 seamen; drowned 200; wounded 132.

PRINCE OF WALES 98.—Sunk during the Action by the Santissima Trinidad[4].—Killed 2 Captains; 15 Officers. Wounded 5.—Killed 513 seamen; drowned 98; wounded 272.

DREADNOUGHT 98.—Towed into Gibraltar by a Frigate of 40 guns, and condemned as unserviceable, having received 79 shot in her hull.—Killed 1 Captain; 5 Officers. Wounded 11.—Killed 128 seamen; wounded 123.

TEMERAIRE 98.—Towed into Gibraltar on the 22nd by a Frigate of 40 guns, and condemned as unserviceable in consequence of her lower works being broken in, her stanchions and knees loosened, and of her being altogether incapable of repair.—Killed 2 (Captains); 3 Officers. Wounded 7.—Killed 112 seamen; wounded 259.

NEPTUNE 98.—Dismasted and sunk in the Action by the French Vessel the Algésiras.—Killed 2 Captains; 7 Officers. Wounded 5.—Killed 193 seamen; drowned 122; wounded 259.

PRINCE 98.—Sunk in the Action by the Spanish Vessel the Argonauta, and the French Vessel the Aigle.—Killed 5 Officers. Wounded 2.—Killed 125 seamen; drowned 121; wounded 321.

Total Killed and Wounded in the First Division:—Admirals 2; Captains 9; Officers 53 killed. 48 wounded.—Seamen 2020 killed; 637 drowned; 1575 wounded.

SECOND DIVISION, ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

QUEEN 98.—Towed into Gibraltar on the 27th by a Frigate; dismasted and in so bad a state as to be condemned as unserviceable.—Killed 1 Captain; 3 Officers. Wounded 5.—Killed 95 seamen; wounded 120.

CANOPUS 80.—Entered Gibraltar on the 25th, dismasted, and condemned as not capable of being repaired.—Killed 1 Captain; 2 Officers. Wounded 6. Killed 45 seamen; wounded 93.

DONEGAL 80.—Was dismasted by the storm off the Barbary Coast, and towed into Gibraltar: capable of repairs.—Killed 3 Officers. Wounded 5.—Killed 122 seamen; wounded 93.

TIGER 80.—Entered Gibraltar with loss of main and mizen-masts; but can be repaired.—Killed 5 Officers. Wounded 4.—Killed 98 seamen; wounded 102.

TONANTE 80.—Entered Gibraltar with loss of her mizen-mast; but had suffered little.—Killed 3 Officers. Wounded 1.—Killed 41 seamen; wounded 93.

SPENCER 80.—Towed into Gibraltar on the 22nd by a Frigate, and sunk within the Roads of that Port.—Killed 1 Captain; 5 Officers. Wounded 3.—Killed 192 seamen; drowned 41; wounded 153.

[4] "Later information renders the fate of this Ship uncertain."

Sparciate 74.—Towed by a Frigate, but sunk during the night of the 21st.—Killed 2 Captains; 5 Officers. Wounded 3.—Killed 98 seamen; drowned 244; wounded 104.

Total Killed and Wounded in the Second Division:—Captains 5; Officers 26 killed; 27 wounded.—Seamen 607 killed; 285 drowned; 740 wounded.

Third Division, Vice-Admiral Calder.

Defence 74.—Was burnt during the Engagement. There were lost in her 2 Captains; 17 Officers; 700 seamen.

Swiftsure 74.—Entered Gibraltar with loss of fore and main-top mast, but can be repaired.—Killed 2 Officers. Wounded 30.—Killed 92 seamen; wounded 52.

Orcon 74.—Towedin to Gibraltar dismasted, but can be repaired.—Killed 10 Officers. Wounded 50.—Killed 78 seamen; wounded 33.

Zealous 74.—Towed into Gibraltar by a Frigate, and remains entirely unserviceable.—Killed 3 Captains; 4 Officers. Wounded 30.—Killed 122 seamen; wounded 100.

Carnatic 74.—Did not take part in the Engagement, having fallen to leeward.

Aboukir 74.—Did not take part in the Engagement, having remained in Gibraltar; she afterwards sailed on a cruise before Cadiz.

Total Killed and Wounded in the Third Division:—Captains 5; Officers 26 killed; 12 wounded.—Seamen 1044 killed; 278 wounded.

Fourth Division, Rear-Admiral .....

Conqueror 74.—Entered Gibraltar in good condition, and went to cruise off Cadiz.—Killed 2 Officers. Wounded 2.—Killed 19 seamen; wounded 34.

Revenge 74.—Towed into Gibraltar by two Corvettes; condemned as unserviceable, and incapable of repairs.—Killed 5 Officers. Wounded 3.—Killed 83 seamen; wounded 124.

Achilles 74.—In the same state as the preceding Vessel.—Killed 3 Officers. Wounded 2.—Killed 79 seamen; wounded 52.

Minotaur 74.—Shipwrecked after the Battle, on the Coast of Conil.—Killed 5 Officers. Wounded 3.—Killed 123 seamen; drowned 142; wounded 91.

Colossus 74.—Suffered a similar fate to the last.—Perished 2 Captains; 11 Officers; and between 600 and 700 seamen.

Mars 74.—Entered Gibraltar in good condition, and keeps cruising in sight of Cadiz.—Killed 1 Officer. Wounded 2.—Killed 2 seamen; wounded 92.

Bellerophon 74.—Entered in good condition, although with loss of her mizen-mast: sailed again to cruise off Cadiz.—Killed 2 Officers. Wounded 1.—Killed 43 seamen; wounded 59.

Total Killed and Wounded in the Fourth Division:—Captains 5; Officers 29 killed. Wounded 13.—Seamen 1705 killed; 242 drowned; 452 seamen and soldiers wounded.

Fifth Division, which sailed from Port in the afternoon of the 21st for the purpose of reinforcing the English Fleet. Led into Battle by Rear-Admiral Lewis.

Leger 80.—Towed in on the 22nd by two Frigates; has been condemned as unserviceable.—Killed 2 Captains; 3 Officers. Wounded severely, the Rear-Admiral, and 5 Officers slightly.—Killed 112 seamen; wounded 92.

Atrevido 74.—Entered in good condition, and is cruising off Cadiz.—Killed 2 Officers. Wounded 1.—Killed 18 seamen; wounded 42.

Eagle 74.—Did not engage, and is cruising off Cadiz.

Polyphemus 74.—Entered Gibraltar in good condition, and again left to cruise off Cadiz.—Killed 1 Captain; 1 Officer; wounded 3.—Killed 28 seamen; wounded 45.

Total Killed and Wounded in the Fifth Division:—Captains 3; Officers 6 killed. Wounded 9.—Seamen 158 killed; wounded 176.

SIXTH DIVISION, WHICH JOINED THE ENGLISH FLEET ON THE MORNING OF THE 22nd, AND WHICH AFTER MANNING PART OF IT, DIRECTED ITS COURSE TO MALTA, HAVING SEVERAL VESSELS UNDER CONVOY.

SOVEREIGN 110.—Did not engage, but ran ashore on the coast of Conil, where she was totally wrecked; no one being saved, and the money she was carrying all lost.—Perished 2 Captains; 12 Officers; 900 Seamen.

LIGHTNING 74.—Did not engage, and is now off Cadiz.

DUKE OF YORK.—Did not engage, manned several Prizes, but abandoned them in consequence of the storm. Is off Cadiz.

Total loss in the Sixth Division:—Captains 2; Officers 12; Seamen 900.

CONDITION AND FATE OF THE SHIPS.

Sunk	7
Shipwrecked	3
Burnt	1
Condemned	8
Repairable	11
Not engaged [5]	5
Total	35

SUMMARY OF THE LOSS IN KILLED AND WOUNDED: OFFICERS AND MEN.

	Killed.					Wounded.		
Division.	Admirals.	Captains.	Officers.	Seamen.	Drowned.	Officers.	Seamen.	Total.
1st	2	9	53	2020	637	48	1575	4344
2nd	—	5	26	697	285	27	740	1780
3rd	—	5	26	1044	—	12	278	1365
4th	—	2	29	975	242	13	452	1713
5th	—	3	6	158	—	9	179	355
6th	—	2	12	—	900	—	—	914
Total	2	26	152	4894	2064	109	3244	10,471

[5] Among the 'not engaged' must be reckoned the Aboukir, which did not leave Gibraltar till after the Battle. Thirteen Frigates, five Brigs, and two Sloops also formed part of this Fleet."

Intelligence of the Battle of Trafalgar was brought to England by the Pickle Schooner; and Vice-Admiral Collingwood's dispatch having reached the Admiralty at one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of November, was immediately printed in a London Gazette Extraordinary. It is only by reading the newspapers, and other periodical publications of the day, that an adequate idea can be formed of the sensation which the event produced throughout this Country. The splendour of the Victory, and its immense National importance, were almost forgotten in grief for the loss which England had sustained by the death of NELSON. One common sentiment of love, gratitude, admiration, and regret, pervaded every bosom; each family mourned as for a dear relation; and there is, perhaps, no similar instance of a sorrow so universal. To use the simple and emphatic words of Lord Collingwood[6], all felt that "England may mourn, for there is nothing left like him." Such, indeed, was the state of the Public mind, that there is no exaggeration in the following statement:—

"Such, and so great, were the advantages which his Country derived from the actions of the noblest of her sons, and which we have enumerated here, only in order to show that she was worthy of him, for great as they were, and essential as they must be allowed to be even to her very existence, when the tidings of the glorious Victory off Trafalgar, with all the train of blessings which it brought with it, reached England, and that it was known that they were purchased with the life of her Hero, not an individual in the Country, even him before the most desponding of its fate, who did not feel that it was purchased at too dear a rate, nor was there an individual in it who would not have given up the Victory to have saved the Victim[7]!

The Park and Tower guns announced the Victory to the Metropolis, and Admiral Collingwood's dispatch having been forwarded to the King, His Majesty received it about seven o'clock in the morning. The Duke of York arrived at Windsor Castle about eight o'clock, to congratulate their Majesties upon the Victory, and to condole with them on the great and heavy loss by which it was purchased. On hearing of the

[6] Vide p. 233, ante.

[7] Annual Register for 1805, vol. xlvii. p. 238.

death of Lord Nelson, His Majesty was so deeply afflicted that a profound silence of nearly five minutes ensued, before he could give utterance to his feelings. The Queen, on being informed of the news, called the Princesses around her, and read the dispatches aloud, while the whole Royal group are said to have shed tears. The Royal Family then went to Chapel, to return thanks to Almighty God for the success of His Majesty's arms.

The impression made upon Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, by the event, is thus described by Lord Malmesbury:—

"On the receipt of the news of the memorable Battle of Trafalgar (some day in November, 1805), I happened to dine with Pitt, and it was naturally the engrossing subject of our conversation. I shall never forget the eloquent manner in which he described his conflicting feelings when roused in the night to read Collingwood's dispatches. Pitt observed, that he had been called up at various hours in his eventful life by the arrival of news of various hues, but that whether good or bad, he could always lay his head on his pillow and sink into sound sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced brought with it so much to weep over, as well as to rejoice at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was three in the morning [8]."

To this anecdote must be added Lord Malmesbury's eloquent remarks on Lord Nelson's character and death:—

"On the 7th of November the news of the great Naval Victory off Cape Trafalgar, and of the death of Nelson, arrived. A few days after, Pitt made quite a triumphal entry on Lord Mayor's Day into the City, and was in high spirits at dinner. The first impression was not joy, for Nelson fell!—the Hero, who was regretted with all the tenderness of gratitude, and all the more selfish feeling that the bulwark of England was gone, and that this circumstance would be equivalent to Buonaparte for the loss of his Fleet. He added to genius, valour, and energy, the singular power of electrifying all within his atmosphere, and making them only minor constellations to this most luminous planet. The confidence he inspired in his followers, and the terror of his name to our enemies, are what make his loss an irreparable one. Others may be great in many points: nay, admit that another, like himself, might appear again amongst the disciples he has formed, there would yet be wanting all he had done, and all the circumstances of the times in which he did these wondrous deeds. Every victory was greater than the last. Every additional difficulty seemed only to bring out some new proof of the combination and powers of his mind as well as the invincible force of his arms; and had he survived this last victory, the next and the next would have still surpassed each other. All this is sorrow for ourselves, but still more deeply do I regret that he cannot see

[8] Diary, vol. iv. p. 311.

the effect his death has produced. Not one individual who felt joy at this victory, so well-timed and so complete, but first had an instinctive feeling of sorrow, not selfish sorrow (for it came before the reflection of the consequences of his loss to us), but the sorrow of affection and gratitude for what he had done for us; and the first regret was, that he who did the deed should be deprived of the enjoyment which he above all other men, from his character, would have derived from its effects.

"Could he have lived but long enough to have known, that no victory—not even his victories, could weigh in the hearts of Englishmen against his most precious life, it would have been some consolation. I never saw so little public joy. The illumination seemed dim, and, as it were, half clouded by the desire of expressing the mixture of contending feelings; every common person in the streets speaking first of their sorrow for him and then of the victory. Collingwood's letter (which is admirable) proves that it was his art to make all under him love him, and own his superiority without a ray of jealousy. He never was a party man himself, and there never was a party in his fleets. All were governed by one mind, and this made them invincible. He was a true patriot, which is nearly as rare a character as to be the hero he was. He had the arm and spirit of chivalry, and he was the most loyal subject—living and dying for his Country, without reference to those who held the helm under that Sovereign, to whom, next to her, he considered himself bound. This completes a character which cannot, I fear, appear again in our time[9]".

On the 7th of November, the day after the news of the Victory arrived, the following Proclamation was signed by the King:—

"GEORGE R.

"We, taking into our most serious consideration the indispensable duty which we owe to Almighty God for the recent and signal interposition of his good Providence, in addition to the manifold and inestimable benefits which these Kingdoms have from time to time received at his hands, manifested by the blessing bestowed on our arms in the late signal and important Victory obtained by our Fleet under the command of the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, have thought fit, by the advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God for these his mercies be observed throughout those parts of our United Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Thursday the fifth day of December next.

"Dated at the Queen's Palace, the 7th day of November, 1805."

On the same day, Colonel Taylor, by His Majesty's command, conveyed to Vice-Admiral Collingwood his approbation of his conduct and of that of the Fleet:—

[9] Diary and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 311.

"Windsor, November 7th, 1805.

"His Majesty has commanded me to express, in the strongest terms, his feelings of approbation of every part of the conduct of his gallant Fleet, whose glorious and meritorious exertions are made yet more conspicuous, if possible, by the details of the opposition and difficulties which it had to encounter, both during and subsequent to the glorious Action, and by the intrepidity and skill with which they were overcome.

"Every tribute of praise appears to His Majesty due to Lord Nelson, whose loss he can never sufficiently regret; but His Majesty considers it very fortunate that the command, under circumstances so critical, should have devolved upon an Officer of such consummate valour, judgment, and skill, as Admiral Collingwood has proved himself to be, every part of whose conduct he considers deserving his entire approbation and admiration. The feeling manner in which he has described the events of that great day and those subsequent, and the modesty with which he speaks of himself, whilst he does justice, in terms so elegant and ample, to the meritorious exertions of the gallant Officers and men under his command, have also proved extremely satisfactory to the King[1]."

On the 9th of November, the London Gazette announced the advancement of Lord Nelson's brother, Dr. Nelson, who had succeeded to the Barony of Nelson of Hilborough[2], to the dignity of an Earl, and of Vice-Admiral Collingwood, to that of a Baron in the Peerage of England:—

"Whitehall, November 9th, 1805.

"His Majesty has been pleased to grant to the Reverend William Nelson, D.D., now Lord Nelson, brother and heir to the late Lord Viscount Nelson, who, after a series of transcendent and heroic services, fell gloriously on the 21st of October last, in the moment of brilliant and decisive Victory, the Dignity of a Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the names, stiles, and titles of VISCOUNT MERTON and EARL NELSON, OF TRAFALGAR, AND OF MERTON, in the County of Surrey; the same to descend to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and in default thereof, to the heirs male successively of Susannah, wife of Thomas Bolton, Esq., and Catherine, wife of George Matcham, Esq., sisters of the late Lord Viscount Nelson[3].

"His Majesty has also been pleased to grant the Dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to Cuthbert Collingwood, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, stile, and title, of BARON COLLINGWOOD, of CALDBURNE and HETHPOOLE, in the County of Northumberland."

The same Gazette also stated, that a general promotion of Admirals had taken place, and that the King had been

[1] Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, vol. i. p. 219.
[2] Vide vol. iv. p. 540.
[3] A copy of the Patent will be found in the APPENDIX.

pleased to order the rank of Admiral of the Red to be restored to His Majesty's Navy. Vice-Admiral Collingwood, from being a Vice-Admiral of the Blue, became a Vice-Admiral of the Red; the Earl of Northesk was made a Rear-Admiral of the Red; and, of the Captains who were at Trafalgar, Captains Harvey and Grindall obtained their Flags.

Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk was rewarded with the Order of the Bath, on the 29th of January following[4]; and the Naval Medal was bestowed on both the Admirals, all the Captains of Line-of-Battle Ships, and on the two Lieutenants, Pilfold and Stockham, who commanded the Ajax and Thunderer, in the absence of their Captains; but the Medal was withheld from the Captains of the Frigates, and from the Lieutenants who succeeded to the command of the Mars and Bellerophon, on the deaths of Captains Duff and Cooke. Lieutenants Pilfold and Stockham, Lieutenant Quilliam, Acting First-Lieutenant of the Victory, and the First-Lieutenants, Thomas, of the Mars, and Cumby, of the Bellerophon, were made Post-Captains. Three other Lieutenants of the Victory, the First-Lieutenants of all the other Line-of-Battle Ships, and the Second-Lieutenant of the Royal Sovereign, were made Commanders; and four Midshipmen of the Victory, three of the Royal Sovereign, two of the Britannia, and one of each of the other Ships, were made Lieutenants[5].

On the evening of the day on which the news arrived, the event was made the subject of poetical addresses, and of scenic allusions, at both the Royal Theatres; and shortly afterwards, a Dramatic Sketch, in honour of Nelson's memory, was produced at Drury-lane, from the pen of Mr. Cumberland. These tributes were rapturously received by the audience, and the whole Country seemed to think that enough could not be done to show respect and veneration for its Hero.

The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London having voted an Address to the King, the following was presented to His Majesty on the 21st of November:—

"To the King's most Excellent Majesty: the humble, loyal, and dutiful Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, impressed with the most

[4] The delay which took place in rewarding the Earl of Northesk was strongly animadverted upon in Parliament. (Vide 328, post.)

[5] Naval Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 86.

solemn sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of Events, for his late transcendant goodness to this highly-favoured Nation, approach the Throne to offer our warmest congratulations to your Majesty on the recent most glorious and decisive Victory obtained over the Combined Naval Force of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, by your Majesty's Fleet, under the command of the illustrious and ever-to-be-lamented hero Lord Viscount Nelson—a Victory which, while it adds to the British archives, in immortal characters, the proudest conflict that ever graced them, mournfully records the fall of the Chief, who had, in that moment, attained the summit of splendid achievements.

"Far be it, however, from the minds of your Majesty's grateful subjects, to repine at the severe blow which Providence has inflicted; or, while they deplore the loss of distinguished worth, offend the spirit and character of the British name, by forgetting the many obligations they owe to the surviving brave men, whose valour and public spirit will lead them successfully to emulate such heroic deeds, inspired by their loyalty to their beloved King, and their attachment to their native Country."

To that Address His Majesty was pleased to return this gracious answer:—

"I receive with peculiar satisfaction the congratulations of my loyal City of London on the late glorious and decisive Victory, obtained under the blessing of God by my Fleet, commanded by the late Lord Viscount Nelson, over the Combined Force of France and Spain. The skill and intrepidity of my Officers and Seamen were never more conspicuous than on this important occasion. The loss of the distinguished Commander under whom this great Victory has been achieved, I most sincerely and deeply lament; his transcendant and heroic services will, I am persuaded, exist for ever in the recollection of my people; and whilst they tend to stimulate those who come after him to similar exertions, they will prove a lasting source of strength, security, and glory to my Dominions."

Numerous other Addresses to the Throne were presented from different parts of the Empire, all expressing the highest admiration of Nelson, and the deepest grief for his fall.

A Special General Meeting of the Committee of the Patriotic Fund was held at Lloyd's Coffee-House, on the 3rd of December, when the following proceedings took place:—

"Read from the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 6th and 11th, the Gazettes of the 16th, and the Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th of November, letters from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, containing his Lordship's official Dispatches relative to the glorious Victory off Trafalgar, with returns of the names and rank of the Officers, and the number of Seamen and Marines killed and wounded on board His Majesty's Ships in that memorable engagement: and a letter from Rear-Admiral Sir R. J. Strachan, Bart.,

giving an account of the capture of four Line-of-Battle Ships, off Ferrol, by the Squadron under his command, with similar returns of the killed and wounded on that occasion:

"Resolved, That a Vase of the value of five hundred pounds, ornamented with emblematical devices and appropriate inscriptions, illustrative of the transcendant and heroic achievements of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, be presented to his relict, Lady Viscountess Nelson.

"Resolved, That a similar Vase be presented to the present Earl Nelson of Trafalgar, to descend, as an heir-loom, with the title so gloriously acquired.

"Resolved, That a similar Vase be presented to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, who, after the death of the Commander-in-Chief, in the hour of Victory, so nobly completed the triumph of the day.

"Resolved, That Vases of the value of three hundred pounds each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the Right Honourable Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, Bart.

"Resolved, That Swords of the value of one hundred pounds each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the surviving Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships, who shared in the dangers and glory of those memorable Actions.

"Resolved, That the sum of one hundred pounds be presented to each of the Lieutenants of His Majesty's Navy, Captains of Royal Marines, and other Officers, in the second class of His Majesty's Proclamation for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded, and the sum of fifty pounds to each Officer of the same rank who was slightly wounded.

"Resolved, That the sum of fifty pounds be presented to each of the Officers of the third class in His Majesty's Proclamation for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded; and the sum of thirty pounds to each Officer of the same rank who was slightly wounded.

"Resolved, That the sum of forty pounds be presented to each of the Officers in the fourth class of His Majesty's Proclamation for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded; and the sum of twenty-five pounds to each Officer of the same rank, who was slightly wounded; and that additional gratuities be hereafter voted to such Officers as may be disabled in consequence of their wounds.

"Resolved, That the sum of forty pounds be presented to every Seaman or Marine, whose wounds may be attended with disability or loss of limb; the sum of twenty pounds to each Seaman or Marine severely wounded; and the sum of ten pounds to each Seaman or Marine slightly wounded.

"Resolved, That relief be afforded to the widows, orphans, parents,

and relatives, depending for support on the Captains, Officers, Petty Officers, Seamen, and Marines, who fell in these glorious engagements, as soon as their respective situations shall be made known to the Committee.

"Resolved, That Letters be written to Lord Collingwood and Sir R. J. Strachan, requesting they will communicate the above Resolutions to the different Ships under their command, and furnish the Committee with the names of the Private Seamen and Marines killed and wounded, with such particulars as they can collect respecting the widows, orphans, or other relatives who depended for support on the brave men who so gloriously fell in the cause of their Country.

"Resolved, That the sums contributed on the Day of Thanksgiving be exclusively appropriated to the relief of the Seamen, Soldiers, Marines, and Volunteers, wounded; and to the widows, orphans, and relatives of those killed in His Majesty's Service; and that a separate account be kept of the same."

On the 5th of December, the day appointed for a General Thanksgiving for the Victory, was observed, says the Annual Register[6], "with the utmost solemnity in every part of the Empire. All the Churches and Chapels were crowded; all distinctions of sects were done away; and Christian and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, all united in the expression of one feeling of piety and gratitude to the Almighty. In most of the Churches and Chapels, collections were made for the wounded, and for the widows and orphans of the gallant men who died in the service of their Country, and they exceeded even the most sanguine expectation. All ranks, from the highest to the lowest, vied with each other in their patriotic gifts, remembering the last signal of our patriotic hero, 'that England expects every man to do his duty.'"

The praise of Nelson formed a principal subject of the discourses delivered from the pulpits, and many of the sermons were printed. Upwards of £100,000 were collected in aid of the subscription for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who fell.

As the last testimony of gratitude and respect which the Nation could show to NELSON himself, it was determined that his Funeral should be a public one, and that the ceremony should be of the most splendid description. It was also decided that his body should be deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral; and the reason for preferring that Church to Westminster Abbey, appears to have been, that as St. Paul's was intended to be the future depository of Heroes and

[6] Vol. xlvii. p. 433.

Statesmen, there could be no greater Founder of such a Pantheon, than the illustrious Chief of whom the Country had been so gloriously deprived[7]. It has been already stated that the Victory arrived at St. Helen's on the 4th of December; and on displaying the Flag of Lord Nelson, half-mast, all the Ships at Spithead immediately lowered their pendants and ensigns to the same position. The Victory sailed from Spithead for the Nore on the 11th; but owing to contrary winds, was obliged to anchor in Dover roads, where she remained until the 17th. Though Dr. Beatty does not mention the fact, it is said, that on Sunday the 15th, Lord Nelson's body was removed from the cask to a plain elm coffin, in the after cabin of the main deck, under a canopy of colours[8]. Mr. Tyson, who was for many years Secretary to Lord Nelson, Mr. Nayler, York Herald, and Mr. Whitby, having been deputed by the Admiralty to receive the body, embarked on board Commissioner Grey's Yacht. The Corpse was transferred from the Victory to the Yacht, on the 22nd, and conveyed to Greenwich Hospital on the 23rd, when it was placed in the coffin made of part of the main-mast of L'Orient, after the Battle of the Nile, which was presented to Nelson by Captain Hallowell[9]. The Funeral was fixed for the 6th of January; and from the 5th to the 8th, the body lay in state in the Painted Chamber of Greenwich Hospital. On Wednesday the 8th, many Officers of the Navy, the Heralds, and other official persons, proceeded from the Admiralty to Greenwich, where they were joined by the Lord Mayor and the City Companies; and a procession being formed, the Corpse was taken to the river side, and being placed on board the State barge, was followed by numerous other barges, and brought up the river to Whitehall, in great state, whence it was taken to the Admiralty.

7 Dr. Beatty states, that Lord Nelson had himself expressed a wish to Captain Hardy, in case he were to be interred at the Public expence, to be buried in St. Paul's, rather than in Westminster Abbey; alleging as his reason, that he had heard "an old tradition when he was a boy, that Westminster Abbey was built on a spot where once existed a deep morass, and he thought it likely that the lapse of time would reduce the ground on which it now stands to its primitive state of a swamp, without leaving a trace of the Abbey. He also repeated to Captain Hardy, during the last two years of his life, 'should the Public, Hardy, and my Country not bury me, you know what to do with me,' meaning that his body was in that case to be laid by the side of his father, in his native village of Burnham Thorpe."—*Narrative*, pp. 76, 77. The Editor ventures, however, to doubt the accuracy of this statement; and the reason assigned in the text, for St. Paul's having been chosen, is supported by its being called in some verses on the subject written by Mr. Fitzgerald :—

"The future mansion of the Patriot dead."

8 Naval Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 46.

9 Vide vol. iii. p. 89.

On the following day, the 9th of January, the Funeral took place; and the Metropolis never witnessed a more imposing scene. Every Admiral in the British Navy received a special invitation to attend; and many of them, including Admirals Lord Radstock, Viscount Hood, and Sir Charles Morice Pole, as well as a great many other Naval Officers of all ranks, were present. The Chief Mourner was Nelson's early friend, Sir Peter Parker, the Venerable Admiral of the Fleet. The King's Ministers, many of the Great Officers of State, and several other persons of the highest hereditary and official rank, attended the ceremony; and the Prince of Wales, and the other six of the King's sons, did honour alike to themselves and to Nelson, by following his remains to the tomb[1], mingling their tears[2] with those of the people for the National loss.

Two members of the Royal Family, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence, showed their estimation of Nelson by the annexed letters. In reply to Mr. Davison, who appears to have written to His Royal Highness respecting Lord Nelson's dying request in favour of his daughter Horatia and Lady Hamilton, the Prince of Wales wrote the following, generous letter:—

"Brighton, 18th December, 1805.

"I am extremely obliged to you, my dear Sir, for your confidential letter, which I received this morning. You may be well assured, that did it depend upon me, there would not be a wish or desire of our ever to be lamented and much loved friend, as well as adored Hero, that I should not consider as a solemn obligation upon his Friends and his Country to fulfil. It is a duty they owe his memory and his matchless and unrivalled excellence. Such are my sentiments, and I hope that there is still in this Country sufficient honour, virtue, and gratitude, to prompt us to ratify and carry into effect the last dying request of our Nelson; and by that means proving, not only to the whole world, but to future ages, that we were worthy of having such a man belonging to us.

"It must be needless, my dear Sir, to discuss over with you in particular the irreparable loss dear Nelson ever must be, not merely to his Friends, but to his Country, especially at the present crisis;

[1] The official and fullest account of Lord Nelson's Funeral, will be found in the APPENDIX. It formed the subject of numerous publications, the best of which was illustrated by coloured engravings by Pugin.

[2] "When the Duke of Clarence ascended the steps of St. Paul's, he suddenly stopped, and took hold of the colours that were borne by the Victory's men, and after conversing with one of the gallant tars, he burst into tears. On the entrance of the tattered flags within the communion-rails, the Prince of Wales, after conversing with the Duke of Clarence, sent and requested they might be brought as near the grave as possible, and on observing them, although at some distance, the tears fell from His Royal Highness."—*Annual Register*, vol. xlviii. p. 360.—

and during the present most awful contest, his very name was a host of itself: Nelson and Victory were one and the same to us, and it carried dismay and terror to the hearts of our enemies. But the subject is too painful a one to dwell longer upon. As to myself, all that I can do, either publicly or privately, to testify the reverence, the respect I entertain for his memory as a Hero, and as the greatest public character that ever embellished the page of history, independent of what I can with the greatest truth term the enthusiastic attachment I felt for him as a friend, I consider it as my duty to fulfil; and therefore, though I may be prevented from taking that ostensible and prominent situation at his funeral which I think my birth and high rank entitle me to claim, still nothing shall prevent me in a private character following his remains to their last resting-place; for though the station and character may be less ostensible, less prominent, yet the feelings of the heart will not, therefore, be the less poignant, or the less acute.—I am, my dear Sir, with the greatest truth, ever very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P."[3]

His Royal Highness also caused a letter to be written to Mr. Angerstein, in which he expressed a confident hope, that from the ardent zeal which he and his patriotic coadjutors had manifested on all great National occasions, some Public memorial would arise, under their auspices, on which the high achievements of Lord Nelson might be durably recorded to future ages. His Royal Highness concluded by requesting, that to any plan which should be thus proposed and adopted, his name might be added, with the sum of five hundred guineas annexed to it[4].

The Duke of Clarence's letters to two of the Trafalgar Captains, show the same friendship for Nelson which his correspondence with him displays:—

TO CAPTAIN HARGOOD.

"Dear Hargood, "Bushy House, Friday Night.

"I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart that you have at last had an opportunity of convincing your brother Officers of those merits which I have long known you to possess. Everybody that had the honour and glory of sharing in the Action, speak and write in the highest terms of the Belleisle and her gallant Commander: to me it is a matter of great satisfaction that my old Shipmate is so well thought of.

"I hope to see you, that we may converse over the Action, and that I may be master of the subject; besides, I must consider you as a child of my own, and we are to celebrate the Victory here, which I have not yet done till you can be present. I wish another

[3] Clarke and M'Arthur, 8vo., vol. iii. p. 207; and United Service Journal for 1827, part ii. p. 97.

[4] White's Life of Nelson, p. 398.

brave fellow could have witnessed our rejoicings, but he is gone;—I mean my friend Nelson. You knew well my attachment and friendship for him, and you can, therefore, easily conceive what I must have felt, at the moment of the most brilliant Victory, to lose my friend covered with glory, and entitled to the first honours of a grateful Country. I did not think it was possible, but for one of my dearest relations, to have felt what I have, and what I do still, for poor Nelson.

"I shall now conclude, as I trust to see you shortly; but I must request you will let me know the day that we may arrange your reception. You cannot refuse the pleasure to several young ladies and gentlemen, who talk of nothing else but 'the brave Captain Hargood.' Adieu! and ever believe me, dear Hargood, yours most sincerely,

"WILLIAM [5]."

TO CAPTAIN SIR EDWARD BERRY, BART.

[Autograph.]

"Dear Sir, "Bushy House, April 2nd, 1806.

"Your letter of 15th last November reached me of course, and by some accident has been mislaid; since which public affairs and indisposition have kept me silent. But yours from St. Domingo brought Trafalgar back to my mind, and I now therefore take up my pen to congratulate you on being safe after two such Actions. Many and brave men fell on the 23rd October, and the success was brilliant, but the Country has to lament her Hero, and through life I cannot forget my friend.

"In this last Action everything has been done that discipline, valour, and zeal could effect; and it is a real pleasure to me that wherever our Navy is employed, the brave fellows go to certain victory. I congratulate you most heartily on being quite well after two such Actions, and hope you will be in many more, and enjoy in them all the same good fortune, both publicly and privately, as you have off Cadiz and off St. Domingo.—Ever believe me, dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

"WILLIAM."

This is, perhaps, the appropriate place to advert to the fate of the two Admirals who commanded the French and Spanish Fleets at Trafalgar, and who speedily followed their conqueror to the grave[6].

[5] Memoir of Admiral Sir William Hargood, p. 156.

[6] The following English Admirals slain in Battle, or taken prisoners by the Enemy, collected from the earliest periods, is given in the "Naval Chronicle," vol. xv. p. 409:—Admiral Sir Thomas Knevet, blown up in action with the French Fleet, 1512; Admiral Sir Edward Howard, slain in action with the French Fleet, near Brest, 1513; Admiral Sir Richard Granville, slain in action with the Spanish Fleet, 1591; Rear-Admiral Peck, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1652; Admiral Deane, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1653; Rear-Admiral Sampson, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1665; Vice-Admiral Lawson, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1665; Vice-Admiral Sir

Admiral Gravina, whose arm was shattered by a grape shot in the Action, died of the effects of the wound on the 9th of March 1806; and the event was thus communicated to Lord Collingwood by the Marquis de Solana:—

"Cadiz, March.

"It is too true that Admiral Gravina died on the 9th instant, from the effects of his wound. His loss has been very afflicting to me; for he had all the qualities of a true Officer and a good friend. The feeling expressions with which your Excellency mentions him are very flattering to me; and I value them the more from the generous character of your Excellency, who knows so well how to discover real merit, and to appreciate it accordingly[7]."

Lord Malmesbury relates the following remarkable circumstance, which affords another proof that the rivalry of great men tends to increase their esteem for each other:—

"Dr. Fellowes, who lately travelled round Spain to investigate the causes of the yellow fever, saw Gravina (the Spanish Admiral at Trafalgar) lying wounded at Cadiz, a few days before his death. He had refused to have his arm amputated. He told Dr. Fellowes, 'I am a dying man, but I hope and trust that I am going to join the greatest Hero the world almost ever produced.' Dr. Fellowes related this himself to Lady Malmesbury[8]."

The fate of Vice-Admiral Villeneuve was much more lamentable. He was conveyed a prisoner to England, and having obtained his parole, landed at Morlaix on the 22nd or 23rd of April 1806, and proceeded to Rennes, where he is supposed to have committed suicide on the 26th of that month, to avoid encountering the frowns of Buonaparte, and the chance of degradation, if not disgrace. A letter from Mr. Pole Carew, dated at Antony, in Cornwall, on the 3rd of December 1805, to Lord Sidmouth, contains the following

William Berkeley, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1666; Admiral Sir George Ayscue, taken prisoner by the Dutch Fleet, 1666; Rear-Admiral Kinnes, killed in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1666; Admiral the Earl of Sandwich, killed in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1672; Rear-Admiral Sir Fletcher Holles, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1672; Admiral Sir Edward Spragge, slain in battle with the Dutch Fleet, 1673; Rear-Admiral Carter, killed in battle off La Hogue, 1692; Rear-Admiral Benbow, died of his wounds in the action with Du Casse, 1702; Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, slain in action with the French and Spanish Fleets off Cape Trafalgar, 1805. To this list is added the names of French Admirals killed or taken prisoners by the English, from the earliest time; a list of Dutch Admirals killed or taken prisoners by the English, from the most early date; Spanish Admirals killed or taken prisoners by the English, from the earliest period: giving a total of English Admirals, slain, &c., 16; French Admirals, slain, &c., 21; Dutch Admirals, slain, &c., 29; Spanish Admirals, slain, &c., 16;— making a total of 82.

[7] Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, vol. i. p. 207.

[8] Diary and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 354.

anecdote of Admiral Villeneuve. After speaking of Nelson's death, Mr. Carew said—

"Indeed the words of Villeneuve, who was spoken with off Falmouth, while I was there, bespeak a little the impression made on the Enemy by the general conduct of our Fleet. 'To any other Nation (said he) the loss of a Nelson would have been irreparable, but in the British Fleet off Cadiz, every Captain was a Nelson [9]."

Lord Sidmouth's reply to that letter on the 12th of the same month, afforded him an opportunity of paying an elegant tribute to his friend's memory:—

"Your report of Villeneuve's language delighted me, as indeed I have been by every particular of that unrivalled achievement, the value and importance of which are continually increasing. Of my friend, whom I truly loved and honoured, I can only say, 'Felix vitæ claritate, felix opportunitate mortis!'"

Great and unprecedented as had been the Honours paid to Nelson's memory, it yet remained for the Legislature to show the National gratitude for his services, by measures which should perpetuate his deeds, and provide adequately for those who might be destined to bear a name which he had rendered immortal.

Parliament met on the 21st of January 1806, and was opened by Commission. The Speech delivered by the Lord Chancellor commenced in the following manner:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—In pursuance of the authority given to us by His Majesty's commission under the great seal, amongst other things, to declare the cause of his holding this Parliament, His Majesty has directed us particularly to call your attention to the most decisive success with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless His Majesty's Arms at Sea, since you were last assembled in Parliament.

"The activity and perseverance of His Majesty's Fleets, have been conspicuously displayed in the pursuit and attack of the different Squadrons of the Enemy, and every encounter has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the Naval force of the Powers with whom His Majesty is at war; but the Victory obtained over the Combined Fleet of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, has manifested, beyond any exploit recorded even in the Annals of the British Navy, the skill and enterprise of His Majesty's Officers and Seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the Naval strength of the Enemy, has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the maritime superiority of this Country, but has essentially contributed to the security of His Majesty's Dominions.

"His Majesty most deeply regrets that the triumph of that day should have been unhappily clouded by the fall of the heroic Com-

[9] Autograph in the Sidmouth Papers.

mander under whom it was achieved; and he is persuaded that you will feel that this lamented, but most glorious termination of a series of transcendent exploits, claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of this Country, and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling His Majesty to annex to those Honours which he has conferred on the late Lord Viscount Nelson, such a mark of National munificence, as may preserve, to the latest posterity, the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example."

In moving the Address in the House of Lords, the EARL OF ESSEX observed:—

"The activity and perseverance which had been displayed in pursuing the fleets of the enemy, the vigour with which they were attacked when found, and the admirable skill with which that attack was directed, were among the most brilliant achievements in the Naval annals of England. Great as the Victory of Trafalgar was, the universal sorrow with which the intelligence of the heroic Commander who fell in it was received by the Country, proved that the triumph of that day had not been cheaply purchased. Venerating, as their Lordships undoubtedly must, the services, the character of the immortal Commander of the British Fleet upon that occasion, with the sentiment which every one must feel of the great services which he had rendered to the Country, asserting at once the supremacy of its Naval power, and providing, by the almost total destruction of the Combined Fleet, for its safety, it was impossible that any one in the House could feel disposed to oppose that part of His Majesty's Speech which recommended to Parliament to enable His Majesty to annex to the Honours which he had conferred on the family of that Commander a fit mark of national munificence."

The Address was seconded by LORD CARLETON, who said:—

"The glorious Victory of Trafalgar is an event of such magnitude and importance, that it is hardly possible for the imagination to conceive any other more transcendant: it is superior to almost every other Naval action for which our history is so famous. The unparalleled valour displayed by all the individuals engaged in that Action, and the unexampled ability and skill with which it was conducted, has been a subject of admiration to this Country and the whole of the world. Never was so great an enemy so completely destroyed. The Naval skill and the valour displayed on that glorious occasion was never equalled, and will never be surpassed. Every man who recollects the signal given by the Hero who achieved the successes, 'England expects that every man will do his duty,' must be struck with a still higher degree of admiration of his character. We never can speak or think with sufficient admiration of this great Victory, nor sufficiently lament the fate of him whose great mind planned the attack that was crowned with such brilliant success. I have thus far expressed my feelings on this subject, because I wish to direct your attention to the importance of

that part of His Majesty's Speech which recommends a munificent recompence to the representatives of the deceased Hero, to whom every individual in the Country, from the highest to the lowest, is so greatly indebted for his security."

Lord Grenville observed:—

"There could not be the slightest difference of opinion, with respect to that part of the Address which related to the Victory off Trafalgar: every man must concur in any measure, calculated to evince the sense which the Nation entertains of the brilliant and meritorious services of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, and to enable His Majesty so make the most splendid provision for those to whom his honours had devolved."

In the House of Commons the Address was moved by Lord Francis Spencer, who, with reference to that part of the Speech which alluded to the Battle of Trafalgar and Lord Nelson, remarked:—

"For those brilliant successes of His Majesty's Arms by sea, which have so eminently distinguished the Naval history of the past year, I am confident the House will fully coincide in the sentiments expressed in His Majesty's Speech; but, above all, in what relates to the glorious and ever-memorable Victory off Cape Trafalgar, under the gallant and justly regretted Hero who achieved that proud triumph for his Country before he had nobly fallen in her cause, and left her to deplore a loss, in which, I am convinced, every man who hears him, sincerely participates the concern expressed by His Majesty; and I feel the strongest reliance that the House, in its liberality, and justice to the memory of that great and gallant Commander, will cheerfully meet the Royal wishes, and enable His Majesty to add to the Honours already conferred upon his family, such signal rewards as shall mark the public gratitude for the important victories, and the public security which the Nation so eminently owes to his prowess. But, Sir, while the Country has such proud and distinguished cause of triumph in her Naval successes during the last year, and more particularly in that of the Victory off Cape Trafalgar, I am confident the House must deeply participate in those feelings of regret, expressed by His Majesty, for the reverses sustained by our Allies on the Continent, and the melancholy issue of the late campaign."

Mr. Ainslie seconded the Address; but he merely adverted in common-place words to the Battle of Trafalgar. On the side of the Opposition Lord Henry Petty (now Marquis of Lansdowne) spoke of Nelson in the most generous terms:—

"To that part of the proposed Address which relates to the glorious Victory off Cape Trafalgar, and the respect to be paid to the memory of the Hero whose loss the Country has to deplore on the occasion of that memorable day, I am sure there is none in this House can have any objection. When alive he united all men

around him in the cause of his Country; and now he is no more, all men are and ought to be animated with but one sentiment and one feeling, to honour and perpetuate his memory."

The Debate was concluded by a notice by LORD CASTLEREAGH, Secretary of State for the War Department, of a Motion of "Thanks to the brave Officers and Seamen of the Fleet which had gained the brillant Naval Victory on the 21st of October, off Cape Trafalgar," and to those of Sir Richard Strachan's Squadron.

On the 28th of January, LORD HAWKESBURY, Secretary of State for the Home Department, moved in the House of Lords—

"The Thanks of the House to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, and the officers and men under his command, for their conduct in the Action, and achieving the glorious Victory off Trafalgar, on the 21st of October last."

"In stating the grounds on which that motion proceeded, respecting which, he felt confident, there would be no difference of opinion in that House, he believed it would not be deemed irrelevant in him, before he proceeded farther, to endeavour to pay that tribute of applause, which they all must feel was due to that great and illustrious Commander, under whose auspices that signal and glorious Victory was achieved, whom it was the misfortune of the Country to lose in the moment of victory; but a consummation, so glorious to himself, incontrovertibly established his claim to the meed of immortal honour. That, however, was not the sole misfortune the Country had recently experienced. She had the misfortune, within a few months, to lose two of the most distinguished military and political characters that ever graced her annals, at an early, and about the same period of their respective lives; under circumstances, and at a time, when all the abilities, vigour, talent, and energy of the Country, was requisite for her preservation. He felt, that part of what he now alluded to, was foreign from the subject he had regularly to observe upon, but so much more strongly the occasion which suggested it, that he could not repress its expression. His Lordship proceeded to expatiate upon the character of the other illustrious individual who was the subject of his recent general panegyric. The whole life of that great Officer, he observed, was devoted to the service of his Country; and never did there exist a person more fully and variously qualified effectually to forward that service, than the noble and gallant Viscount to whom he alluded. In contemplating his professional character, it was impossible to refrain from adverting to the merits of those who had the opportunity of improving those talents, and directing that spirit of enterprise and intrepidity which displayed itself in his earlier years. On this head, much credit was due to Sir Peter Parker, to Lord Hood, to Earl St. Vincent, and other distinguished officers, to whom such opportunities were afforded. To these, for their early distinguishing and calling into action the important qualifications with

which the late gallant Viscount was so eminently endowed, much praise was due; and so far, it might be said, those distinguished officers, in the first instance, contributed their parts to the glorious and important services he subsequently rendered. It was not, however, to these great and pre-eminent considerations, of the important victories of the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, that their Lordships were alone to look for the merits and perfections of that gallant Officer; on various occasions, even in the earliest part of his professional life, they were eminently to be found. His various services, as a subordinate officer, while on the Mediterranean station, were, in that point of view, particularly to be regarded. In that quarter, not only his zeal and intrepidity were repeatedly manifested, but his talents and professional skill, and in a way which was unequalled by any other officer in similar circumstances; and the same superior display of talent and enterprise was uniformly exhibited by him on every occasion of separate command. When His Majesty was first pleased to order a specific remuneration for his services, on the formal representation thereof, which, on his part, became necessary on such an occasion, that illustrious Officer had truly set forth, that he was concerned in the capture of seven ships of the line, ten frigates, and a number of smaller armed vessels; that he had been one hundred and twenty times in action with His Majesty's enemies, that he had lost one of his limbs and one of his eyes. These were among the services of his early life, when he was yet comparatively unknown to the Country as a distinguished Commander, and previous to those glorious and immortal victories which eternised his fame to all posterity. On all these more important occasions, to which extensive command and proportionate responsibility were attached, his powers and exertions appeared to grow and to increase, in proportion to the magnitude and importance of the service on which he was employed.—The late glorious Action off Trafalgar, the circumstances of which were so recent and so fresh in all their Lordships' minds, it was needless to expatiate on; suffice it to say, that in extensive and important consequences, it exceeded everything of the kind that graced the annals of the Country. That glorious Victory bore the same proportion in its magnitude, brilliancy, and important consequences, to the achievement at Copenhagen, that the latter did to the previously unparalleled Victory of the Nile, and which, in fact, that victory did, in all those respects, to every other that preceded it. It seemed as if the energies of his mind, and the powers of his exertion, expanded and progressively increased, on the respective occasions of those glorious victories, and in each of them he seemed to surpass what he had exhibited in the foregoing instance. The superior endowments possessed by the gallant Admiral, were not to be considered alone as operating through himself; his example and influence pervaded all those who were placed under him in command; his merits were not confined to that glorious energy he displayed in the heat of action; the coolness and discrimination of his mind formed a pre-eminent trait in his character; his promptitude to make the most of every advantage that presented itself; a

most striking instance of which, and of unprecedented presence of mind, was manifested in his conduct in the critical and important affair at Copenhagen. These, however, were far from constituting the whole of his merits as an officer; his breast burned with a pure, a noble, a generous love of glory, which was the main spring of all his heroic actions; and he had the faculty of electrifying all those around him with a similar enthusiasm. No marks of ferocity or cruelty, which so often stained the laurels of successful victories, ever dimmed the lustre of his achievements; but humanity and mercy were the characteristics of his glorious conduct after the hour of victory. His conduct in private life was equally admirable with that which he uniformly manifested in his professional career. All the virtues which could adorn human nature, were to be found in the illustrious Nelson. The attribute of mercy was what most eminently distinguished him. In the language of the poet, it was not his wish to

> 'Wade through slaughter to a throne,
> Or shut the gates of mercy to mankind.'

"It was impossible the glorious example of such a man could be without a correspondent effect on the character of others. In this way was to be considered the conduct of many of those who were placed under his command. The high opinion which the gallant Lord expressed for that meritorious Officer, whose conduct was more regularly the subject of consideration that night, was equally creditable to both. On leaving this country, he expressed his satisfaction at the appointment of the noble Collingwood to the command; and his perfect confidence in his skill, talents, and exertions. He the proceeded to comment on the gallant and meritorious conduct of Lord Collingwood, in the Action off Trafalgar, and of which many of the most skilful of the profession spoke in terms of unqualified applause. The first motion which he had to submit to their Lordships was, for the thanks of the House to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood; the second was for the like to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk; and, lastly, to the subordinate officers and seamen under their command; and, if ever skill and bravery were manifested by British officers and seamen, on any one occasion more than another, it was in the Action off Trafalgar. Of this splendid and important Victory, there was one prominent circumstance to be considered; namely, the great inequality of the contending fleets. He had to apologize to their Lordships, for having detained them rather longer than was usual on such instances, but the proportionably greater magnitude and importance of the particular occasion, he trusted would plead his excuse. He then moved, 'That the Thanks of this House be given to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood for his very gallant and meritorious conduct in the command of the fleet under the late Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, in the Action off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October last, and that the Lord Chancellor do communicate the said thanks to his Lordship.'

"The Duke of Clarence stated that he did not rise for the purpose of proposing an amendment or creating a differ-

ence of opinion respecting the resolution which the noble Secretary of State had introduced, with a degree of eloquence and feeling which claimed his particular thanks. He had, however, prepared some words, which, after a few observations, he would read to the House, and their Lordships would adopt them, if they thought proper. His Royal Highness then went into the details of the professional life of Lord Nelson, during the twenty-three years he had the honour of being acquainted with him. He stated, that one of the most excellent features in the character of his late gallant friend, was that devout sense of religion which he preserved in every situation of life. As a proof of what he had mentioned, he would read, with permission of the House, the last lines which Lord Nelson had written. So composed was he, that when the fleet was advancing to force the Enemy's line, and before the firing began, which did not commence until after the line had been broken, he sat down and wrote what he should now read. The illustrious Duke then read a prayer, the first sentence of which was to the following purport: 'May Almighty God, whom I worship with all my heart, for the sake of my country and of all Europe, grant me a glorious victory!' The last sentence expressed his determination not to forget 'the duties of humanity;' and the prayer concluded with 'Amen, Amen, Amen.' His Royal Highness then read the form of words in which he wished the resolution should be couched; differing but little from that moved by Lord Hawkesbury, except that it conveyed the thanks of the House to Lord Collingwood, for 'his decision in destroying the ships which had been captured.' His Royal Highness did not think such an amendment unusual; a similar one, he imagined, had been moved, when a noble Lord near him (Earl Spencer) was at the head of the Admiralty.

"Earl Spencer said, he did not recollect any such amendment. He was glad that what fell from the Royal Duke, prevented his giving a silent vote upon a subject of such importance, and on which he felt so deeply. He fully agreed with everything that fell from the noble Secretary of State; but though the Country had to lament the loss of Lord Nelson, yet he trusted his glorious example would inspire the breasts of other commanders, in every particular to emulate his admirable conduct.

"Lord Hawkesbury thought it unusual to word such motions so minutely, which it was the usage of Parliament to express in the most general terms. He should, however, willingly adopt the spirit of that part of the amendment which recognised the services performed by Lord Collingwood, after the Battle of Trafalgar.

"Lord Hood rose and spoke as follows:—I cannot refrain from troubling your Lordships with a few words, from the very high opinion I have long entertained of that truly meritorious Officer Lord Collingwood, as well as of the Earl of Northesk, and the very many Captains I have a high respect for, that bore so conspicuous a part in the glorious and unparalleled Victory of Trafalgar; and I will venture to presage, that the noble Lord now in the command of His Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, wants only an oppor-

tunity to prove himself another Nelson, in judgment as well as valour. No one is better able to estimate the transcendent merit of the late Viscount Nelson than I am, as it was my good fortune to have his Lordship three years under my command, with opportunities of placing him in situations that gave full scope for the exercise of that zeal, judgment, and bravery, I well knew to be inherent in him; therefore, whatever tends to perpetuate to the latest posterity the great and brilliant services of my late much lamented, and truly respected friend, must have my most cordial approbation: and to give it, is highly gratifying to my feelings. After what has been so very ably, fully, and justly expressed by the noble mover, it would ill become me to trespass longer on your Lordships' indulgence.

"Lord Sidmouth said, he could not content himself with giving a silent vote upon the motion before their Lordships. The events of the last summer were among the most brilliant achievements which were to be found in the Naval annals of England. There was not one of those actions which was not entitled to distinct praise; but the Victory of Trafalgar stood proudly pre-eminent, and eclipsed the glory which would otherwise have encircled them. He should consider it as one of the happiest circumstances of his life that he had been connected in administration with a noble Earl (St. Vincent), to whose judgment the selection of Lord Nelson for the command in the Mediterranean was to be attributed. Of the zeal and distinguished talents of that great Commander he had occasion to judge, and the result of his judgment was, that no officer was ever better qualified for the important enterprises which had been committed to him. He had left behind him a name which would ever exist in the memory of his countrymen. The feelings which his glorious but lamented death had excited, even smothered and suppressed the exultation which would otherwise have followed the great event that had occasioned it. It was one of the great qualities inherent in his character, that he inspired all around him with the same gallant enthusiasm and ardent zeal in the service of his country which he felt himself. In the prime of his life, in the blaze of his fame, he had fallen. His death had made an indelible and lasting impression on the hearts of his countrymen, but it had this of consolation in it, that it left a glowing example to future times. With the highest opinion of the conduct of Lord Collingwood in the late Action, for which no praise could be too great, he wished the illustrious Duke would not insist upon the amendment which he had read. He thought it advisable, upon such occasions, to adhere as closely as possible to former precedents.

"Lord Hawkesbury observed, with respect to the latter part of the Royal Duke's amendment, the insertion of the words 'and for his conduct after the Action,' would be totally unobjectionable, and generally met His Royal Highness's idea. The words were, therefore, ordered to be inserted; and the motion so amended, was agreed to, *nem. diss.*—His Lordship then proposed the thanks of the House to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, for his conduct in the said Action, and to the several captains and subordinate officers

in the Fleet. A short conversation here took place between the Duke of Clarence, the Lord Chancellor, and the noble Secretary of State, chiefly on the most regular form of couching the motions: H. R. H. thinking the thanks to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk ought to be the subject of a separate motion. At length the propriety of this observation seemed to be admitted, and the motion was divided accordingly. The thanks of the House to the petty officers and seamen, and to the Royal Marines followed, and were voted with equal unanimity. The thanks of the House were then moved also to Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, for his gallant and meritorious conduct, in the capture of a squadron of the Enemy, &c., and afterwards to the officers and seamen under his command.

"The DUKE OF CLARENCE took the opportunity to express his very high approbation of the character and professional conduct of the gallant officer in question, particularly on the important occasion which gave rise to the present motion.

"The DUKE OF NORFOLK took the opportunity to make some general observations, respecting the conduct and character of certain other officers, who were, perhaps, equally deserving of the praise and the gratitude of their country. He alluded to officers who were employed in hard and close services, watching the enemy year after year, and through all weathers; who displayed the greatest zeal and talents, and wanted only the opportunity to signalize themselves, perhaps as brilliantly as those who were more fortunate. Such, for instance, was the case of that veteran deserving officer, Admiral Cornwallis. With respect also to Sir Robert Calder, he seemed to express his regret at what had taken place. He certainly, with an inferior force, had obtained a decided victory, and made captures. He meant not to arraign the decision of the court-martial; but, after such conduct on the part of that respectable officer, he regretted things had so turned out, as that he could not be included in the vote of thanks.

"The EARL OF ST. VINCENT said a few words in consequence of what fell from the noble Duke, but in so low a tone, that we could scarcely catch a word from him. He seemed to express his sense of the merits of Sir R. Calder, as an officer; but to be of opinion, that the topic alluded to, with a reference to the good of His Majesty's Naval Service, should not be made matter of parliamentary discussion.—The question was then put: the thanks to Sir R. Strachan, &c., were voted unanimously, and the Lord Chancellor was desired to communicate them in the usual way."

On the same day the Thanks of the House of Commons were proposed by LORD CASTLEREAGH, who said:—

"In pursuance of the notice which he had yesterday given, he wished to call the attention of the House to the important subject which he trusted the House would allow that he was justified in having postponed to the present moment. He meant the transcendant Victory gained by Lord Nelson, and the glorious Victory subsequently obtained by Sir R. Strachan, of both of which he felt

his complete inadequacy to speak in terms in any degree commensurate with their merits. He would preface his address to the House on this occasion by a short history of the Naval Campaign, if it be so called, that preceded these brilliant actions. The operations of this campaign commenced with the sailing of a French squadron from Rochefort to the West Indies, which was immediately followed by Admiral Cochrane. This squadron only gave an opportunity to the brave Admiral Prevost of showing how an infinitely inferior British force could defend itself from hostile attacks. A squadron of eighteen sail of the line then sailed from Toulon, which was instantly pursued by the immortal Nelson[1]; and although they were considerably superior in numbers, and in strength, they quitted the West Indies without having attained any object of the least importance. And here it was impossible for him to forget the gloomy apprehensions, that were at that time entertained by some individuals of this House. There was no disaster that could befal the country, which they did not predict, as the probable consequence of what they were pleased to term the shameful neglect of His Majesty's Ministers. But not only were these prophecies of irreparable injury to our commerce and colonial possessions, completely falsified by the event, but, owing to the able arrangements made by the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, the Country had been enabled to avert the apprehended danger, and to heap destruction on the enemy. No sooner had advice been received from Lord Nelson, that the French squadron had left the West Indies, on their return to Europe, and that it was his intention to push for the Straights' mouth, with the hope of intercepting them, that the Admiralty ordered the Brest squadron to suspend the blockade of that port, and the Rochefort squadron to proceed off Cape Finisterre, to reinforce Admiral Calder's division. Thus, there were three squadrons, which, by the able management of the Admiralty Board, were placed in situations in which they were likely to meet with

[1] To Lord Castlereagh's further testimony as a Minister of the Crown to Nelson's merits, it is pleasing to add the following beautiful letter to his Lordship, from his step-mother (Frances wife of Robert Earl of Londonderry, and daughter of Charles first Earl Camden), in reply to one in which he had communicated the news of Trafalgar and Nelson's death to her:—

"Mount Stewart, (Ireland) 15th November, 1805.

"I thank you a thousand times for your interesting letter. Never was there, indeed, an event so mournfully and so triumphantly important to England as the Battle of Trafalgar. The sentiment of lamenting the individual, more than rejoicing in the Victory, shows the humanity and affection of the people of England; but their good sense, upon reflection, will dwell only on the conquest, because no death at a future moment could have been more glorious, and might have been less so. The Public would never have sent him on another expedition: his health was not equal to another effort, and he might have yielded to the more natural, but less imposing efforts of more worldy honours: whereas he now begins his immortal career, having nothing to achieve upon earth, and bequeathing to the English Fleet, a legacy which they alone are able to improve. Had I been his wife or his mother, I would rather have wept him dead, than seen him languish on a less splendid day. In such a death there is no sting, and in such a grave everlasting Victory."—Clarke and M'Arthur.

the enemy. This event happened accordingly, and the result was, the engagement with the squadron commanded by Sir Robert Calder, which terminated in considerable success; two sail of the line having been captured from the enemy. Immediately afterwards the French Fleet meeting with that from Ferrol, retired to Cadiz, to the amount of thirty-four sail of the line. Not many days elapsed, before a British force was stationed in the Bay of Cadiz, adequate to the blockade of the enemy's fleet; and towards the conclusion of the month of September, Lord Nelson assumed the command, previous to the great action then approaching. Lord Nelson detached a division of this fleet to the Mediterranean. Fortunate, indeed, was it for his fame that he had done so, for it was indisputably apparent that nothing but the knowledge of this reduction of Lord Nelson's force, and the supposition that it amounted only to twenty-one sail, instead of twenty-seven, would have induced the Combined Fleets to come out and offer battle. Their object was to form a junction with the division in Carthagena, and then to have appeared in the Mediterranean with a fleet approaching to fifty sail, which in the existing circumstances of Europe, they imagined would have excited a sensation considerably favourable to their views of ambition and aggrandisement. When he contemplated the glorious engagement which had been the result of this attempt on the part of the French, he felt it difficult to select any feature on which to dwell with peculiar praise. Never was there a more complete victory by a superior force over an inferior. Never was there a more complete victory by an inferior force, when contending with a superior force. In every view of the subject, which even professional men could possibly take, they scarcely could suppose it in the power of one fleet to capture from another, not stationary, but under sail, the great number of nineteen sail. It was a new species of success in our Naval annals, and went practically far beyond what theorists had conceived it possible to accomplish in their speculations. The wonders attending this most brilliant Action, were not confined to the day of combat. He should feel that he had fulfilled but half his duty to the brave men who shared in that engagement, if he did not assign to them the praise which was their due, for the firmness and perseverance with which, after having contended with the enemy, they proceeded successfully to struggle with the elements. Then was it too, that that generous spirit of self-devotion to the benefit of their fellow-creatures, those exalted principles, which it had been the glory of ancient France to cultivate, and which it has been the endeavour of modern France to extinguish; then was it that those feelings which became every man to entertain and every man to exercise, were proudly manifested. But, however our admiration might be excited by this illustrious Action, it was impossible not to consider, with similar sensations, the achievement of the division under Sir Richard Strachan, in which that gallant Admiral took from the enemy everything that they presented to him. What effect the exertions of these brave men might have had on the affairs of Europe, under more fortunate auspices, it was impossible to calculate. They had withdrawn twenty-five sail of the line from the service

of the enemy, fifteen of which were French, and ten Spanish. Of twenty-five, ten had been transferred to the service of this country. The relative situation, therefore, of the Navy of this country, and of the Navies of our enemies, was altered by a difference of thirty-five sail of the line, being equal to nearly one half the whole naval force of the enemy. This advantage, however, was not the sole result; but from the admirable superintendence of the Admiralty Board, no interruption had arisen from the injury which our fleets necessarily sustained in these severe contests. Other ships were prepared immediately to supply these deficiencies. It was not the least extraordinary circumstance attending these brilliant transactions, that after such a combat with the enemy, and such a contest with the elements, we had the heartfelt satisfaction to see every individual ship that had been engaged, brought back safely to a British port, and the enemy were thus precluded from the ostentatious self-congratulations, in which they doubtless would have indulged, had a British vessel fallen a victim to their arms or to the fury of the elements. Every one must feel, that the security of the empire, so far as it depended on our Naval strength, was placed on a firmer basis than ever He could not refrain from mentioning, that the Victory of Trafalgar had happened on a day which was calculated to make the head of the French Empire feel, that there was yet a Power in the world, capable of controlling his restless ambition. On that very day he had been declaring the designs which he meditated against this country, and on that very day he received in the chastisement of his fleets, a lesson which, it was to be hoped, he would never forget, and which would teach him what he had to expect from the gallantry and determined bravery of Britons.—But it was impossible that these exploits should be performed, and that the country should be satisfied with a silent admiration. He pretended not to do justice to that misfortune, in the loss of the noble Hero who commanded in chief, to which, however, justice had been done by the unaffected letter of the gallant Admiral who had succeeded him. Such indeed were the feelings of regret at the decease of the noble Viscount, that it became a question, whether they did not exceed the exultation which his victory had occasioned. There was everything to praise in the character of the noble individual he had alluded to, whose life from his very infancy had been a life of heroism. There was something apparently intuitive in his nature, which prompted him to the execution of grand schemes, which appeared to be out of the resources of his profession. He had the power of attaching individuals to him by his amiable qualities, he controlled them by the superior mind which he displayed, and his genius and his fortune conspired to enable him to lead them to successful enterprise. In considering the whole of the victories which had shed lustre on his name, it would be found, that each was marked with traits peculiar and distinguishing. If the House reverted to the Battle of Aboukir, they must recollect his daring and successful attempt to pass between the line and the shore. His conduct at Copenhagen evinced equal originality; and indeed his whole life was a series of brilliant achievements, which

proved the magnitude and the variety of the resources of his capacious mind. In considering the loss, we should also consider every thing that could afford consolation. It too frequently happened that great souls were enshrined in feeble frames. This was the case with that illustrious character; and he contended with the various maladies by which he was assailed, with so little success, that the day might possibly have arrived when he might be placed in opposition to the enemy with diminished powers. It was therefore some degree of consolation, that the great history of his life had been wound up in honour, that his fame was out of the reach of misfortune. He was sure that he should disappoint the House, if he did not shortly advert to what His Majesty in his beneficence had determined to do, to mark the sense which the Crown entertained of his services. The individual was past gratitude, but the name remained; and he was convinced that the Country was desirous that some signal mark of public acknowledgment should be bestowed on them. With respect to the quantum of that acknowledgment, it was impossible to measure it by those services. Without, therefore, looking to what was commensurate to the benefit derived from the noble Viscount's services, it was rather considered what was fitting for the country to allow. He did not know whether those with whom he acted would have the power of conferring this acknowledgment, but he was sure, that from whomsoever it might proceed, it would be accompanied with that liberality which was characteristic of British gratitude. It was proposed to make a provision for his widow, correspondent to the rank which she held in society, and to the claim which she possessed on public gratitude. The sum in contemplation was an annuity for Lady Nelson's life of 2000*l*. This was, of course, unconnected with the subject of the royal intimation, which recommended the affixing some splendid appendages to the present Earl. It certainly was not necessary to make for that nobleman a provision so munificent as to remove him from the sphere in which he now moved. It had been thought expedient, that this provision should be made not as a grant to the family, but as national property, intrusted to their possession; that it should be invested in lands; and that though a magnificent palace should not be erected, yet that an edifice conformable to their public rank and estimation should be built for the family. With a view to these objects, it was in contemplation to appropriate the sum of £200,000, to be vested in the hands of public trustees, the two Houses of Parliament, and other high characters, to be applied in the manner which seemed best calculated to obtain the end proposed. It had occurred to Government, that this would be consistent with the rank which it was desirable that the family of Lord Nelson should bear in the country, without going on too exaggerated a scale.—It was unnecessary for him to trespass any longer on the attention of the House. Anything, indeed, that he could say, would be far from enough to manifest the sense which he, in common with the Country at large, entertained of the services of the illustrious Hero. Great, however, as was the national loss in this instance, he could not but think that it was attended by a na-

tional advantage. He could not but think, that he would serve as a model for his profession to study. He had shown, through the course of a long life, what determined perseverance, and unshaken devotion to his Country, could accomplish. It was a great object, in any service, to know what could be done in that service. The life and achievements of Lord Nelson would continue to animate the British Navy to the end of time. He certainly did not mean to say, that our Navy required anything to render it more courageous in presence of an enemy, but still the example of Lord Nelson would show them what skill and enterprise, combined with bravery, was capable of effecting. He had thought it an act of his parliamentary duty not to pass over (to do justice to, was beyond his power) the splendid character whom all had so much reason to lament. He trusted that he should not be supposed insensible of the merits of the gallant officers under Lord Nelson, of the merits of Lord Collingwood, Lord Northesk, and Sir R. Strachan; never, indeed, was there an instance in which every man had done his duty so completely as in the occurrences then under the consideration of the House. He must therefore hope to stand acquitted of having allowed the absorbent merit of one character to induce him to withhold his gratitude from the rest. The noble Lord concluded by moving: 1. 'That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions, that a monument be erected in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, to the memory of the late ever-to-be-lamented Lord Viscount Nelson, who fell gloriously in the moment of the most brilliant and decisive victory, obtained by his skill and enterprise over the Combined Fleet of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October last; and to assure His Majesty that this House will make good the expence attending the same.' 2. 'That the Thanks of this House be given to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, for his able and gallant conduct in the most glorious and decisive Victory obtained by the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, over the Combined Fleet of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October last.'

"Lord Castlereagh took this opportunity of observing, that it was meant hereafter to propose, that some provision should be made for Lord Collingwood and Sir R. Strachan.

"Mr. Sheridan inquired whether or not any reward was intended for the Earl of Northesk?

"Lord Castlereagh replied in the affirmative.

"Mr. Baker objected to this second resolution; that it not did come up to the services of the noble Lord, as it merely stated them generally under the term 'able and gallant conduct,' without that distinct enumeration to which, in his opinion, they were indubitably entitled.

"Lord Castlereagh answered, that this had not escaped the attention of His Majesty's Ministers. On an ample consideration of the subject, however, whatever might be the high sense entertained by them of the gallant Lord's conduct, it had been deemed advisable to prevent the establishment of a precedent which might

create confusion in some future case where differences of opinion might exist, to conform the resolution to the words usually adopted on similar occasions. The noble Lord then moved, 3. 'That the Thanks of this House be given to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and the several Captains and Officers in the Fleet under the command of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, who, by their bravery and good conduct, contributed to that most glorious and decisive Victory; and that Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood do signify the same to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and the several Captains and Officers.' 4. 'That this House do highly approve of, and acknowledge, the services of the Seamen and Marines on board the ships under the command of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, in the most glorious and decisive Victory over the Combined Fleet of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October last; and that the Officers commanding the several ships do signify the same to their respective crews, and do thank them for their good behaviour.' 5. 'That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions, that monuments be erected in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, to the memory of Capt. George Duff and Capt. John Cooke, who fell gloriously in that signal victory; and to assure His Majesty that this House will make good the expence attending the same.' 6. 'That the Thanks of this House be given to Rear-Admiral Sir R. Strachan, Bart., for his able and gallant conduct in the defeat and capture of a French squadron, on the 4th day of November last.' 7. 'That the Thanks of this House be given to the Captains and Officers in the squadron under the command of Sir R. Strachan, Bart., who by their bravery and good conduct contributed to the success of that day; and that Rear-Admiral Sir R. Strachan, Bart., do signify the same to the several captains and officers.' The above Resolutions were put, and carried, *nem. con.*"

When LORD CASTLEREAGH moved a Vote of Thanks to Sir Richard Strachan, MR. FOX commented upon the omission of any mark of His Majesty's gratitude to Lord Northesk:—

"He believed that if we looked back at the whole history of our Naval victories, we should not meet with a single instance in which in such a large fleet, the third in command had not received some distinction from the Royal favour. The Earl of Northesk was the only person whose merit had passed unnoticed."

LORD CASTLEREAGH replied:—

"With regard to the Earl of Northesk, he had no difficulty in saying, that though no intimation of that nature had been made to the House, His Majesty certainly destined for that gallant nobleman a strong mark of his favour, which was to create him a Knight of the Bath."

MR. GREY (afterwards EARL GREY) having accused His Majesty's Ministers of a culpable delay in conferring a reward on Rear-Admiral Lord Northesk,—

"LORD CASTLEREAGH denied that there was any unnecessary delay; and affirmed that the allegation was highly disrespectful to His Majesty.

"MR. GREY denied with warmth the charge of disrespect to his Sovereign, which he should be the last man to be guilty of. He persisted in accusing the Ministry of culpable neglect, in omitting to reward Lord Northesk. Were the merits of that noble Admiral doubtful? Was not a peerage immediately sent to Admiral Collingwood? Why was not the same promptitude shown in respect to Lord Northesk?

"LORD CASTLEREAGH explained, that the delay was solely occasioned by a wish to consider maturely of the best method of conferring a reward on the noble Lord who was the subject of debate.

"GENERAL GROSVENOR observed, that Admiral Harvey who commanded the Téméraire, had also distinguished himself most honourably in one of the engagements, which gave a foundation for the thanks of the House being voted. Having been an old companion, and an old fellow-member in that House, he would have been glad if that honourable and gallant Officer's name had also been mentioned in the vote of thanks. He should, therefore, conclude in the words of the song—

'How 'twould cheer
Our hearts to hear,
That our old Companion he was one.'

The Resolution was then put and carried, *nem. con.*"

On the 1st of February LORD CASTLEREAGH brought down the following Message from the Crown:—

"GEORGE R.

"His Majesty having taken into His Royal consideration the splendid and unparalleled achievements of the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, Knight of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath, during a life spent in the service of his Country, and terminated in the moment of victory by a glorious death, and being desirous of conferring on his relict Lady Viscountess Nelson a nett annuity of £2000 per annum for the term of her natural life, recommends it to his faithful Commons to consider of a proper method of enabling His Majesty to grant such annuity, and of securing and settling the same in such manner as shall be thought most effectual for the benefit of the said Lady Viscountess Nelson. G. R."

Other Messages contained a similar recommendation for enabling His Majesty to grant an annuity of £2000 per annum to Lord Collingwood, and to the two next persons on whom his Title should descend; and of £1000 per annum to Sir Richard Strachan for life. The House resolved that it would on the Monday following resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House on the said Messages, and on the 28th of February 1806, the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for granting the annuity of £2000 per annum to the Viscountess Nelson. Before Parliament made a provision

for the heirs of Lord Nelson's title, a change took place in the Administration, and thus the one great Party had the honour of proposing, and the other of carrying into effect this National object.

On the 28th of March, LORD HENRY PETTY, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave notice that immediately after the Holidays he should submit propositions to the House for making a National provision for the family of the late Lord Nelson[2]. On the 25th of April his Lordship was obliged, in consequence of some informality, to postpone his motion[3]; but on the 12th of May he brought down the following Message to the House of Commons:—

"GEORGE R. His Majesty having taken into his Royal consideration the eminent and signal services performed by the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson in the course of a long series of distinguished exploits, and particularly in the glorious and decisive Victory of Trafalgar, in which he unfortunately fell; and being desirous to bestow on the family of the said Lord Viscount Nelson, such considerable and lasting marks of his Royal favour, as may correspond with the sense he entertains of services so honourable to the British Navy, and so eminently beneficial to the interests of the Nation; and for this purpose, of granting to the Earl Nelson, and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of Earl Nelson may descend, pursuant to the limitations of the patent whereby the said dignity is granted, a nett annuity of five thousand pounds during their respective lives; and also, of granting a sum, not exceeding one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, as a further provision for the family of the said Lord Viscount Nelson, a part whereof it is His Majesty's intention should be appropriated to the purchase of a house and lands, to be annexed as above to the said dignity; recommends it to his faithful Commons to consider of a proper method of enabling His Majesty to grant and settle such annuity, and to make such further provision as aforesaid, in such manner as may be thought most effectual for the benefit of the family of the said Lord Viscount Nelson.—G. R." —Ordered, That this House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take His Majesty's most gracious Message into consideration."

On the 13th of May, the House being in Committee, and LORD HOWICK in the Chair, LORD HENRY PETTY rose and said that,—

"In the terms of His Majesty's most gracious Message, he should have to move, first, that a sum of 5000*l.* per annum for ever be granted to His Majesty out of the Consolidated Fund, as an annuity to the family of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, and the persons succeeding to the title of Earl Nelson; and, secondly, that a further

[2] Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vi. p. 564.
[3] Ibid. p. 907.

sum of 120,000*l.* be granted to purchase an estate to descend to that family. Although he was convinced no persuasion could be necessary on his part to induce the House to adopt these propositions, indeed that there was not a man in the Kingdom who could be brought to think any tribute too great to the memory and services of such a person, yet he could not bring himself to submit the proposition altogether without comment. He felt it to be one of the highest gratifications of his life that it had fallen to his lot to submit this subject to the House. Much as it was his duty, strongly as it would accord with his inclinations, to bring forward any measure which could increase the finances and add to the resources of the Country, not even that agreeable duty could he perform with more pleasure than he now called on them to pay away this large grant. From the consequences of that grant, he hoped, would spring more valuable advantages to the Country than any money could bestow, in the emulation which the respect and admiration in which his glorious deeds would be seen to have been held, must inspire into the breasts of our future commanders. The pages of history, the noble Lord said, did not afford so numerous, so great, and so closely continued a series of successful and meritorious services rendered his Country, as that which the history of the noble Viscount, whose family, and the perpetuation of whose memory were the objects of the present resolutions, presented. If we looked to the early part of his life, we were struck with admiration, and felt ourselves almost led on to form presages of his future greatness. It undoubtedly, however, did happen, in the present instance, that high as his services and merits then were, and high as the expectation which they may have been presumed to have excited, the former part of his life has been eclipsed by the transcendant brightness of the latter. It happened fortunately for his Country, that with his increasing age his vigour, too, increased, and that he was enabled to give full scope, in a close and unbroken series of successes, to those talents, virtues, and abilities with which he was endowed. Off Cape St. Vincent, against the Spaniards, it was his good fortune to be eminently serviceable; and, when the fleets of France, in pursuit of that spirit of aggrandisement which then began to manifest itself, sailed to the east, it was his lot to defeat their hopes in that quarter, by a total destruction of their fleets. Not long after, when a combination was formed against us, by the Northern Powers, he, under the walls of Copenhagen, terminated the war and the confederacy. His last memorable Battle was in the recollection of every one, when the fleets of France and Spain, having united, for a while menaced our trade and colonies, till driven by the fame of his name from the West Indies, he pursued them to Europe, and, watching the first opportunity of their coming out of Cadiz, brought them to action, and had again the satisfaction of knowing, though his own valuable life was the forfeit, he had totally annihilated the enemies of his Country. Of him it might be truly said, what was addressed to a great person of antiquity—'Tu felix Agricola non tantum vitâ sed etiam opportunitate mortis.' Such was the life, and such the death of the

man, in honour of whose memory, and on whose family, they were this day called on by their Sovereign to bestow a mark of the gratitude of a generous people. His family, honoured, ennobled, and enriched, as it unquestionably would be, would be the means of inducing others to follow his brilliant example, and of handing down to posterity our ideas of his eminent services. They would also bear testimony to the truth of this, that burthened as this Country at present is, she still knows how to reward liberally, when her liberality is called forth by such transcendant merit and services. His Lordship concluded by moving, 'that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the annual sum of 5000*l.* be granted to His Majesty, out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, to commence from the 21st day of October, 1805, and be settled, in the most beneficial manner, upon the present Earl Nelson and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of Earl Nelson may descend, pursuant to the limitations of the patent whereby the said dignity is granted.'

"MR. ROSE wished to know whether in the 120,000*l.* was included any provision for other members of the noble Lord's family, or whether any further provision for them was intended.

"LORD HENRY PETTY replied, that 90,000*l.* were to be laid out in the purchase of a mansion and lands, to be annexed to the title; that 10,000*l.* were to be given to Earl Nelson to make such reparations or improvements therein as he should deem necessary, and that 10,000*l.* each were to be granted to his Lordship's two sisters.

"MR. ROSE expressed great satisfaction at the statement of the noble Lord, because he knew that nothing had been so near the heart of the noble person now no more, as some provision for those sisters.

"MR. FRANCIS rose and said, on the merits and services of the great Admiral whom we have lost, there can be but one sentiment, of united admiration and gratitude, in this House and in this Country, and in that sentiment no man can participate more heartily and sincerely than I do. Yet even this feeling, just as it is, and powerful as it ought to be, must in some reasonable degree be subject to the regulation of other principles in particular circumstances. We live in times of great public services, and great rewards. But we ought not to forget that the times we live in have another character, which indicates other duties; I mean the difficulties and distresses that belong to our situation. Even in the distribution of the best deserved liberality of Parliament, we ought not to forget that the present means of the Country are not quite equal to all the claims which great services may have on the public gratitude. On this principle, painful as it is to me, I cannot refrain from expressing a doubt, whether one part of the proposed vote, I mean the sum of 120,000*l.* (in addition to the annuity of 5000*l.* a-year,) may not be more, not than is due to the merit of Lord Nelson—far from it, but than can fairly be expected in circumstances, which demand economy from us, even in the exercise of our virtues. The rewards given to the Earl of Chatham, fell far short of this grant. Those given in the first instance to

John Duke of Marlborough, who placed England at the head of Europe, I believe, did not exceed it. If, happily for his Country, the noble Admiral had lived to enjoy these proofs of its gratitude; or, if he had left children to represent his person, and to transmit his memory, with all its honours, to an illustrious lineage directly descended from him, I should never have thought of uttering one word, but in support of the question. All my doubt is, whether the claim on the nation stands exactly on the same footing in the person of a collateral relation, as it would have done, if it had been possible to preserve the reward of his services, united with his name, in direct descent to his own offspring, and to their posterity.

"MR. ROSE stated that Blenheim had cost the Country 540,000*l.*

"GENERAL TARLETON had always been an admirer of the military glory of the Duke of Marlborough, but his victories had not been achieved by English Armies exclusively. Lord Nelson, on the contrary, had conquered with British Fleets. Never had triumphs been more completely English than those acquired by him.

"MR. WILBERFORCE complimented his honourable friend (Mr. Francis), for his upright, manly, and conscientious declaration of the sentiments which he had expressed; such conduct as that of the honourable gentleman on a subject of so much delicacy, he conceived it to be a victory of principle over personal feeling, and as such it met with his highest approbation. That honourable gentleman, however, should consider that the value of money was now considerably altered, and that the sum proposed to be given, would not make the family of the Hero, whose high merits we meant to commemorate and reward, by any means too affluent for the situation which they were to hold in society. It was, in fact, no more than what he thought they were entitled to from the Country; and, as an incitement to heroic actions in future, he suggested that the building to be erected for the Nelson family, should be placed in such a situation as to be conspicuous to our seamen on their approach to England, or on their setting sail, perhaps, in quest of an enemy. When they beheld such a testimony of the gratitude of the Country, it could not fail to inspire them with an ardent desire to imitate his glorious example.

"LORD HENRY PETTY agreed in the suggestion of the right honourable gentleman. The idea had occurred to himself, and the trustees, in whom the money was to be vested, would, he was sure, pay every attention to it.—The Resolutions were then agreed to, and the Report was ordered to be received to-morrow."

A similar Message having been sent to the House of Lords, EARL SPENCER, (Secretary of State for the Home Department,) on the 14th of May, moved:—

"The order of the day for taking His Majesty's Message into consideration, relative to a provision for the family of Lord Nelson. He was confident that every noble Lord who heard him, would cheerfully concur in any measure that went to confer adequate rewards for services so important and beneficial to the Country as those rendered by the signal exploits of the late gallant and ever-

to-be-lamented Hero, Lord Viscount Nelson. His Lordship then moved an address to His Majesty, thanking him for his gracious message, and assuring His Majesty that the House would readily concur in promoting the object of the same. The address was agreed to, *nem. diss.*"

On the 19th of May the Report of the Bill in the House of Commons was brought up, when MR. FULLER observed that,—

"The Country had, by its liberality to the family of the deceased Hero, evinced the respect and gratitude which were justly due to his memory. He trusted, therefore, that neither the magnanimity of that illustrious man, nor the generosity of the Empire, would be forgotten by those who were to receive profits and honours on account of the service which the immortal Nelson had performed. He would not then particularise anything, though his object must occur to many members in the House; he hoped the representative of that family would also shew some degree of generosity, and comply with the wish expressed by the illustrious founder of the family in his last moments[4]."—The Resolutions were then read and agreed to.

It was not until the 15th of July that the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill; and on the motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair—

"COLONEL WOOD[5] rose, he said, with considerable reluctance, to oppose a measure so congenial to the sense which the Country entertained of the eminent services of that noble Lord, in remuneration of which these annuities were now proposed. But, participating, as he did, most sincerely, in those feelings, he could not, consistently with the principles he entertained, and his sense of duty as an individual member of Parliament, assent to so large an appropriation of the public money, in the present arduous circumstances. When he considered that 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* had been recently added to the public burthens, for an increase of pay to the army and navy, and that every class of society was loaded with imposts to support the exigencies of the Country, he could not consent to the grant of the public money in any way not absolutely and indispensibly necessary; and, feeling, as he did, that an allowance of 5000*l.* a-year had already been voted to the representative of the noble Lord, who succeeded to his title, he thought it amply sufficient, without any further allowance to his relations. Had the noble Lord himself been living, to enjoy the public remuneration of his splendid services, he should not be the person to oppose a grant, even to a much greater exent; but, as the grant now proposed was not for the noble Lord, nor any of his lineal descendants, but for his relations, certainly very nearly allied to him, he could not think of increasing the grant already made, until, at least, some considerable reduction was made in the public debt of the Nation; until

[4] Mr. Fuller's suggestion was, however, entirely disregarded.
[5] Present Member for Brecnockshire.

it was brought down to 200 millions, from the 500 millions at which it now stood. It would, possibly, be right for the House to have in view what Parliament had done, in similar circumstances, upon a former occasion; and the most apposite precedent which occurred to him was, the case of the Duke of Marlborough, in the reign of Queen Anne; when, in consequence of a message from Her Majesty, on the 10th of June, 1702, recommending to the House a provision of 5000*l.* a-year for that nobleman, that provision was made. He then moved, that the proceedings on that occasion be now read from the journals. [The proceedings on the 10th of June, 1702, were accordingly read, being the message received from Her Majesty, recommending the important public services of the noble Duke, as well by his negociations, as by his splendid victories, to the liberality of Parliament; and also the subsequent proceedings of the 18th of the same month, in which the House voted an address, in compliance with Her Majesty's request.] The honourable Colonel said, he was ready to allow, that the services of Lord Nelson to his Country, were as splendid and important as those of the Duke of Marlborough, and that 5000*l.* a-year, at that day, was a much greater sum, in effect, than the like sum, at this; but, then, the comparative circumstances of the Country, in both periods, were also totally different. In the former, we owed scarcely any national debt; now, we had one of 500 millions; and, until all that could be reduced, considering all the other circumstances of the Country, and that it was not Lord Nelson who was to enjoy the reward of his services, he thought 5000*l.* a-year amply sufficient; and, when the reduction he mentioned should have taken place, he would have no objection to vote a much larger grant.

"The SPEAKER observed, that the honourable Colonel's object could only be properly attained in Committee. He then left the chair. Upon the House resolving itself into the Committee,

"MR. ROSE, in reply to the statements of the hon. Colonel (Wood), observed, that the grant now proposed bore no proportion to the allowances made to the Duke of Marlborough; for, independently of the 5000*l.* a-year, settled upon that illustrious person, no less than seven manors were granted to him by the Crown. The Palace of Blenheim was, also, built for him at the public expense. Queen Anne had this building commenced; but the Tory Administration, towards the close of her reign, thought proper, most unworthily, to prevent its proceeding. Upon the accession, however, of George the First, 42,000*l.* which were found remaining due to the workmen employed during the former reign, were paid, pursuant to an Act of Parliament, and the building was proceeded upon to its completion. The right honourable gentleman added, that he understood, from the executors of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, that no less than 500,000*l.* were laid out, from the public purse, for the buildings at Blenheim. But was the honourable Colonel, when he made the comparison alluded to, aware of the amount of the revenue possessed by the Duke of Marlborough, at the time the pension was granted him? His Grace then had, from the salaries and perquisites of various offices, no less than 40,000*l.* a-year. Could it, then, be

pretended, that there was any parallel between the case of the Duke of Marlborough and that of Lord Nelson? The one had an immense fortune, which devolved upon his family; while, unfortunately, the other was in very different circumstances. The splendid services of Lord Nelson were not productive to him of any pecuniary profits. No; for prize-money, his receipts were insignificant. His proportion of prize-money, even at the splendid Battle of the Nile, was not more than 3090*l.*; and this, from particular circumstances, was less than the sum which fell to the lot of many of his Captains. Indeed, the fortune of this distinguished Hero was much less than could at all be supposed by any one unacquainted with the fact. For, he could say, and it was now no breach of confidence to state it, that, in the course of some communication which he had with Lord Nelson, the very day before he last sailed from England, the noble Lord told him, that all the property he had in the world did not exceed, at the utmost, 15,000*l.*; and that his debts nearly amounted to that sum. When one, then, considered the nature of the noble Lord's services to this Country, which, without meaning to depreciate the merit of any officer, he had no hesitation in saying, were far greater than those of any other officer the Country had ever known, great even as the services of the Duke of Marlborough were; having that impression upon his mind, an impression, indeed, which was, as it ought to be, universally prevalent, the right honourable gentleman was surprised at the opposition made to a measure which proposed to grant merely sufficient to support the rank, dignity, and name, of this illustrious man. The right honourable gentleman repeated that, if the Committee would compare the sums allowed to the Duke of Marlborough, with that under consideration, he was sure that all objections must disappear.

"Mr. Francis rose and said, the public part I have already taken, on the subject of this grant, obliges me to say a few words on the present occasion. It does not appear to me, that the honourable gentleman (Colonel Wood) who objects to the motion, has been convicted of any mistake. With respect to the grants successively made to the Duke of Marlborough, you must observe the dates, and not confound the services and the periods. The Manor of Woodstock was granted, and the expense of the palace provided for, in consequence of the Victory at Blenheim, in August 1704. But it appears by the Journals, that although his services in 1702 were acknowledged in high terms, and that Queen Anne desired nothing but, that the allowance of 5000*l.* a-year, which she had granted to him out of the post-office, for her own life, might be continued to his family, to support the honour of the dukedom which she had lately conferred upon him, the House of Commons positively refused it. No man can think more highly than I do of the services of Lord Nelson. It would be invidious to enter into a comparison of personal merits between him and the Duke of Marlborough. I shall, therefore, only say that, if the merits were equal, the cases would not be parallel. In the first place, Queen Anne thought 5000*l.* a-year quite sufficient to support the rank and title of a

Duke; but now it is not thought enough for the title of an Earl. But what makes the essential difference, in the two cases, is, that the Duke of Marlborough was alive, and had children living. He, who received the reward, had earned it by acts of his own. Lord Nelson's collateral relations, personally, are unknown to the public, and can have no claim but what they derive from the accidental honour of bearing his name, and from services, in which they had no share. The gratitude due to his memory, would, in my opinion, be better expressed with less profusion. He, who gives the public money, or his own, with moderation and economy, shows that he values the thing he gives. Without arguing the question any longer, I adhere to my former opinion.

"Mr. H. Addington thought it unnecessary to say anything as to the merits of Lord Nelson, whose character it would be as difficult to exalt by panegyric as to depreciate by calumny. But with respect to the measure before the Committee, he observed, that it conveyed a proposition of reward for services of an unparalelled nature, far short indeed of that which was granted to the Duke of Marlborough.

"Mr. Wilberforce remarked, that if 5000*l.* a-year was, in the days of the Duke of Marlborough, deemed necessary to support the dignity of a Duke, that sum now, from the comparative value of money, was scarcely adequate to uphold the rank of an Earl. But he viewed this grant altogether, not so much as a provision for the family of Lord Nelson, as a pledge of National liberality, held out to our Navy to encourage an imitation of that Hero's example.

"Lord Henry Petty conceived that, if any reference were had to the case of the Duke of Marlborough in order to apply that case to the measure before the Committee, such application could only serve to suggest a considerable augmentation of the proposed grant. The expence of building Blenheim alone, it appeared, exceeded the amount of the provision contained in this Bill. But, independently of this expence, and the other sums alluded to by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Rose), it was to be recollected that the family of the Duke of Marlborough still enjoyed a revenue 5000*l.* from the post-office, which was originally granted in consideration of the services of that distinguished officer. Of the sum which this Bill proposed to allow, the noble Lord observed that 20,000*l.* were to be divided between the two sisters of Lord Nelson, who were, he was very sorry to say, rather in limited circumstances, but who were the peculiar objects of that Hero's care and affection, and both of whom he bequeathed[6] to his Country for that provision which it was not in his power to leave them. Could that Country then, which he so highly served, hesitate to execute his wishes? After the deduction of the 20,000*l.* it was intended to apply the remainder of the sum mentioned in the Bill to erect a monument, which should transmit to posterity the fame of Nelson, and the services which he had rendered to his Country. With regard to the allusions which

[6] The noble Speaker appears to have *mistaken* the *persons* whom Nelson *had actually* bequeathed to the beneficence of his Country.

had been made to economy, he thought them inapplicable in this instance; economy, generally speaking, should meet with his warmest support; but the economy of reward for great public services, he should ever deprecate, particularly at a period like the present, when it was necessary to keep up the tone of the public mind to a level with the dangers of the Country; to excite men to emulation by the influence of this example. As to the remarks of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Francis) upon the propriety of granting the proposed sum to the collateral branches of Lord Nelson's family, he thought the argument had not the weight that hon. gentleman attached to it. For those branches being the objects of the noble Lord's solicitude, belonging to his family and bearing his name, were from all those motives which suggest a reward of this nature, fully entitled to the consideration of Parliament. There was, perhaps, no desire that operated more powerfully upon the minds of many men, than the desire of founding a family; and perhaps there was no class of men among whom this desire formed a greater stimulant to action, or a higher object of ambition, than those who composed the Officers of the Navy. For what dangers did they encounter, what privations did they submit to, in order to communicate to others those means, those comforts and enjoyments, which they have no opportunity of enjoying themselves! This feeling, which formed such a prominent feature in the character of a seaman, it was the duty and interest of Parliament to cherish and to encourage; and what could serve as a greater encouragement to it, than the example which this Bill proposed, of Lord Nelson's merits laying the foundation of a distinguished family?"

The clauses were then agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on the next day.

The Bill appears to have passed without any further discussion, and it received the Royal Assent on the 22nd of July 1806. On the 21st of April 1815 in consequence of a report that a further sum would be required for the purchase of the Estate,—

"Mr. Whitbread begged leave to call the attention of the House to a subject which he thought deserving of their consideration. It was well known to the House, that a large sum of money had long since been voted by the House, for the purpose of providing a suitable mansion, &c., for the heirs of the late Lord Nelson; that such money had been long ready; but a proper estate, &c., could not be fixed on. Lately, however, it seemed that a place, which was deemed in every respect answerable for the purpose, had been agreed upon by the Commissioners, and it was hinted that an additional sum of 9000*l.* would be wanting to complete the purchase. He had been informed, that within a very short time a memorial had been presented to the Treasury from a Mr. Kemp, stating, that he conceived a purchase had been made of an estate, mansion-house, &c., which belonged to him in the county of Suffolk, which had been viewed by the present Lord Nelson, who had taken down Mr. Bolton with him, for the purpose of ascertaining its

value; and that both of them having approved of the whole of the premises, the price had been finally fixed, and the sum was somewhat within that granted by Parliament for the purpose of remunerating the services of the gallant Officer, on whom the title of Lord Nelson had been conferred. He thought, therefore, the House should hesitate a little before they would sanction a grant for an additional 9000*l.*, when a claim was put in for the money agreed on as a purchase of an estate agreeable to the present Lord Nelson and his advisers, and which would come within the sum granted by Parliament.

"THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he would explain the subject to the House on a future day[7]."

In May 1815, MR. LUSHINGTON proposed in the House of Commons that an additional grant of £9000 should be made to the Trustees for the purchase of the Estate for the family of Lord Nelson. He stated, that—

"It had been the intention of His Majesty's Ministers, when the original grant had been first proposed to the House, to have requested from Parliament 120,000*l.* for that purpose; but in the progress of that measure through the House, 30,000*l.* had been granted to the sisters of Lord Nelson; and the sum which was finally arranged for the purchase of the estate was 90,000*l.* During the time since the Act had passed, no estate had offered itself to the Commissioners which seemed desirable, and which, at the same time, was of that magnitude which their trust required, except the estate which they were then in treaty for. A sum of 9000*l.* would, however, be requisite to conclude that treaty, principally on account of the timber on that estate. It was unnecessary for him to recite the claims of Lord Nelson to the gratitude of the Country, which were fresh in the recollection of the House; but he should move, 'That a sum, not exceeding 9000*l.*, be granted to His Majesty, to enable the trustees under an Act of the 46th year of His present Majesty, for settling an annuity on Earl Nelson and the heirs male of his body, and such other person on whom the title of Earl Nelson shall descend, and for granting a sum of money to purchase an estate to accompany the said title, and for other purposes, to complete the purchase of an estate situate at Standlynch, in the county of Wilts, and to enfranchise the copyhold part thereof, and to purchase a water-rent, and some fee-farm rents, issuing out of the said estate.'"

After some discussion, the grant having been objected to as unnecessary, during which MR. WHITBREAD twice said that he did not stand forth in the invidious light of wishing to cramp the public munificence to Lord Nelson's family, it was carried by a majority of 111 to 66 votes[8].

The name of the Estate thus purchased, was changed from

[7] Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxx. p. 770.
[8] Ibid. vol. xxxi. p. 186—190.

Stanlynch to TRAFALGAR; and the total sums granted by Parliament to Lord Nelson's family were 2000*l.* per annum to his widow for her life; 5000*l.* per annum, for ever, to the person who might succeed to the Earldom of Nelson, viz. the heirs male of the bodies of his brother and two sisters successively; 99,000*l.* for the purchase of an Estate which is annexed to the Title; and 15,000*l.* to each of the sisters. Yet, of all these splendid gifts, not one shilling was bestowed upon either of the two individuals whom Nelson loved above all other human beings—one of them his own child—and whom, in the most affecting words, he had solemnly bequeathed to his Country. After reciting the services rendered by Lady Hamilton, in the Codicil to his Will, made only a few hours before he fell, and thus emphatically dated, "October the twenty-first, one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles," he says, "Could I have rewarded these services I would not now call upon my Country, but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Lady Hamilton, therefore, a legacy to my King and Country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life." That unfortunate woman, whose faults, whatever they may have been, certainly ought not to have affected such a claim, was however permitted to struggle against great pecuniary difficulties, and to die in absolute distress; but the other and even dearer object of Nelson's affections, she for whom he thus pathetically solicited the consideration of his King and Country, and on whom no imputation has ever rested,—still survives, without having received the slightest notice or consideration from the Government:—"I also leave to the beneficence of my Country my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I desire she will use, in future, the name of Nelson only. These are the only favours I ask of my King and Country, at the moment I am going to fight their Battle."

Such neglect of the last wishes of the greatest Naval Hero of his Country, expressed only a few hours before he laid down his life in her cause, would be inexplicable, were it not well known that an affectation of scrupulous virtue, and a wretched cant, have often stifled the most natural and most generous emotions; and thus, to the disgrace of England, Nelson's dying request has been unheeded. "Did it depend upon me," said His late Majesty King George the Fourth, then Prince of Wales, "there would not be a wish or desire of our adored Hero that I should not consider as a solemn obligation upon his friends and his Country to fulfil. It is a duty they

owe to his memory, and his matchless and unwearied excellence." And what Englishman does not feel now as the Prince felt then? "I hope," (said His Royal Highness,) "that there is still in this Country sufficient honour, virtue and gratitude, to prompt us to ratify and carry into effect the last dying request of our Nelson; and, by that means, proving, not only to the whole world, but to future ages, that we were worthy of having such a man belonging to us."

After the Battle of Waterloo, Parliament approved of the proposition of the Government to commemorate that event and the services of the Army by a great National Monument; and it was also intended that a similar Monument should be erected to commemorate the great Victories that had been achieved by the Navy. On the 5th of February 1816, LORD CASTLEREAGH explained to the House of Commons his views on the subject; and after pointing out the claims of the Navy to such a testimony of National gratitude, he said:—

"It was proposed to commemorate its achievements, by making the great Victory of Trafalgar, which, as far as respected National advantages, was the grand point of consummation in their brilliant exploits, as Waterloo had been with the Army, the leading feature of the monument which the House were called upon to erect. The two professions would then stand in the view of posterity upon the same point of elevation. For while, on the one hand, the Victory of Waterloo had decided the fate of the Enemy on the Continent, and had terminated in the total destruction of the power of Buonaparte, so, on the other, that of Trafalgar had crushed his hopes at sea, and dispelled and terminated the boastful menaces which Buonaparte had been accustomed to launch out against us. The one victory had frustrated the hopes which, from his re-assumption of power, he had entertained of again disturbing the repose of Europe, and the other had secured us from the assault which he had planned against this Country. The one victory had given us safety, as the other had removed all danger from our Allies."

LORD CASTLEREAGH concluded his Speech by saying:—

"He thought it would be congenial to the feelings of the House to immortalize the Battle of Trafalgar, as we had immortalized that of Waterloo; and that we should select that mode of accomplishing this end, which would preclude the most distant suspicion of preference between the two services; and moved, 'That an humble address be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, humbly to represent that this House, being desirous of commemorating the splendid achievements of the British Navy throughout the late wars, by erecting a National monument to its most signal and decisive victory, have humbly to request that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to give directions, that a National monument be erected in honour of the ever-memorable Victory of

Trafalgar, by which the maritime power of His Majesty's Enemies was humbled and subdued, and to commemorate the fame of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, and the other Officers, Seamen, and Marines, who died gloriously in their Country's cause on that occasion, and in the maintenance of our National independence[9].'"

Some objections having been urged to the omission on such a Monument of all notice of any other Battle than Trafalgar, it was replied, that as it was necessary to select one Victory to represent all, none would be so proper as that of Trafalgar. MR. HORNER justly said:—

"A selection, he thought, was necessary to be made, and if there was to be a selection, on what victory could we fix so properly as upon that of Trafalgar? It was, undoubtedly, the greatest in our Naval history, in whatever point of view it was considered. It was not only transcendently great, from the skill and heroism displayed, but important from its political consequences. It carried the Naval renown of this Country to a height it never before had reached, and left us not only without a rival, but without an Enemy to contend with on sea[1]."

LORD CASTLEREAGH'S Motion was carried *nem. con.*; but it is needless to add, the Monument contemplated was never erected.

HER MAJESTY'S SHIP "VICTORY."

The Newspapers of October 1843, contained some interesting particulars of "THE VICTORY," which celebrated Ship has been thus apostrophized by a graceful female pen[2]:—

> "O thou proud Vessel! whose tremendous claim
> So well is prov'd to Victory's splendid name;"

which, with a brief account of the Captains who commanded Ships at Trafalgar, form a fitting conclusion to the subject:—

"Successive Ships bearing the name of 'VICTORY,' have existed in the English Navy ever since the year 1570, but *the* 'VICTORY'—Nelson's 'VICTORY'—is comparatively of modern date, she having been built about the year 1765. She has always been a celebrated Ship, and commanded by distinguished men. In 1778 she bore the flag of Keppel, in his memorable battle with the French on the 27th of May, which led to a vexatious Court-Martial. She successively carried the flags of Sir Peter Parker, Lord Howe, Lord Hood, and (in the glorious victory off Cape St. Vincent) of Admiral Sir John Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent. It is not a little re-

[9] Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxxii. p. 315.
[1] Ibid. p. 318.
[2] "Trafalgar," by Mrs. Sewell.

markable, that it was on the quarter-deck of that very Ship wherein he was destined to achieve a still greater triumph, and to seal his fame with his blood, that Nelson, after the Battle, was received by Sir John, who took him in his arms, and said he could never sufficiently thank him for his assistance. In 1806 [December 1805] the VICTORY was paid off. She was re-commissioned in 1808, and remained in Service till 1812; but during that period she did nothing worthy of particular notice. After the Battle of St. Vincent's she was used, or, rather, *mis*-used, as a prison hospital-ship! and 'who would have thought (says the United Service Journal, October 1841) that it was once proposed to break up, or cut down, the Victory! Yet so it was; and it has but recently come to our knowledge that the well-timed remonstrances of a popular, and, we may add, in this instance, patriotic writer[8] (printed in the Brighton Gazette, and copied into many other newspapers, chiefly those published at the Outports,) first called attention to this nautical sacrilege, and mainly aided to avert it.' 'This Ship, we had almost said this *sacred* Ship, is now lying in Portsmouth harbour; and it must be the wish of every Englishman's heart that she may be preserved as long as one plank of her will hold to another.' On the anniversary of Trafalgar, 1844, THE QUEEN, on her visit to Portsmouth, passed near the VICTORY, commanded by Captain George Moubray, who served as First Lieutenant of the Polyphemus, at Trafalgar, and noticing that she was decorated with Flags, and her mast-heads adorned with laurel, inquired the cause; and on being informed, immediately expressed Her intention of going on board. Her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, accordingly went over the Ship. On being shown the spot where Nelson received his death wound, Her Majesty read aloud the affecting inscription—

'Here Nelson fell,'

and plucked from the wreath of laurel in which it was enshrined two of its leaves, and carefully treasured them as a precious memento of the Hero. Her Majesty then went over to the poop-rail, where, over the steering-wheel, is inscribed in letters of gold the words of the memorable signal,

'England expects every man will do his duty.'

"This inscription was also adorned with laurels and flowers. With marked emphasis, Her Majesty repeated the words. Her Majesty and Prince Albert looked around from the poop for a few moments, and then the Queen desired to be shown where Nelson died. The Royal party proceeded to the cabin, in which the very spot is marked by a funeral urn (in paint), surmounted by Nelson's Flag, and on its top, encircled in a wreath, the words,

'Here Nelson died.'

"There was a pause here for several minutes, and it was remarked that Her Majesty was again much affected by the reflections which such a scene awakened."

[8] Mr. John Poole, the author of "Paul Pry," and other popular Dramatic pieces.

It is satisfactory to add, that for many years the command of the Victory has been most properly given to Officers who had served at Trafalgar, viz.: to Captain William Wilmott Henderson, C. B., who was a Midshipman of the Belleisle; Captain George Moubray, who was First Lieutenant of the Polyphemus; and now, to Captain John Pasco, who was wounded on board of her, when Lord Nelson's Flag-Lieutenant, at Trafalgar.

NOTICES OF THE ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, AND COMMANDERS, AT TRAFALGAR.

[Those only to whose Names this mark † is prefixed are now (May 1846) living.]

Vice-Admiral of the White, HORATIO NELSON, Viscount and Baron Nelson, K.B., Commander-in-Chief. Killed in the Battle.

Vice-Admiral of the Blue, Cuthbert Collingwood. He was created Baron Collingwood of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the County of Northumberland, on the 20th of November 1805, to him and the heirs male of his body; and died a Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, on the 7th of March, 1810.

Rear-Admiral of the White, William Carnegie, Seventh Earl of Northesk. He was appointed an Extra Knight of the Bath on the 29th of January, 1806, and died an Admiral of the White, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, on the 28th of May, 1831.

Captain Eliab Harvey of the Temeraire, 98. He became a Rear-Admiral in November 1805, was dismissed the Service by a Court-Martial in May 1809, was restored to his rank in March 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, promoted to be a Knight Grand Cross of that Order in January 1825, and died on the 20th of February, 1830.

Captain Richard Grindall of the Prince, 98. He became a Rear-Admiral in November 1805, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died a Vice-Admiral of the Red in May 1820.

Captain Charles Tyler of the Tonnant, 80. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1808, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and a Knight Grand Cross in January 1833, and died an Admiral of the White in September 1835.

Captain William Hargood of the Belleisle, 74. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath in September 1831. He also received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Guelphs, and died an Admiral of the White on the 12th of December, 1839.

Captain Robert Moorsom of the Revenge, 74. He was made a Rear-Admiral in 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died an Admiral of the Blue in April 1835.

Captain George Duff of the Mars, 74. He was killed in the Battle, and a Monument was erected to his Memory in St. Paul's, at the Public expense.

Captain Thomas Francis Fremantle of the Neptune, 98. He was made a Rear-Admiral in July 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and a Knight Grand Cross in February 1818. He also received the Grand Cross of the Orders of St. Michael and St. George, and of the Guelphs, and the Cross of Knight Commander of Maria Theresa, with the rank of Baron of the Austrian Empire, and died a Vice-Admiral of the Blue while Commanding-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, in November 1819.

Captain Sir Francis Laforey, Bart., of the Spartiate, 74. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died an Admiral of the Blue on the 17th of June, 1835.

Captain Sir Philip Charles (Calderwood Henderson) Durham of the Defiance, 74. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander in January 1815, and a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath in November 1830. He also received the Grand Cross of the Order of Military Merit of France, and died an Admiral of the Red in 1845.

Captain Israel Pellew of the Conqueror, 74. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1810, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died an Admiral of the Blue on the 19th of July, 1832.

Captain George Hope of the Defence, 74. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1811, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died a Rear-Admiral of the Red on the 2nd of May, 1818.

Captain James Nicoll Morris of the Colossus, 74. He was made a Rear-Admiral in 1811, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died a Vice-Admiral of the Red on the 15th of April, 1830.

Captain Henry William Bayntun of the Leviathan, 74. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1812, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and in April 1840 a Knight Grand Cross of that Order, and died an Admiral of the Blue on the 16th of December, 1840.

Captain Richard King of the Achille, 74. He succeeded his father as a Baronet in November 1806, became a Rear-Admiral in 1812, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and died of the cholera a Vice-Admiral of the Red while Commanding-in-Chief at Sheerness, on the 4th of August, 1834.

Captain John Cooke of the Bellerophon, 74. He was killed in the Battle, and a Monument was erected to his Memory in St. Paul's, at the Public expense.

Captain Charles John Moore Mansfield of the Minotaur, 74. He died a Post-Captain about May 1813.

† Captain Edward Codrington of the Orion, 74. This distinguished Officer became a Rear-Admiral in 1814, and was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815. He was made Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean in October 1826, and received the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. On the 25th of October, 1827, in conjunction with the French and Russian Squadrons, he fought the Battle of Navarino, for which he received the Grand Cross of the Orders of the Bath, St. Louis, Legion of Honour, Redeemer of Greece, and the Order of St. George of Russia of the Second Class. He is now an Admiral of the White.

Captain William Gordon Rutherford of the Swiftsure, 74. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, and died a Post-Captain in 1817.

Captain Robert Redmill of the Polyphemus, 64. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, and died a Post-Captain about March 1819.

Captain Henry Digby of the Africa, 64. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1819, was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, was made a Knight Commander in March 1831, and a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath in February 1842, and died an Admiral of the Blue on the 13th of August, 1842.

Captain Sir Edward Berry, Bart., of the Agamemnon, 64. This meritorious Officer, who was Lord Nelson's Flag Captain at the Nile, and who, in January 1806, commanded this Ship in the Battle of St. Domingo, had been present at the capture of forty-one Sail of the Line, and wore *three* Medals: he was made a Baronet in December 1806, and a Knight Commander of the Bath in

January 1815, became a Rear-Admiral in 1821, and died a Rear-Admiral of the White on the 13th of February, 1831.

Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy of the Victory. He commanded the Mutine Brig at the Battle of the Nile, was made a Baronet in February 1806, became a Rear-Admiral in 1825, was made a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1815, and a Knight Grand Cross in September 1831. He died a Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital, on the 20th September, 1839.

Captain Edward Rotheram of the Royal Sovereign. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, and died a Post-Captain on the 2nd of November, 1830.

† Captain Charles Bullen of the Britannia, 98. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, became a Rear-Admiral in 1837, and in April 1839 was made a Knight Commander of the Bath. He is also a Knight Commander of the Order of the Guelphs, and is now a Rear-Admiral of the Red.

Captain John Conn of the Dreadnought, 98. He was unfortunately drowned by falling overboard when Captain of the Swiftsure, in May 1810.

Lieutenant John Pilfold (Acting) of the Ajax, 74. He was promoted to the rank of Post-Captain in December 1805, was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, and died a Post-Captain in July 1834.

Lieutenant John Stockham (Acting) of the Thunderer, 74. He was promoted to the rank of Post-Captain in December 1805, and died in that rank on the 6th of February, 1814.

FRIGATES.

Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood of the Euryalus. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1814, was made a Baronet in September 1814, and was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in August 1819. He also received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Guelphs, and the Cross of Commander of the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit of the Two Sicilies, and died a Vice-Admiral of the Blue on the 14th of December, 1832.

Captain William Prowse of the Sirius. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1805, became a Rear-Admiral in 1821, and died a Rear-Admiral of the White on the 23rd of March, 1826.

Captain Thomas Dundas of the Naiad. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1825, was made a Knight Commander of the Bath in September 1831, and died a Vice-Admiral of the Blue in March 1841.

† Captain the Honourable Thomas Bladen Capel of the Phœbe. He was appointed a Companion of the Bath in June 1815, became a Rear-Admiral in 1825, was made a Knight Commander of the Bath in February 1832, and is now a Vice-Admiral of the Red.

SCHOONER AND CUTTER.

Lieutenant John Richards Lapenotiere of the Pickle Schooner. He was promoted to the rank of Commander on bringing home the dispatches of the Battle in November 1805, was Posted in August 1811, and died on the 26th of January, 1834.

† Lieutenant Robert Benjamin Young[4] of the Entreprenante Cutter. He was not promoted until the 21st of October, 1810, and is still a Commander.

[4] It is erroneously said in James' "Naval History," that L'Entreprenante was commanded at Trafalgar by Lieutenant John Puver.

NELSON'S "FIGHTING COAT,"

Such is the absurd designation given by Drs. Clarke and M'Arthur to the Coat worn by Lord Nelson in the Battle of Trafalgar; and they relate the following anecdote respecting it:—

"He put on the Coat[5] which he had so often worn on the day of Victory, and which he kept with a degree of veneration. The various splendid honours he had received from different Nations, were plainly worked upon it, and the Star of the Order of the Bath which he had always worn with a peculiar pleasure, as the free gift of his Sovereign, he resolved should appear in the Battle, and be nearest his heart when he fell: 'In honour,' he exclaimed, 'I gained them, and in honour I will die in them[6].'"

That a statement so ridiculous in itself, and so inconsistent with Nelson's character, should have ever been made, is the more extraordinary when Dr. Beatty's "Narrative" must have been before its authors; where it is expressly said that "Lord Nelson came upon deck soon after daylight; he was dressed *as usual*, in his Admiral's frock coat, bearing on the left breast four Stars, of different Orders, *which he always wore with his common apparel*[7]."

Many of Lord Nelson's other biographers have repeated, with some trifling variations, this story; and it is still generally believed to be true[8]. In July 1842, the statement

[5] "It had been his custom for years to preserve what he termed his *fighting Coat*, but through inadvertency he omitted to wear the Sword so much regarded, which had belonged to Captain M. Suckling."—*Clarke and M'Arthur*, vol. ii. p. 442.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 442.

[7] Vide p. 137, ante.

[8] For the following account of the Coat worn by Lord Nelson in the *Battle of the Nile*, and now in Greenwich Hospital, the Editor is indebted to the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston:—

"The late Lord William Campbell, a Post-Captain in the British Navy, (the father of Lady Johnston, and the grandfather of Lieutenant Frederick Erskine Johnston, now first Lieutenant of H. M. S. Terrible,) who had known a great deal of Lord Nelson when he first entered the Navy, had formed, even at that time, a high opinion of his bravery, zeal, and activity, and had been accustomed to speak of him frequently as a distinguished and a rising young man, to his niece, the Honourable Mrs. Ann Seymour Damer, (the daughter of his sister, the Countess of Aylesbury, and her husband, Field Marshal Henry Seymour Conway,) who had devoted herself from her childhood to the study of different branches of the Fine Arts, particularly to that of sculpture, in which she had attained, at an early period of her life, the greatest proficiency, as is shown by the very fine and numerous specimens of her genius and talents, in the collection now in the possession of her cousin, Lady Johnston, to whom she left them at her death.

"When Lord Nelson, by his Victory off the Nile, had become an object of interest throughout all Europe, Mrs. Damer, who, from what she had previously heard of him from her uncle and others, had formed the most enthusiastic idea of his character as a Hero, made an offer to, which was gladly excepted by, the

was publicly contradicted by Captain William Henry Smyth, of the Royal Navy, in a letter to the Editor of the "United Service Magazine[9]," wherein he stated, on the authority of Sir Thomas Hardy, Captain Quilliam, and other Officers of the Victory, that on the morning of the 21st of October 1805, Nelson "dressed himself in the same Coat which he had

City of London, to execute, at her own expense, and to present to the City, a colossal bust in marble of Nelson, who, in consequence of the friendship which he bore to her uncle, the late Lord William Campbell, very willingly sat to her as often and as long as she wished, in order to enable her to make the very striking likeness which she did of him. Having finished the bust, she, at the request of the City, placed it in that part of the Council Chamber in Guildhall in which it still stands, and in which she thought, as an artist, it would be seen to the greatest advantage.

"The last time he sat to her, he good humouredly asked her what he could give her for the high honour which she had conferred on him, and for all the trouble which she had taken on the occasion. She answered, 'one of your old Coats,' on which he replied, 'you shall immediately have one, and it shall be the one which I value the most highly,—the one which I wore during the whole day of the Battle of the Nile, and which I have never worn, nor even allowed to be brushed, since, in order that my Naval as well as other friends may know, from the streaks of perspiration and hair-powder which are still to be seen on it, the exertions which I made, and the anxiety which I felt, on that day to deserve the approbation of my King and Country.'

"Shortly after Mrs. Damer had presented the bust to the City of London, His late Majesty King William the Fourth, then Duke of Clarence, who had known her uncle, Lord William Campbell, in early life, and who had always been an admirer of her talents for sculpture, requested her to give him (which she did) a cast in plaster of Paris of that bust. Some years afterwards, when he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, he called on her, and told her that he wished to show her, now that he had the power of doing so, how sincere the respect was which he entertained for her uncle's distinguished conduct as a Naval officer, and for her own enthusiastic zeal for Nelson's heroic acts, and that he was therefore most anxious to place in the Navy the grandson of her uncle, Lord William Campbell, the present Lieutenant F. E. Johnston of the Terrible, and to put up the finest bronze bust which she could execute of Nelson along with his Coat, on the stump of the foremast of the Victory which stood in his library at Bushy. Mrs. Damer having obtained the consent of the parents, Sir Alexander and Lady Johnston, of her cousin, young Mr. Johnston, to her doing so, accepted the offer of His Royal Highness to place him in the Navy, and at the same time promised to execute for and present to His Royal Highness, for the purpose for which he intended it, the finest colossal bust of bronze which she could make of Nelson.

"Notwithstanding Mrs. Damer's great age, she being at the time nearly eighty years old, she finished this bronze bust a few days before her death, but not having been able to present it to His Royal Highness herself, left directions that her cousin, young Mr. Johnston, should present the bust and the Coat to His Royal Highness as soon as possible after her death.

"Upon His Royal Highness hearing of Mrs. Damer's directions with respect to the bust and Coat, he immediately appointed a day on which he was to receive Mr. Johnston with them; and having invited Sir Alexander and Lady Johnston and their son to Bushy, the bust was placed by His Royal Highness in their presence on the stump of the foremast of the Victory in the library; and the Painted Chamber in Greenwich Hospital having, on further consideration, been deemed a more appropriate place than Bushy for the Coat, it was put into the case in which it is now seen, with a glass over it, and sent to the Painted Chamber at Greenwich Hospital."

[9] No. CLXIV. for July 1842.

commonly worn since he left Portsmouth; it was a plain blue Coat, on which the Star of the Bath was embroidered, as was then customary;" and that all which occurred respecting his Decorations was, that "while walking the deck, and *after the firing had commenced*, Hardy remarked that the badge might draw attention from the Enemy's tops, to which the Hero coolly replied,—'He was aware it might be seen, but it was now too late to be shifting a Coat.'" Dr. Beatty says, that before the Action began, several of the Victory's Officers felt anxious about Lord Nelson's personal safety, and that he (Beatty) expressed to Dr. Scott, a wish that the Admiral might be entreated by somebody to cover the Stars on his Coat with a handkerchief; and there is no other variation between the description given of the Coat in Captain Smyth's letter, on the authority of Sir Thomas Hardy, &c., and that given by Dr. Beatty, than that the former mentions only *one* Star—that of the Bath,—while the latter, in one place, speaks of "four Stars," and in another place of "Stars."

The facts are simply these:—Lord Nelson was entitled to wear four Stars—those of the Orders of the Bath, St. Ferdinand and Merit, the Crescent, and St. Joachim. It was then the custom to embroider the Stars of Orders on the Coat, instead, as now, of occasionally fixing them on it by a clasp, like a brooch, so that when the Coat was worn, the Decorations being sewn upon it, were necessarily worn at the same time. It was also usual before and long after 1805, for Knights to wear their Insignia at all times; and conformably with that practice, Lord Nelson never appeared without them. This is an answer to the assertion that he *purposely* put on his Decorations on the eventful day; and to the insinuation that his vanity caused him to wear his Orders more frequently than was then usual. The evidence on this subject is conclusive:—

1st, The statement of Dr. Beatty.

2ndly, The authority of Sir Thomas Hardy, Captain Quilliam, and other Officers of the Victory, referred to in Captain Smyth's letter in the "United Service Magazine."

3rdly, The following Extract from a Letter to the Editor, from Captain Pasco, who was Lord Nelson's Flag Lieutenant, at Trafalgar[1], dated on the 11th of October 1844:—

"The Coat Lord Nelson wore on the 21st of October 1805, was such as he always wore while I had the honour and happiness of serving under his Flag (nearly three years). It had four stars on the left breast, and certainly *no* additional Order, or *alteration* of dress was used on that day."

[1] Vide p. 140, ante.

4thly, The following Extract from a Letter to the Editor, dated "Brighton, November 20th, 1844," from Captain Sir George Westphal, who, being then a Midshipman of the Victory, was wounded at Trafalgar:—

"From the period of his Flag being hoisted at Spithead, at the commencement of hostilities with France in 1803, to the hour of his death, *I have no recollection of ever seeing him wear a full-dress uniform Coat on board the Victory, or elsewhere;* and I am most positive that the Coat which his Lordship wore on the day the Battle was fought, was an *old undress Uniform,* the skirts being lined with white shalloon or linen. The *four* Orders that he *invariably* wore were embroidered on the breast of every Coat I had ever seen him wear from his first hoisting his Flag. They were placed thus ⁂ on the left breast of his Coat—the Order of the Bath being uppermost. I feel persuaded that you cannot have better authority than my own for the truth of this disputed question, because when I was carried down wounded, I was placed by the side of his Lordship, and his Coat was rolled up, and put as the substitute for a pillow under my head, which was then bleeding very much from the wound I had received; and when the Battle was over, and an attempt made to remove the Coat, several of the bullions of the epaulette were found to be so firmly glued into my hair, by the coagulated blood from my wound, that the bullions, four or five of them, were cut off, and left in my hair, one of which I have still in my possession."

5thly, THE COAT ITSELF, which indeed would supersede the necessity of any other evidence, were it not that the statements above alluded to are proofs of its authenticity.

The existence of the Coat was made known to the Editor by Mrs. Ward (Lord Nelson's daughter, so often mentioned in his Letters), in his first interview with her, on the 2nd of October 1844. In reply to the Editor's inquiry whether she had any information respecting the statement that Lord Nelson had put on his Orders on going into Battle, Mrs. Ward told him that the Coat itself was preserved, and after minutely describing it to him, added, that it was sent to Lady Hamilton on the Victory's return to England, by Captain Hardy, together with all Lord Nelson's other effects—that she had known it from her childhood,—and that it was then in the possession of Mrs. Smith of Twickenham, the widow of Alderman Smith, who had advanced money to Lady Hamilton in her distress. The propriety of this Relic being deposited in Greenwich Hospital, naturally suggested itself to the Editor's mind; and he determined, if possible, to accomplish it. Had his own resources enabled him to gratify his wishes, the Coat would have been immediately bought, and presented to Greenwich Hospital; but as this was

not the case, it was necessary to consider what was the most eligible plan to adopt. He frequently mentioned the circumstance to many persons of influence and fortune, but no one offered to assist him. In June 1845, he saw Mrs. Smith at Twickenham, for the first time, and the Coat was then shown to him. A careful examination proved its authenticity beyond the possibility of doubt; and, to his great satisfaction, it completely negatived the statement, so inconsistent with Nelson's character, that he had done anything unusual respecting his appearance, on the morning of the Battle, for the Stars were all firmly sewn on it. The sight of this Relic induced him to take immediate measures for securing it to the Country; and he printed a Statement on the 26th of that month, describing the Coat, and inviting the Countrymen of Nelson to subscribe 150*l.*, the price demanded, that it might be bought and deposited, with the Coat worn by him at the Nile, in Greenwich Hospital*.

As His Royal Highness Prince Albert had been pleased to allow his name to be associated with that of Nelson, by permitting this Work to be inscribed to him, the Editor considered it his duty to submit the Paper for His Royal Highness's consideration before it was circulated, and within a few hours he had the gratification of receiving the following letter from His Royal Highness's Treasurer:—

"Sir, "Buckingham Palace, June 28th, 1845.

"With reference to the communication which you sent me this morning to lay before H.R.H. Prince Albert, relative to the pro-

* To the above statement of facts, the Editor thinks it proper to add a Note, of a personal nature to himself, in reference to a pamphlet, alike scurrilous and mendacious, which has been published, with the object of attracting attention to a curiosity-shop, already (it might have been supposed) sufficiently notorious.

The writer of that pamphlet has dared to say that, I, having obtained a knowledge of the existence of Lord Nelson's Coat from a letter and a catalogue which he had *unintentionally* sent to me in a parcel containing letters relating to Lord Nelson, Lady Hamilton, and others, which he had offered for publication in this Work, availed myself of that knowledge to become the instrument of the Coat's being bought by Prince Albert for Greenwich Hospital, and that I thereby prevented this libeller from purchasing it to sell again, as an article of his trade. It is sufficient to say, in answer to this scandalous imputation, that I did not hear from that person until the end of October 1844, nearly a month after I was informed of the existence of the Coat by Mrs. Ward; that there was *no such letter* among those which he sent to me as the one to which he alludes; and though there was the catalogue he mentions, *it did not contain the slightest allusion whatever to the Coat.* These simple facts may enable the readers of that pamphlet to judge of the veracity of the other statements which it contains, as well those relating to me, as to the Lady whom he has so shamefully misrepresented.

N. H. N.

posal for raising a subscription for the purchase of the Coat and Waistcoat worn by Lord Nelson, when he received his fatal wound at Trafalgar, with a view to its being deposited as a National relic at Greenwich Hospital, I beg to inform you that I have brought the subject before the Prince, and have received H.R. Highness's Commands to purchase these relics on his account, and it will be a pride and a pleasure to him to present them to Greenwich Hospital. Will you endeavour to effect this object without delay, and to inform me of the result?—I have the honour to be, &c.,

G. ANSON."

A cheque for 150*l.* having been placed in the Editor's hands, it was immediately paid to Mrs. Smith, and the Coat and Waistcoat were delivered by him to the Prince at Buckingham Palace, who manifested the liveliest interest on the subject; and thus the Country owes the possession of one of its most precious Relics to His Royal Highness's consideration and munificence.'

As might be expected, numerous Monuments have been erected to NELSON's memory in different parts of the United Kingdom. Parliament having voted Monuments in St. Paul's Cathedral, to Lord Nelson and Captains Duff and Cooke, they have accordingly been placed there. On that of NELSON he is represented at full length, leaning on an anchor, dressed in his full uniform, and wears the pelisse of honour which was given to him by the Sultan. Beneath, on the right, is Britannia directing the attention of two young seamen to NELSON; and on the other side is the British Lion. The cornice of the pedestal is inscribed with the words COPENHAGEN, NILE, TRAFALGAR; and the Figures on the pedestal itself, represent the North Sea, the German Ocean, the Nile, and the Mediterranean. It is the production of Flaxman, and was not completed until May 1818, thirteen years after the event which it commemorates. The following is the inscription upon it:—

"Erected at the Public expense to the Memory of Vice-Admiral HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B., to record his splendid and unparalleled achievements during a life spent in the service of his Country, and terminated in the moment of Victory by a glorious Death in the memorable Action off Cape Trafalgar, on the XXI of October, MDCCCV. Lord Nelson was born on the XXIX of September, MDCCLVIII. The Battle of the Nile was fought on the I of August, MDCCXCVIII. The Battle of Copenhagen on the II of April, MDCCCI."

In the middle aisle of the Cathedral, immediately beneath the centre of the dome, within iron rails, stands the tomb of Lord Nelson: a sarcophagus of black and white marble, resting on a square pedestal, and that again resting on a square base of coarse masonry. On one side of the pedestal, in letters of metal, are the words—HORATIO VISC. NELSON. A coronet and cushion are placed on the sarcophagus; and within the square base of masonry below, the Body of Lord Nelson is inclosed. His nephew, Lord Trafalgar, who died in January 1808, was interred in a vault beneath. The sarcophagus and pedestal which were brought from Wolsey's tomb-house at Windsor, were the same which the Cardinal had prepared for the reception of his own body in the reign of King Henry the Eighth[3].

The City of London caused a Monument to be erected in the Guildhall, which was opened to public view on the 9th of November 1810. It consists of a group of three Figures—Britannia weaping over a bust of Nelson—the City recording his Victories—and Neptune leaning on a dolphin. The Battle of Trafalgar is represented on the pedestal, in basso relievo, with Lord Collingwood's Ship as it appeared after the Action. The following inscription was, it is said, written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, but it is scarcely worthy of his taste or talents:—

"To HORATIO VISCOUNT and BARON NELSON, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. A man amongst the few who appear at different periods to have been created to promote the grandeur and add to the security of Nations; inciting by their high example their fellow-mortals through all succeeding times, to pursue the course that leads to the exaltation of our imperfect nature. Providence, that implanted in NELSON'S breast an ardent passion for renown, as bounteously endowed him with the transcendent talents necessary to the great purposes he was destined to accomplish. At an early period of life he entered into the Naval Service of his Country; and early were the instances which marked the fearless nature and enterprise of his character; uniting to the loftiest spirit and the justest title to self-confidence, a strict and humble obedience to the sovereign rule of discipline and subordination. Rising by due gradation to command, he infused into the bosoms of those he led the valorous ardour and enthusiastic zeal for the service of his King and Country which animated his own; and while he acquired the love of all by the sweetness and moderation of his temper, he inspired a universal confidence in the never-failing resources of his capacious mind. It will be for history to relate the many great exploits through which, solicitous of peril, and regardless of wounds, he became the glory of his profession.

[3] Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, by Ellis, p. 213.

But it belongs to this brief record of his illustrious career to say that he commanded and conquered at the Battles of the NILE and COPENHAGEN, Victories never before equalled, yet afterwards surpassed by his own last achievement, the Battle of TRAFALGAR, fought on the 21st of October, 1805. On that day, before the conclusion of the Action, he fell mortally wounded; but the sources of life and sense failed not until it was known to him that the destruction of the Enemy being completed, the glory of his Country and his own had attained their summit. Then laying his hand on his brave heart, with a look of exalted resignation to the will of the SUPREME DISPOSER of the fate of Man and Nations, he expired. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London have caused this Monument to be erected, not in the presumptuous hope of sustaining the departed Hero's memory, but to manifest their estimation of the Man, and their admiration of his deeds. This testimony of their Gratitude, they trust, will remain as long as their own renowned City shall exist. The period to NELSON'S Fame can only be THE END OF TIME."

Monuments were also raised to Nelson by the Cities of Norwich and Bristol[4], and by the Towns of Birmingham, Yarmouth, by the Cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dublin; and in Canada and at Barbadoes. The Companions of his Victory[5] erected a Pillar to the Hero, on Portsdown Hill, which is simply inscribed with these words:—

[4] The following letter from Earl Nelson to Lieutenant-General Money, shows that it was proposed to erect a monument to Lord Nelson at Burnham Thorpe, but none has ever been placed there:—

"No. 18, Charles Street, Berkeley Square,
"Sir, London, January 23rd, 1806.

"I have received the favour of your polite letter of the 20th instant. The great zeal you have shown throughout this business can never be called officiousness, and can never be taken by candid people in any other light than you meant it. I beg you will accept the thanks of myself and the whole of my family as being one of the first, if not the very first mover of it in the county of Norfolk. Whatever appears to be the sense of the county in general (when that can be fairly collected) ought certainly to be complied with; I can have no right to interfere.

"There may be objections against Burnham Thorpe, as being an obscure and remote village, and there may be reasons in its favour, as having given birth to one of the greatest of Heroes. I candidly confess the bias of my mind at present leads me to the latter, as I well knew the affection he had for the place of his nativity, and I verily believe, could he look out of his grave, he would say Burnham Thorpe. His remains would have been laid there, had not His Majesty been graciously pleased to direct otherwise. With this impression on my mind, I am sorry to differ from the respectable Noblemen and Gentlemen who compose the Committee, and I intend some time or other, if not done by the county, according to the means I may have in my power, to erect at Burnham Thorpe a small though inadequate tribute to the glorious memory of my late most dear and most honoured Brother, possibly in the garden belonging to the Parsonage House, on the very spot where he was born. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, NELSON."—*Autograph* in the possession of Josiah French, Esq.

[5] Vide p. 218, ante.

"Consecrated to the memory of LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, by the zealous attachment of all those who fought at TRAFALGAR, to perpetuate his triumph and their regret, MDCCCV. The British Fleet consisted of twenty-seven Ships of the Line; of France and Spain thirty-three, nineteen of which were taken or destroyed."

Though the first Monument erected to Nelson after his death has escaped general notice, the circumstances attending it are so remarkable as to deserve attention. As soon as the news of the Victory of Trafalgar reached Cork, Captain Watson, the Commander of the Sea Fencibles, determined to erect an Arch in the Park of Castle Townsend to Nelson's memory; and with the assistance of the men under his orders and a few masons, the object was accomplished in five hours. The Arch, which stands upon a high hill, and can be seen from a considerable distance at sea, has a marble tablet bearing the following inscription:—

"This Arch, the first Monument erected to the memory of NELSON, after the Battle of Trafalgar, was sketched and planned by Captain Joshua Rowley Watson, R.N., and built by him and twelve hundred of the Sea Fencibles, then under his command (assisted by eight masons). It was erected in five hours, on the tenth of November, 1805[6].

The tardy manifestation of the National gratitude by the erection of a Monument to Nelson in the Metropolis of the Empire, is very discreditable to the Country; and even when the attempt was made, the neglect of the Public to raise sufficient funds—the indifference of the Government—the necessity of accepting the donation of a Foreign Monarch—and the design which has been chosen for the purpose are alike lamentable; but the subject has been so frequently discussed, that the Editor is spared the pain of adding one word to those able remarks.

To the various testimonials of respect to Nelson, by Speeches in Parliament, grants of Honours, and votes of the Public money to his family, Addresses, and Monuments, &c., which have been mentioned, it is proper to add a notice of the Professional and Literary Honours which have been shown to his memory.

The Professional Honours, though few, were appropriate. Immediately after the Battle of Trafalgar, two First-Rates, called the NELSON and the TRAFALGAR, were ordered to be built; and two Ships each of one hundred and twenty guns, bearing those immortal names, still grace the British Navy. If to this commemoration of the Hero in the Service which he adorned, a Commission in each rank, were to be appro-

[6] From the information of the Reverend M. F. Stevens Townsend.

priated to the most meritorious Candidate, designated "the NELSON Commissions," the effect would probably be found highly beneficial to the Country, while a more grateful homage to Nelson's fame could hardly be devised.

The Literary Honours rendered to NELSON, consist of many, though very inadequate Memoirs of his Life, and of Poetical effusions. With few exceptions, however, the Muse of Britain has been remarkable only for her fecundity on this, it might be supposed, auspicious theme. Innumerable "Odes," "Monodies," "Elegies," "Dirges," "Tributes," "Verses," and "Laments," &c., have been written on NELSON and TRAFALGAR, but a few pages will be sufficient to revive the knowledge of the best of these productions.

Early in 1806, Mr. CANNING published anonymously a short Poem, entitled "Ulm and Trafalgar;" and by no Poet was the praise of NELSON more powerfully sung, the National loss more finely described, or the Hero's character more beautifully delineated than by that accomplished Orator and Statesman, who, to his other qualifications, added those of personal affection for the subject of his glowing verse. Mr. Canning, it should be remembered, was one of Nelson's friends who bid him farewell on board the Victory when he sailed for the last time from England. The Poem commences with representing Napoleon exulting over the defeat of the Austrian Armies and the surrender of Ulm; and "in insolence of power"

> "O'er England's seas his new dominion plann'd,—
> Whilst the red bolt yet flamed in NELSON'S hand!
> That hand, which erst, by Nile's affrighted tide,
> Smote with dread fire the godless Warrior's pride,
> And strew'd his blazing wrecks on Egypt's shore—
> Exhausted Europe, by the distant roar
> Roused from her trance, her shatter'd force combined,
> And half-redeem'd the freedom of mankind."

The subsequent success of Buonaparte's legions is then noticed, which, it is said, made him "in hope, dare profane"

> "With impious grasp, the sceptre of the main:—
> But ENGLAND heard the vaunt, and NELSON made it vain.
> NELSON once more, (though, taught by him, we own
> The thanks, the triumph, due to Heaven alone,)
> Once more the chosen instrument of good,
> Fix'd on the waves, and stablish'd on the flood,
> His Country's rights:—but seal'd them with his blood,
> O price, his conquering Country griev'd to pay!
> O dear-bought glories of Trafalgar's day!

Lamented Hero! when to Britain's shore
Exulting fame those aweful tidings bore,
Joy's bursting shout in whelming grief was drown'd,
And Victory's self unwilling audience found;
On every brow the cloud of sadness hung,
The sounds of triumph died on every tongue!

Not joy thus doubtful, sadness thus sincere,
Shall grace, erewhile, the Tyrant-Conqueror's bier:—
Whether with undiscriminating sweep
The scythe of war, amid the mangled heap,
Shall lay him low;—or lone, corroding care,—
Without one heart to pity or to share,—
'Midst cheerless toils of solitary sway,
Shall waste his withering frame with slow decay;
Come when it will, from Heav'n's all-righteous hand,
To save, or to avenge, each injured land,
Nations shall kneel to bless the welcome doom;
And France, unfetter'd, trample on his tomb.

But thee, loved Chief! what genuine griefs bemoan!
Fleets, Cities, Camps; the Cottage, and the Throne!
Round thy throng'd hearse those mingling sorrows flow,
And seek faint solace in a pomp of woe!

Yet not the vows thy weeping Country pays,
Not that high meed, thy mourning Sovereign's praise;
Not that the Great, the Beauteous, and the Brave
Bend, in mute reverence, o'er thy closing grave;
That with such grief as bathes a kindred bier,
Collective Nations mourn a death so dear;—
Not these alone shall soothe thy sainted Shade,—
And consecrate the spot where Thou art laid!
Not these alone. But, bursting through the gloom,
With radiant glory from thy trophied tomb,
The sacred splendour of thy deathless name
Shall grace and guard thy Country's martial fame.
Far-seen, shall blaze the unextinguish'd ray,
A mighty beacon, lighting Glory's way!
With living lustre this proud Land adorn,
And shine, and save, through ages yet unborn!

By that pure fire, before that hallow'd tomb,
Heroes and chiefs in valour's opening bloom,
Frequent, in solemn pilgrimage shall stand,
And vow to prize, like Thee, their native land;
With pious ardour thy bright course pursue,
And bid thy blended virtues live anew:—
Thy skill to plan; thy enterprise to dare;
Thy might to strike; thy clemency to spare;
That zeal, in which no thought of self had part,
But thy lov'd Country fill'd up all thy heart;
That conscious worth, from pride, from meanness free,
And manners mild as guileless infancy;

The scorn of worldly wealth; the thirst of fame
Unquenchable; the blush of generous shame;
And bounty's genial flow, and friendship's holy flame!

And sure, if e'er the Spirits of the Blest
Still fondly cherish, in the realms of rest,
Their human passions; thine are still the same;—
Thy zeal for England's safety and her fame!
And when in after-times, with vain desire,
Her baffled foes in restless hate conspire
From her fair brow th' unfading wreath to tear,
Thy hand,—and hands like thine,—have planted there—
Thou, sacred Shade! in battle hovering near,
Shalt win bright Victory from her golden sphere,
To float aloft, where England's ensign flies,
With angel wings, and palms from paradise!

Cease then the funeral strain!—Lament no more,
Whom, ripe for fate, 't were impious to deplore!
He died the death of glory!—Cease to mourn,
And cries of grief to songs of triumph turn!
—Ah, no! Awhile, ere reason's voice o'erpow'rs
The fond regret that weeps a loss like ours:
Though thine own gallant spirit, wise as brave,
Begg'd of kind Heav'n the illustrious end It gave;
Though rival chiefs, while fondly they recall
Thy storied combats, and thy glorious fall,
Count with just pride thy laurels as they bloom,
But envy less thy triumphs than thy tomb;—
Yet, yet, awhile the natural tear may flow,
Nor cold reflection chide the chastening woe;
Awhile uncheck'd the tide of sorrow swell:—
Thou bravest, gentlest Spirit! fare thee well!"

Mr. CROKER invoked his patriotic and spirited Muse with equal success on the same occasion, in his "Songs of Trafalgar:"—

"He dies! but while on Egypt's strand
The Ptolomean tower shall stand;—
Stain'd with the turbid streams of Nile,
While seas shall beat Aboukir's isle;—
While the white ocean breaks and roars
On Trafalgar's immortal shores;—
While high St. Vincent's towery steep,
And, giant of the Atlantic deep,
Dark Teneriffe, like beacons, guide
The wanderers of the western wave;
Sublime shall stand, amid the tide
Of baffled Time,—his country's pride—
The sacred memory of the brave;
And NELSON's emulated name
Shine the proud sea-mark to the ports of Fame!

III.

"'Twas at the close of that dark morn
On which our Hero, conquering, died,
That every seaman's heart was torn
By strife of sorrow and of pride;—

Of pride, that one short day would show
Deeds of eternal splendour done,
Full twenty hostile ensigns low,
And twenty glorious victories won—

Of grief, of deepest, tenderest grief,
That He, on every sea and shore,
Their brave, beloved, unconquer'd Chief,
Should wave his victor-flag no more."

* * * * *

IV.

"Rear high the monumental stone!—
To other days, as to his own,
Belong the Hero's deathless deeds,
Who greatly lives, who bravely bleeds.

Not to a petty point of time
Or space, but wide to every clime
And age, his glorious fall bequeaths
Valour's sword, and victory's wreaths.

* * * * *

Happy the brave! whose sacred tomb
Itself averts the oblivious doom,
Bears on its breast unfading bays,
And gives eternity of praise!

High, then, the monumental pile
Erect, for NELSON of the NILE!
Of TRAFALGAR, and VINCENT'S heights,
For NELSON of the hundred fights.

* * * * *

Rear the tall shaft on some bold steep,
Whose base is buried in the deep;
But whose bright summit shines afar
O'er the blue ocean, like a star.

* * * * *

Around it, when the raven night
Shades ocean, fire the beacon-light;
And let it, thro' the tempest, flame
The star of safety as of fame.

Thither, as o'er the deep below,
The seaman seeks his country's foe,
His emulative eye shall roll,
And NELSON'S spirit fill his soul.

Thither, shall youthful heroes climb,
The NELSONS of an aftertime,
And round that sacred altar swear
Such glory and such graves to share.

Raise then, Imperial Britain, raise
The trophied pillar to his praise;
And worthy be its towering pride,
Of those that live, of HIM that died!

Worthy of NELSON of the NILE!
Of NELSON of the cloud-capped Isle,
Of TRAFALGAR and VINCENT's heights,
Of NELSON of the hundred fights!"

The EARL OF CARLISLE[7] likewise published some "Verses on the Death of LORD NELSON;" and a HOWARD, above all other Englishmen, must naturally have appreciated the glory of a Commander who had defeated the modern Armada:—

"NELSON's no more! exclaims th' exulting Gaul,
And views a future Navy in his fall.
O noble meed of worth, of high renown,
As bright a Glory round true Valour thrown,
As Britain bending o'er her fallen Chief,
Forgetting all her Conquests in her grief."

Alluding to the expectation of France that Britain's "empire of the Main" was lost with NELSON, Lord Carlisle said:—

"O blast the hope! O break the flattering charm,
That all of NELSON sleeps in Earth's cold womb,
That soul in thousands is infus'd; that arm
To point to future Conquests—bursts the tomb."

Verses were also written on NELSON's fall by the DUKE and DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE[8], and those of His Grace have considerable terseness and point:—

[7] Lord Carlisle's admiration of NELSON was also shown by his erecting a small Rostral Column to his fame in the Court of Castle Howard, on the sides of which are the words ABOUKIR, COPENHAGEN, TRAFALGAR; and he placed the following graceful lines on an ancient Altar from the Temple of Delphi, which was brought to England in Lord Nelson's Ship from the Mediterranean:—

"Pass not this ancient Altar with disdain,
'Twas once in Delphi's sacred Temple rear'd;
From this the Pythian pour'd her mystic strain,
While Greece its fate in anxious silence heard.
What Chief, what Hero, of th' Achaian race,
Might not to this have bow'd with holy awe;
Have clung, in pious reverence, round its base,
And from the voice inspired, received the law?
A British Chief, as fam'd in Arms as those,
Has borne this relic o'er th' Italian waves;
In War still friend to Science, this bestows,
And Nelson gives it to the land he saves.

[8] William, fifth Duke of Devonshire, K.G., born in 1748, and died in 1811. He married first in 1774, Georgiana, daughter of John, first Earl Spencer, who died in March 1806.

"Oft had Britannia sought, midst dire alarms,
DIVINE protection for her sons in arms;
Generous and brave, but not from vices free,
Britons from Heaven received a mix'd decree;
To crown their merits, but to check their pride,
God gave them Victory, but NELSON died."

The Duchess of Devonshire's verses are full of grace and feeling:—

"NELSON, by valour led to deathless fame,
All toils surmounted, and all foes o'ercame,
Braved every danger, calm and undismay'd,
Whilst some new triumph marked each step he made;
Superior force his ardent soul defied,
He conquered, knew it, bless'd his God, and died.
Britannia, glorying in her Hero's fame,
On her victorious shield inscribes his name,
Grateful proclaims the safety which he gave,
But midst her triumphs weeps upon his grave."

Some lines on the same subject are attributed to Mr. Fox, but their authorship is doubtful, and they are scarcely worthy of his pen. Among the innumerable effusions, many spirited verses may be found in Mr. (afterwards Lord) Hawke's "Trafalgar, or Nelson's last Triumph;" in Mrs. Sewell's "Trafalgar," who, with womanly sympathy, ventured to allude to Nelson's domestic errors; in some anonymous verses "On the Death of Nelson," dated Oxford, April 1806; in an "Eulogy on Nelson," by a lady, in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1806[9]; and more especially in the "Monody," by the Reverend George Richards, from which a quotation has been made[1]. The following extract from an anonymous Poem called "Victory in Tears," dedicated to Earl Spencer, is given, not so much on account of the superior merit of the Poem, as for the allusion to Nelson's immortal signal:—

"His spirit, still shall warm through every age,
Excite our ardour, and direct our rage;
From out his tomb, the phantom Fame shall rise,
And stride the blast when Albion's lightning flies,
In War's wild tempest breathe his name, and spread
Despair's black shroud o'er every hostile head.
Though lost, his sword, the warrior's words shall save,
Deep written in the bosom of the brave;
Shall echoing ring, in Valour's voice reveal'd,
And work fresh miracles in every field.

[9] Vol. LXXVI. pt. i. p. 63.

[1] Vide p. 253, ante.

Lo! through each heart th' electric sentence runs!
'England expects their duty from her sons'[2]!

O words of wond'rous virtue!—awful spell;
Pronounc'd by Neptune's fav'rite, ere he fell!
Strong charm! in which his spirit breathes below!
Portentous sounds to ev'ry shuddering foe!
Hear them, ye slaves!—ye tyrants, trembling hear!
Ye cowards! learn them, to repel your fear!
Emblazon them ye heralds!—mark them down!
Henceforth, Britannia's motto of renown!"

Nor has Lord NELSON's glory failed to be sung by Bards of higher poetic fame. SIR WALTER SCOTT, in the Introduction to "Marmion," thus alluded to the then recent deaths of NELSON and PITT:—

"What powerful call shall bid arise
The buried warlike and the wise;
The mind that thought for Britain's weal,
The hand that grasp'd the victor steel?
The vernal sun new life bestows
Even on the meanest flower that blows,
But vainly, vainly may he shine
Where glory weeps o'er NELSON's shrine;
And vainly pierce the solemn gloom,
That shrouds, O PITT, thy hallow'd tomb!

Deep graved in every British heart,
O, never let those names depart!
Say to your sons,—Lo, here his grave,
Who victor died on Gadite wave,
To him, as to the burning levin,
Short, bright, resistless course was given.
Where'er his Country's foes were found
Was heard the fated thunder's sound,
Till burst the bolt on yonder shore,
Rolled, blazed, destroy'd—and was no more."

CAMPBELL, in his "Battle of the Baltic," and "Ye Mariners of England," perhaps the most spirit-stirring Odes in our language, mentions NELSON; but with no other eulogy than what his Name carries with it:—

[2] To these Lines the Author added the following note:—
"If the necessity of metrical adaptation had not absolutely required it, the author would have considered it a kind of sacrilege to make the smallest alteration in them, and he cannot avoid expressing a wish, that some means might be devised, of giving them a permanent existence, beyond the echoing admiration of the day. Such words, falling from such a man, on such an occasion, and attended by such consequences, should, with pious eagerness, be snatched from the winds, as a sybil's leaf of oracular importance, to be deposited not only in our hearts, but in our archives; to be written not only in our journals and histories, but to be graven on our medals, and emblazoned on the banners of our Country."

"Of NELSON and the North,
Sing the glorious days renown,
When to battle fierce came forth
All the might of Denmark's crown."

"Ye Mariners of England,"—

"The spirit of your fathers
Shall start from every wave!—
For the deck it was their field of fame,
And Ocean was their grave:
Where BLAKE and mighty NELSON fell,
Your manly hearts shall glow,
As ye sweep through the deep,
While the stormy tempests blow;
While the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy tempests blow."

BYRON notices NELSON only in "Don Juan;" and though the allusion is brief and undignified, it is full of significance:—

"NELSON was once Britannia's God of War,
And still should be so"——

This Cento of Poetic commemorations of NELSON and TRAFALGAR, would not be complete unless there were added to them the following beautiful Stanzas which were addressed by the unfortunate Miss Landon (L.E.L., afterwards Mrs. Maclean) to Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, G.C.B., Governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1836:—

Silence is now upon the seas,
The silent seas of yore;
The thunder of the cannonade
Awakes the wave no more.

The battle-flag droops o'er the mast,
There quiet let it sleep;
For it hath won in wilder hours
Its empire o'er the deep.

Now let it wave above their home,
Of those who fought afar;
The victors of the Baltic Sea,
The brave of Trafalgar.

Upon a terrace by the Thames,
I saw the Admiral stand;
He who received the latest clasp
Of NELSON's dying hand.

Age, toil, and care had somewhat bowed
His bearing proud and high;
But yet resolve was on his lip,
And fire was in his eye.

I felt no wonder England holds
Dominion o'er the seas:
Still the red cross will face the world,
While she hath men like these.

And gathered there beneath the sun
Were loitering veterans old;
As if of former victories
And former days they told.

No prouder trophy hath our Isle,
Though proud her trophies be,
Than that old Palace where are housed
The veterans of the sea.

Her other domes—her wealth, her pride,
Her science may declare;
But Greenwich hath the noblest claim—
Her gratitude is there.

Strange as it may seem, the fame of NELSON and the Battle of Trafalgar formed the subject of several Spanish Poems[s], all printed in 1805 or 1806; and of which a slight notice will be read with interest. The first of these Poems is entitled "La Sombra de Nelson," ("the Shade of Nelson.") The writer, not content with menacing "proud Albion" with the loss of her power, and with her speedy degradation from the rank she holds among the Nations of the earth, appears to take an ungenerous pleasure in making her own hero, Nelson, the prophet of evil. For this purpose the poet imagines, that after the fatal Battle, in which the "fiero terror del mar," as he styles him, was killed, the lofty top of Cape Trafalgar, traditionally the tomb of Gerion, one of Spain's legendary Kings, was lighted up with streams of fire, as from some vast volcano, and that in the midst appeared Nelson, as a hideous spectre, its livid body begrimed with blood and smoke, its head disfigured with a ghastly wound, while at its feet, there lay, upon faded laurels, a broken Naval crown. With a terrific voice, of sufficient power to still the waves which dashed against the opposite shore of Tarifa, it exclaims,—

"That the lamentable day decreed by Heaven to witness the downfall of England, is, at length, arrived: that the chosen instrument of this consummation is (Buonaparte) the mighty Captain who, after consolidating the throne of Clovis, wears upon his august brow a double crown, and whose trumpets have scared the Imperial Eagle of Germany."

[s] Two of these Poems are bound up with the MSS. relating to Trafalgar in the Egerton MSS. 382, before referred to, together with a Latin Ode: "Hispanis Militibus Navali adversus Britannos prœlio interfectis, Barnabas a Conga, Anno MCCMV."

The spectre afterwards describes the union of the Combined Fleet, and the subsequent Battle; then, addressing Gibraltar, says:—

"Thou, whose fond hope it was to see me return victorious, and to crown me with never-fading laurels, cover thy own brows with the melancholy cypress, and, bedewing my unburied and mutilated corpse with tears, restore it to my beloved Country. Proud England must yield to the eternal law. Empires die; the splendour which they owe to Fortune, will, by Fortune be obscured. Albion's maxim must ever be—Divide and conquer; she must corrupt the Nations with gold, and laugh to scorn the faith of treaties. If for a time her fate be still deferred, let her not rouse the fury of the Spanish Lion, who, safe and fearless in his den, licks his dread claws, which are reddened with her blood."

"Oh, Calpe! tu, que de esperanzas llena,
Hoy meditabas aclamar festiva
El triunfo, y dar coronas á mi frente,
Cubre la tuya de cipres funesto
Y mi cuerpo insepulto, destrozado,
Vuelve á la patria, y para siempre llore;

* * * * *

Cede á la eterna
Ley, Anglia altiva, que en diamante duro
Grabó el destino. Los imperios mueren:
Su esplendor se obscurece, la fortuna
Que los engrandeció, los abandona,
Y aun la memoria de su nombre acaba.
Si es dado al tuyo que su fin dilate,
No el ceño irrites del leon, que ruge
En su caverna, y de temor desnudo
Lame las garras con su sangre tintas."

The rocks and shores are then made to resound with cries of "vengeance! vengeance!" and the spectre makes his exit by precipitating himself into the flaming bowels of the mountain. The peroration consists of an apostrophe to Charles IV., calling upon that Monarch to take signal vengeance upon England.

Another of these Poems is an Ode addressed to the Spanish seamen in the Battle of the 21st of October 1805, by Don Manuel Josef Quintana. It commences with the trite remark, that glory and power are not of easy acquirement, a proposition illustrated by the example of Rome and of Hannibal. Fortitude is next represented as the only shield which can ward off the shafts of adversity; and Spain is implored not to succumb under her misfortune, but to seek for consolation in hope. The Poet then describes Nelson as—

"The Briton rendered arrogant by glory and power, standing

erect upon the quarter-deck of his unconquered vessel, and exclaiming to those around him, 'Behold, brave comrades, behold the new spoils which await our valour—We are the sons of Neptune—Remember the Nile!'"

A description of the Battle is then given:—

"Thrice the proud islander advanced, confiding in his might, to break our close formed Naval wall. Thrice repulsed by Spanish heroism, he sees that victory doubtful which he fondly thought within his grasp. Who can paint his disappointment and his rage, when he beholds that flag, once so proud, humbled before the Standard of Spain? It is not on skill, it is not on valour, but on numbers, that he now depends for victory."

The death of Alcedo, Castaños, Móyua, and other Spanish worthies is then noticed:—

"But you fell not, generous and devoted band, you fell not without due vengeance. The blood of Englishmen, flowing in streams, inundated their vessels, and Albion dismayed, contemplated, with looks of gloomy horror, the heaps of dead which now freighted her proud Armada.—Nelson, too, fell there,.....but think not, brave shade, think not when I name thee, it is to insult thee in thy dying hour—No, as an Englishman, I hate thee; as a Hero, I admire thee!"

"Tambien Albion pasmada
Los montes de cadáveres contempla,
Horrendo peso á su soberbia armada;
Tambien Nelson alli.....Terribile sombra
No esperes, no, quando mi voz te nombra,
Que vil insulte á tu postrer suspiro;
Como Ingles te aborrezco; héroe te admiro!"

The writer next depicts the effect produced upon the English, when, instead of—

"Beholding their Hero wafted up the Thames in all the pomp of triumph, they see him carried on its bosom, a pale and rigid corpse: a striking example of the nothingness of human pride, and a signal holocaust for the misery he had inflicted upon Spain."

"O golpe, ó suerte! El Támesis aguarda
De las naves cautivas
El confuso tropel, y ya en idea
Goza el aplauso y los sonoras vivas
Que al vencedor se dan. O suerte! El puerto
Solo le verá entrar pálido y yerto:
Exemplo grande á la arrogancia humana,
Digno holocausto á la afliccion Hispana."

Each Ship is represented as a volcano, when Heaven interferes, and suddenly commands the winds to separate the furious combatants. The winds obey, and rush upon the fated Vessels:—

"At this fresh assault, the trembling mast goes by the board. The resistless Ocean bursts through the ship with hideous roar; she sinks, while her drowning crew exclaim, 'We perish, but we perish fighting!'"

A third Poem is called "The Naval Battle of the 21st of October," by Don José Morales de Fuentes. After a highly complimentary dedication to Rear-Admiral Don Antonio Escaño, the Poem commences by invoking never-fading honours upon the Spanish nation and its illustrious heroes, among whom are included Gravina, Alava, Cisneros, Galiano, Cagigal, &c.—

The departure of the Fleet from Cadiz, gives the Poet an opportunity of describing that City, which he styles the "rico Gaditano Emporio," as seen from the bay; then follows an account of Nelson's attempt to surprise the Spanish Fleet by night, but which was defeated by the vigilance of Gravina. At day-break Nelson—

"Inflamed with impious rage for the loss of his arm, and revolving in his mind the glories of the Nile and Copenhagen, no sooner descries the flag of Cisneros fluttering in the breeze than he aspires to make the Trinidad his prize, and rushes to the fight, exclaiming in tones of furious command, 'let Spanish blood in streams be made to flow.'"

"Ardiendo Nélson en venganza impia,
Por su patente mutilado miembro,
Y Abukir, Copenhague en su memoria,
Con frenético orgullo repasando,
Al descubrir la tremolente insignia
De Cisneros, aspira á la alta gloria
De arrebatar lo Trinidad ansiada,
Y con furor clamando
Corra en arroyos la Española sangre!"

He is repulsed by Alava. The destruction on board Lord Collingwood's Ship, and the death of many gallant Officers then follow. Nelson is represented as burning with increased ardour to take the noble Vessel of Cisneros, and thus secure the applause and gratitude of his countrymen, when after returning to England he shall sail in triumph up the meandering Thames. But these anticipations are, together with his life, suddenly destroyed by a murderous ball which strikes him down: he dies—

"Nelson se inflama, y á la rica presa
Se arrojá audaz . . . quando de parte á parte,
Por matadora bala traspasado
Cae" . . . . . .

The storm which followed the Battle, next occupies the Poet; and he closes by invoking the "Sea to curl up its

avenging waves, and bury in its fathomless abyss, those tyrannical barks already defeated by Spanish heroism."

"Encrespa, O Mar! tus vengadoras olas
Y con saña implacable
En tu abismo insondable,
Sepulta esos tiránicos baxeles
Por el brio Español desmantelados!"

The preceding Poems were noticed in the Monthly Review[4] for 1806; together with another entitled, "Relacion en la que se elogia sencillamente, á los Heroes del combate del dia 21 de Octubre, &c. The author having enumerated the Spanish Officers of distinction who were killed or wounded, adds:—

"Pero aunque son tan sensibles
Nuestras pérdidas notorias,
La satisfaccion logramos
De ver á la fanfarrona
Nacion Inglesa de luto
Por la muerte lastimosa
De su gran General Nelson,
En quien su esperanza toda
Tenia depositada;
Pues su pérdida mas monta
Que la de los otros Gefes,
Los diez mil hombres de tropa,
Los ciento cincuenta y dos
De Oficialidad briosa,
Y diez y nueve navios
Que han perdido en la derrota!"

"But though our losses are great, we have the satisfaction of seeing the vain-glorious English mourning the lamentable death of their great Admiral, in whom all their hopes were centred; for the loss of Nelson is of greater moment than all the other Chiefs, the ten thousand soldiers, and the hundred and fifty-two brave officers, and the *nineteen ships* of which this engagement deprived us.'"

Of the "Sombra de Nelson," which was reprinted in the Diario de Carthagena of the 5th and 6th January 1806, the Reviewer says—

"The whole performance is marked with considerable elegance and dignity of language, and abounds in images and descriptions, which are grand and impressive. The inferiority not only of the two poems above mentioned, but of several produced on the same theme on our own side of the water, to this work of the imagination, reminds us of the assertion of Waller, who, when Charles the Second complained that his panegyric on Cromwell was superior in poetical merit to the congratulation presented to himself on his restoration, is said to have replied, 'Poets, Sir, succeed better in fiction than in truth.'"

[4] New Series, vol. I. p. 523.

MISS HORATIA NELSON THOMPSON,

(NOW MRS. WARD.)

There is so much mystery respecting LORD NELSON'S only child HORATIA, and so much interest naturally attaches to her who, next to his Country, was the object of his dying thoughts, and whom he solemnly "bequeathed to the beneficence of his Country," as one of the only two favours he asked "of his King and Country at the moment when he was going to fight their Battle," that all of her history which has been discovered ought to be stated.

The Register of the Parish of Marylebone, contains the following entry:—

"Baptisms, 1803.
May 13, HORATIA NELSON THOMPSON,
B. 29 October, 1800."

That Lord Nelson believed himself to be the father of this child, is placed beyond dispute by his whole conduct towards her; but there is great doubt who was her *mother*. It has been generally supposed that she was the daughter of Lord Nelson by Lady Hamilton; but although many facts are calculated to raise such a presumption, the Editor is authorized by Mr. Haslewood, long the confidential friend and professional adviser of Lord Nelson, to declare, in the most positive manner, that *Lady Hamilton was not its mother*. The name of the mother is known to Mr. Haslewood; but he is prevented by a sense of honour from disclosing it. Lady Hamilton always said that the child's mother was a person of high birth, and she has left a written declaration that she was "too great to be mentioned[5]."

Before adducing documentary evidence upon the subject, it is proper to give the only two verbal statements that are known to the Editor—namely, those of Thomas Allen, Lord Nelson's servant; and of a Mrs. Johnstone (who is dead), the daughter of Mrs. Gibson (now also dead), the Nurse to whose care the infant was intrusted soon after its birth.

Allen's statement[6] is as follows:—

"One day, towards the latter end of January 1801, while Lord Nelson was living in Halfmoon Street, and when he was dressing for dinner, a female who appeared to be very near her confinement, and much agitated, came and inquired for Lord Nelson. He (Allen) recognized her as the sister of a merchant at Genoa, and who had a brother a Lieutenant of the Navy. On Allen's informing Lord Nelson, he immediately desired him to call a hackney-coach, and to say nothing concerning it to the servants. He got into the coach, and drove off, not returning for a couple of hours. Allen also said that she came over in the Seahorse, Sir William Fremantle, who was acquainted with the whole story. He further added, that he heard afterwards that she died in her confinement."

Upon this statement it is to be observed, that though the main facts may be correct, nearly all the details are erroneous. The

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[5] Vide p. 388 post.

[6] This statement was made by Allen to the Reverend Philip Ward, about the year 1825.

Seahorse was not commanded by Captain Fremantle, in 1800; nor did that Ship arrive from the Mediterranean in the latter part of that year, or early in 1801. Lord Nelson quitted London on the 13th of January 1801 for Plymouth, and did not return to Town until the 24th of February, when he remained there only two days. He sailed on the 2nd of March from Spithead, for Yarmouth, and thence to the Baltic. If, therefore, the circumstance related by Allen did occur, it must have been between November 1800, and the 13th of January 1801; but Mr. Haslewood declares that it is not true.

Mrs. Johnstone's statement[7] is, that—

"Lady Hamilton brought the child to her mother's house in a hackney-coach one night, and placed her under her charge, telling her that she should be handsomely remunerated. She was unattended, and did not give the nurse any information as to the child's parents. The nurse declared she was no more than eight days old. This was either in the month of January or February; and Mrs. Gibson said she could never make out why her birthday was kept in October. She remained with the nurse till she was five or six years old. Lady Hamilton constantly visited her: Lord Nelson was frequently her companion in her visits to her, and often came alone, and played for hours with the infant on the floor, calling her his own child."

According to this account, the child was born in the month of *January* or *February;* and though the year is not mentioned, it was certainly in 1801: hence the date assigned to her birth in the register of her baptism, viz., the 29th of October 1800, must have been purposely misstated, the reason for which has not been discovered.

The documentary evidence is of two kinds—first, autograph letters in the possession of Mrs. Ward, which have been carefully examined by the Editor; and secondly, the letters printed in the volumes entitled "The Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamil-

[7] This statement was made to Captain James Ward, of the 81st Regiment, by Mrs. Johnstone, under the following circumstances. Miss Horatia Nelson married in 1822, the Reverend Philip Ward, and in 1828, while Captain Ward was staying with them at his brother's curacy of Bircham Newton, in Norfolk, Mrs. Ward (who had lost sight of her nurse, Mrs. Gibson, for some years) received a letter from her daughter, Mrs. Mary Johnstone, inquiring after her. Mrs. Ward requested Captain Ward to call upon Mrs. Johnstone on his return to London, and to obtain any information she possessed respecting her parentage and infancy, &c. He did so, and Mrs. Johnstone made the above statement to him, adding that she had many letters about the child, which had been written to Mrs. Gibson, as well as a portrait of her, which Lord Nelson had given to Mrs. Gibson, while she was under her care, which she would, if Mrs. Ward wished it, send her. The offer was accepted, and thus the letters from Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson to Mrs. Gibson, in the text, came into Mrs. Ward's possession. In communicating to Mrs. Ward the result of his interview, Captain Ward wrote on the 18th of September 1828, "I have seen Mrs. Johnstone; she is the little deformed woman whom you recollect. She appeared very much pleased at hearing of you, although the poor creature was under great affliction, her husband (whom I understand was a most respectable man and comfortably off) was then nearly dead. I have since called twice, and find he is no more, so that probably I may not see her again for some days. I sat with her an hour, and she gave me the following information about yourself, which probably you have heard before." It may be observed, that Mrs. Johnstone was of most respectable character and in good circumstances, and had no pecuniary or unworthy motive for communicating these facts.

ton[8]." Of the authenticity of the autograph letters no doubt can possibly be entertained; but it is very difficult to decide how far the printed letters are genuine, and it is certain that some important passages in them have been suppressed.

The child always bore the names of HORATIA NELSON THOMPSON[9], and, in the printed letters, Lord Nelson not only often speaks of a "Mrs. Thompson, and her child," in terms of the greatest affection, as well as of its father "Thompson;" but he is said to have addressed two remarkable letters to Mrs. Thompson herself, under cover to Lady Hamilton. That by "Thompson," Lord Nelson meant *himself;* and that by "Thompson's child," he referred to the infant called "Horatia Nelson Thompson," whom he afterwards styled his "adopted daughter," seems evident; but the question is, *who* was "Mrs. Thompson," the child's mother?

It must be observed, that Lord Nelson was constantly at Palermo from the end of October 1799, until the 16th of January 1800, when he went to Leghorn, but he returned to Palermo on the 3rd of February. On the 12th of February he proceeded off Malta and returned to Palermo on the 16th of March, and he continued there until the 24th of April, on which day, having Sir William and Lady Hamilton on board, he sailed for Malta. They returned to Palermo on the 1st of June, and left on the 10th for Leghorn, with the Queen of Naples and Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Lord Nelson remained at Leghorn until the 17th of July, when he travelled from thence with Sir William and Lady Hamilton to England, arriving in London on the 8th of November 1800. Hence, if Lord Nelson was the father of a child born either in October 1800, or between that time and February 1801, the mother of such child must have been at Palermo when it was begotten.

On the 28th of January 1801, the name of "Mrs. Thompson" first occurs in Lord Nelson's letters. Writing to Lady Hamilton from Plymouth, on that day, he says,—

"I have this moment seen Mrs. Thomson's friend. Poor fellow, he seems very uneasy and melancholy. He begs you to be kind to her; and I have assured him of your readiness to relieve the dear good woman[1]."

As the infant is not mentioned, it was probably not then born; and "Mrs. Thompson's" situation was apparently the cause of the uneasiness which Lord Nelson expresses. The birth of the child is presumed, from the Notes to its nurse, to have occurred soon afterwards, and very likely early in February.

There are altogether thirty-eight Notes preserved from Lady Hamilton to Mrs. Gibson, the child's nurse. Not one of them was dated; but the dates of about twenty-five are fixed by the *post-marks*, and these will be inserted. They were all addressed "Mrs.

[8] 8vo. 1814.

[9] Both Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton wrote the name, sometimes "Thomson," and at others, "Thompson," which is additional proof that it was fictitious.

[1] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. p. 22. (See this letter in vol. iv. p. 279.)

Gibson, No. 9, Little Titchfield Street, Marylebone," except when otherwise stated:—

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 7 February, 1801."]

"Dear Madam,—My cold has been so bad, I could not go out to-day, but to-morrow will call on you. Write me by the penny post how the dear little Miss Horatia is. Ever your sincere friend—E. H."

[Post-mark, "4 o'clock, 11 February, 1801, Ev."]

"I hope, my dear Mrs. Gibson, that Miss Horatia is well. If it is a fine day to-morrow, bring her in a coach well wrapped up to see me, but let her be well covered getting in and out of the coach. Come at 11 o'clock. Your sincere friend—E. HAMILTON."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 18th February, 18...." (1801.)]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—At eleven to-morrow pray bring Miss Horatia to see your sincere friend. Come in a coach, as the weather is bad.—E.H. Her mama is better."

[Post-mark, "8 o'clock, 7 March, 1801, Mn."]

"Friday night.

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—Come to me to-morrow at 12 o'clock and bring Horatia with you. Ever, ever yours.—E. H."

[Post-mark, "2 o'clock, 14 March, 1801, A. Nn."]

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—How are you? Will you to-morrow bring the little girl, as I wish to see you and her at eleven o'clock. Ever yours sincerely.—E. H."

[Post-mark, "8 o'clock, 15 March, 1801, Mn."]

"Lady Hamilton will be glad to see Mrs. Gibson Sunday, instead of to-morrow, and hopes Miss Thomson is better, and begs Mrs. G. will write to let her know how she does."

[Post-mark, "2 o'clock, 23 March, 1801, An."]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—Send me word how the Miss Thomson does. I could not possibly come to you yesterday. If she is better will come to-morrow. Ever yours sincerely.—E. H."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 23 March, 1801, Nt."]

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—Pray do send the nurse away, and change the milk; for I don't like the nurse much, and her parents advise it. The mother is very ill in the Country; therefore do all that's right, and to-morrow I will see you. Pay her, and if you like give her five shillings over. Ever yours.—E. H."

Here, then, is evidence that a child called "HORATIA" was under the charge of a Mrs. Gibson, on the 7th of February 1801, and that she was not weaned at the end of March in that year,—facts compatible with her having been born either in October 1800, or in January or February 1801; and that as early as the 15th of March the child was called "Miss THOMSON."

On the 16th of February Lord Nelson writes to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dearest friend,—Your letters have made me happy to-day, and never again will I scold, unless you begin: therefore, pray never do. My confidence in you is firm as a rock. [*Here some words are omitted.*].....Yours all came safe, but the numbering of them will point out directly, if one is missing. I do not think that anything very particular was in that letter which is lost.....

"I thank you for your kindness to poor dear Mrs. Thomson. I send her a Note, as desired by her dear good friend, who doats on her. I send you a few

lines wrote in the late gale, which I think you will not disapprove[2]. How interesting your letters are! You cannot write too much, or be too particular[2]."

Of the Note inclosed in that letter the following is said to be a copy:—

"I sit down, my dear Mrs. T., by desire of poor Thomson, to write you a line: not to assure you of his eternal love and affection for you and his dear child; but only to say that he is well, and as happy as can be, separated from all which he holds dear in this world. He has no thoughts separated from your dear love, and your interest. They are united with his: one fate, one destiny, he assures me, awaits you both. What can I say more? Only, to kiss his child for him: and love him as truly, sincerely, and faithfully as he does you; which is, from the bottom of his soul. He desires that you will more and more attach yourself to dear Lady Hamilton[4]."

In March, and apparently on the 10th, Lord Nelson again writes to Lady Hamilton:—

"Having, my truly dearest friend, got through a great deal of business, I am enabled to do justice to my private feelings; which are fixed ever on you and about you, whenever the public service does not arrest my attention. I have read all, all your kind and affectionate letters; and have read them frequently over; and committed them to the flames, much against my inclination. There was one I rejoiced not to have read at the time. It was where you consented to dine and sing with [*a word is here omitted*]. Thank God, it was not so! I could not have borne it, and now less than ever. But, I now know, he never can dine with you; for, you would go out of the house sooner than suffer it: and, as to letting him hear you sing, I only hope he will be struck deaf, and you dumb, sooner than such a thing should happen! But, I know, it never now can. You cannot think how my feelings are alive towards you: probably more than ever; and they never can be diminished. My hearty endeavours shall not be wanting, to improve and to give US NEW ties of regard and affection. I have seen and talked much with Mrs. Thomson's friend. The fellow seems to eat all

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[2] The genuineness of this paragraph and the "Lines" is, however, very doubtful. Lord Nelson is not known to have ever attempted to write verse, and Mr. Harrison, the Editor of those volumes, was a versifier:—

"Though ——'s polished verse superior shine,
Though sensibility grace every line;
Though her soft Muse be far above all praise,
And female tenderness inspire her lays;
Deign to receive, though unadorn'd
By the poetic art,
The rude expressions which bespeak
A Sailor's untaught heart.
A heart *susceptible*, sincere, and true;
A heart, by fate and nature, torn in two;
One half to duty and his country due,
The other, *better half*, to love and you!
Sooner shall Britain's sons resign
The empire of the sea;
Than Henry shall renounce his faith,
AND PLIGHTED VOWS TO THEE!
And waves on waves shall cease to roll,
And tides forget to flow;
Ere thy true Henry's constant love
Or ebb or change shall know."

[3] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 28—30.
[4] Ibid. p. 173.

my words, when I talk of her and his child! He says he never can forget your goodness and kind affection to her and his dear, dear child. I have had, you know, the felicity of seeing it, and a finer child never was produced by any two persons. It was in truth a love-begotten child! I am determined to keep him on board; for I know, if they got together, they would soon have another. But after our two months' trip, I hope they will never be separated; and then let them do as they please. We are all bustle and activity. I shall sail on Monday, after your letter arrives. Troubridge will send it, as an Admiralty letter. On Tuesday I shall be in the Downs, if we have any wind; and Troubridge will send, under cover to Admiral Lutwidge. It is not my intention to set my foot out of the ship, except to make my take-leave bow to Admiral Milbank. I have been much pressed to dine ashore: but, no; never, if I can help it, till I dine with you. Eleven o'clock.—Your dear letters just come on board. They are sympathetic with my own feelings; and, I trust we shall soon meet to part no more! Monday, I shall be here for letters; Tuesday, at Deal. Recollect, I am, for ever, your's; aye, for ever, while life remains, your's, your's faithfully,

NELSON & BRONTE.

"I charge my only friend to keep well, and think of her Nelson's glory. I have written to Lord Eldon, the Chancellor, as my brother desired. Pray, as you are going to buy a ticket for the Pigot diamond—buy the right number, or it will be money thrown away. For ever, ever, your's, only your's. Kindest regards to my dear Mrs. Thomson and my godchild [5]."

In this letter Lord Nelson expressly says he had had the "felicity of seeing the child;" and if it were born while he was at Plymouth, at the end of January or beginning of February, he could only have seen the infant during his short visit to London from Portsmouth, from the 24th to the 26th of February.

Lady Hamilton wrote to Mrs. Gibson, in April and June of that year:—

[Post-mark, "4 o'clock, 3 April, 1801, Ev."]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—To-morrow if you will come at 11 o'clock, and bring Miss Thomson, I shall be glad to see you. Ever yours.—E. H."

The annexed note, which has neither date nor post-mark, seems to have been written about the same time:—

"Lady H. will be glad if Mrs. Gibson will call on her to-morrow at eleven o'clock, with Miss Thomson, as to-day she cannot go an airing, being unwell. Lady H. has had a letter from Miss T.'s mother, who continues very ill."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 11 April, 1801, Nt."]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—If to-morrow is a fine day, come with Miss Thomson at 12 o'clock. Ever yours.—E. H."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 1 June, 1801, Nt."]

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—I hope you are well and Miss Thomson. I will call on you to-morrow, at 1 o'clock, to carry you an airing. Ever yours sincerely. E. HAMILTON."

In July 1801, Lord Nelson first mentions the child as "Horatia." In a letter dated on the 31st of that month to Lady Hamilton, he says:—

"Give ten thousand kisses to my dear Horatia. Yesterday the subject turned on the cow-pox. A gentleman declared, that his child was inoculated with the cow-pox, and afterwards remained in a house where a child had the small-pox the natural way, and did *not* catch it. Therefore, here was a full trial with the

[5] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 35, 36.

cow-pox. The child is only feverish for two days, and only a slight inflammation of the arm takes place, instead of being all over scabs. But do you what you please[6]."

On the 26th of September 1801, he writes to Lady Hamilton from the Downs:—

"Whatever, my dear Emma, you do for my little charge, I must be pleased with. Probably she will be lodged at Merton; at least in the Spring, when she can have the benefit of our walks. It will make the poor mother happy, I am sure. I do not write to her to-day, as this goes through the Admiralty; but tell her all I would say. You know my unchangeable thoughts about her. I shall have the child christened when I come up[7]."

On the 19th of October he writes, "I have sent poor Thomson's letter, and the distressed Mrs. . . . . , to the Earl[8]," the meaning of which paragraph is very obscure.

There are several other Notes from Lady Hamilton to Mrs. Gibson, the nurse, in 1801 and 1802—

[Post-mark, "2 o'clock, 9 October, 1801, A Nn."]

"My dearest Mrs. Gibson,—I have sent a person to you, to take your orders for Miss. T.'s things. Pray tell her what you want. I am going out of Town, but come back on Tuesday, and shall have the pleasure of seeing you. I recommend Miss T. to your care. Write to me at Merton Place, near Merton, Surry, and tell me how you all are. Milord will be in Town soon. Kiss my god-daughter for your affectionate friend E. HAMILTON."

"October 24th 1801.

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—Will you come to Piccadilly with Miss Thomson on Monday at 1 o'clock, not later. I hope my dear god-child is well. Ever yours. E. HAMILTON."

[Post-mark, "12 o'clock, December 14, 1801, Nt."]

"Merton Place, Surrey.

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—If you will take a post-chaise to-morrow *Tuesday*, and set off at half-past ten o'clock, and bring my god-daughter and your little girl with you, I shall be glad to see you. Tell them to drive you to Merton, and the best way you can come is over Clapham Common. Hire the chaise for the day. You can go back at three o'clock. Do not fail. Ever yours sincerely. —E. HAMILTON."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 24th March, 1802, Nt."]

"Lady H. begs Mrs. Gibson to come to Piccadilly, No. 23, to-morrow, at 12 *o'clock*, and to bring her god-daughter *Miss Thompson with her.*"

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, 14 April, 1802, Nt."]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—If you will come in the morning at 12 o'clock, I shall be glad to see you and Miss T. to Piccadilly. Ever yours sincerely.—E. H."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, April 23, 1802."]

"Lady Hamilton begs Mrs. Gibson will come down early to-morrow with her family and Miss Thomson to Merton. She may get a post-chaise and set off at eight in the morning.

"Merton, Friday, 4 o'clock."

[Post-mark, "7 o'clock, September 9th, 1802, Nt."]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—I shall be glad to see you and Miss Thomson to-morrow, at 23, Piccadilly, at 10 o'clock."

"Thursday noon."

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[6] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. p. 41.
[7] Ibid. p. 62. [8] Ibid. p. 95.

[Post-mark, "2nd November, 1802, Nt."]

"Mrs. Gibson is desired to call at 23, Piccadilly, to-morrow, alone, without Miss Thomson, and at ten o'clock."

Monday afternoon."

[Post-mark, "8 December, 1802, Nt."]

"Mrs. Gibson is desired to come with Miss Thomson to-morrow at 12 o'clock to No. 23."

The next has neither date nor post-mark, and it is not certain when it was written, but apparently towards the end of September 1802; for on the back of a letter directed by Lady Hamilton to Mrs. Gibson, in Titchfield Street, and with the post-mark of "28 September 1802," is the following Note to her from Mrs. Gibson :—

"Lady Hamilton, Merton-Place, Merton, Surrey.

"Hond. Lady,—This, with my duty to you, to inform you of our safe arrival on Wednesday night. Miss Thompson is very [well] and self. From your humble servant, M. Gibson."

"Mrs. Gibson may go to Margate or Ramsgate with Miss Thompson, but not to go with the Hoy, as it is dangerous; and to let Lord N. know where they are and how Miss Thompson is in her health and spirits; and if bathing is necessary, to let her bathe."

If the date assigned to that Note be correct, it would also fix the date of the three following ones :—

[No date, post-mark, or direction.]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—I am glad to find you and Miss Thompson well. Let us know how you all go on, and believe me it is a real pleasure to find you are so comfortable. Believe me ever, your sincere friend.—E. Hamilton."

"Mrs. Gibson, Margate.

[The post-mark is only "Ramsgate 73."]

"Ramsgate.

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—I was yesterday at Margate, and had lost your direction, and sent the servant all over the Town to Church-square or Church-place, but could not hear from you. Write me a note directly, and send me your proper direction. My love to H., and believe me ever yours.—E. H."

"Mrs. Gibson, No. 4, White's Place, Church Square, Margate.

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—Will you come to-morrow morning and see me and bring H. with you. I am only this moment come from Canterbury. I hope Mr. Skinner is better. Come about eleven o'clock. Ever yours.—E. H.

"Saturday morning."

In November 1802, Lord Nelson himself wrote this remarkable Note to the nurse: it is in his own hand and has no date, but the post-mark is "19th November 1802" :—

"Mrs. Gibson, 9, Little Titchfield Street, Marylebone.

"Mrs. Gibson is desired on no consideration to answer any questions about Miss Thompson, nor who placed her with Mrs. G., as ill-tempered people have talked lies about the child."

The following is without a date, and has no post-mark. The funeral alluded to was probably that of Sir William Hamilton, who died on the 6th of April 1803 [9] :—

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—I beg you will accept of the enclosed, and be assured you will ever find a sincere friend in your affectionate E. H.

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[9] Vide vol. v. p. 56.

"Horatia nor anybody can go out till after the funeral, as we are very close and sincere mourners. God bless you. Love to Mrs. Lord."

On the 13th of May 1803, three days before Lord Nelson was appointed to command the Mediterranean Fleet, the Child was, as has been already stated, baptized at Marylebone, by the names of HORATIA NELSON THOMPSON, when the following written directions were given by Lady Hamilton to the nurse, and which render it unlikely that either Lord Nelson or herself were present on the occasion:—

"To give the Clergyman a double fee and the same to the Clerk. The register of the Baptism to be taken out."

On the 20th of May, Lord Nelson sailed for the Mediterranean; and writing on the 22nd of that month to Lady Hamilton, he said,—

"I look at your, and my god-child's picture, but till I am sure of remaining here, I cannot bring myself to hang them up. Be assured that my attachment and affectionate regard is unalterable: nothing can shake it. And pray say so to my dear Mrs. T., when you see her. Tell her, that my love is unbounded to her, and her dear sweet child; and if she should have more, it will extend to all of them. In short, my dear Emma, say everything to her, which your dear, affectionate heart and head can think of"..... "Tell Mrs. T. that I will write to her the first safe opportunity. I am not sure of this[1]."

On the 1st of August he wrote to Lady Hamilton:—

"Hardy is now busy, hanging up your and Horatia's picture; and I trust soon to see the other two safe arrived from the exhibition. I want no others to ornament my cabin. I can contemplate them, and find new beauties every day; and I do not want any body else[2]."

The following extraordinary letter is said to have been written by Lord Nelson to "Mrs. Thompson," on the 26th of August 1803, though the only date which seems to have been written on it, was "26th August." There are, however, many reasons for doubting its authenticity:—

"My dearest beloved [*name omitted*]—To say that I think of you by day, night, and all day and all night, but too faintly express my feelings of love and affection towards you [*words omitted*] unbounded affection. Our dear, excellent, good [*name omitted*] is the only one who knows anything of the matter, and she has promised me, when you [*words omitted*] again, to take every possible care of you, as a proof of her never-failing regard for your own dear Nelson. Believe me, that I am incapable of wronging you in thought, word, or deed. No, not all the wealth of Peru could buy me for one moment: it is all yours, and reserved wholly for you: and [*words omitted*] certainly [*words omitted*] from the first moment of our happy, dear, enchanting, blessed meeting. The thoughts of such happiness, my dearest only beloved, makes the blood fly into my head. The call of our country is a duty which you would deservedly, in the cool moments of reflection, reprobate, was I to abandon: and I should feel so disgraced, by seeing you ashamed of me! No longer saying—'This is the man who has saved his country! This is he who is the first to go forth to fight our battles, and the last to return!' And, then, all these honours reflect on you. 'Ah!' they will think; 'what a man! what sacrifices has he not made, to secure our homes and property; even the society and happy union with the finest and most accomplished woman in the world.' As you love, how must you feel. My heart is with you, cherish it. I shall, my best beloved, return—if it pleases

[1] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. p. 109—11.
[2] Ibid. p. 126.

God—a victor; and it shall be my study to transmit an unsullied name. There is no desire of wealth, no ambition, that could keep me from all my soul holds dear. No; it is to save my country, my wife in the eye of God, and [*words omitted*], will tell you that it is all right: and, then, only think of our happy meeting. Ever, for ever, I am your's, only your's, even beyond this world,

NELSON & BRONTE.

"For ever, for ever, your own NELSON.—August 26th, [1803] [3]."

This letter is said to have been *enclosed* to Lady Hamilton in the letter *of the same date*, in the fourth volume of this Work; but as a few passages were omitted in that reprint, the entire letter will now be given:—

"August 26th, 1803. Wrote several days past.

"My dearest Emma,—By the Canopus, Admiral Campbell, I have received all your truly kind and affectionate letters, from May 20th to July 3rd; with the exception of one, dated May 31st, sent to Naples. This is the first communication I have had with England since we sailed. All your letters, my dear letters, are so entertaining! and which paint so clearly what you are after, that they give me either the greatest pleasure or pain. It is the next best thing, to being with you. I only desire, my dearest Emma, that you will always believe, that Nelson's your own, Nelson's Alpha and Omega is Emma! I cannot alter; my affection and love is beyond even this world! Nothing can shake it, but yourself; and that, I will not allow myself to think, for a moment, is possible. I feel that you are the real friend of my bosom, and dearer to me than life; and, that I am the same to you. But, I will never have P.'s nor Q.'s come near you! No; not the slice of Single Gloster! But, if I was to go on, it would argue that want of confidence which would be injurious to your honour. I rejoice that you have had so pleasant a trip into Norfolk; and I hope, one day, to carry you there by a nearer tie in law, but not in love and affection, than at present. I wish you would never mention that person's name! It works up your anger, for no useful purpose. Her good or bad character, of me or thee, no one cares about. This letter will find you at dear Merton; where we shall one day meet, and be truly happy. I do not think it can be a long war; and, I believe it will be much shorter than people expect: and I shall hope to find the new room built; the grounds laid out, neatly but not expensively; new Piccadilly gates; kitchen garden, &c. Only let us have a plan, and then all will go on well. It will be a great source of amusement to you; and Horatia shall plant a tree. I dare say, she will be very busy. Mrs. Nelson, or Mrs. Bolton, &c. will be with you; and time will pass away, till I have the inexpressible happiness of arriving at Merton. Even the thought of it vibrates through my nerves; for, my love for you is as unbounded as the ocean! I feel all your good mother's kindness; and I trust that we shall turn rich, by being economists. Spending money, to please a pack of people, is folly and without thanks. I desire that you will say every kind thing from me to her, and make her a present of something in my name. Dr. Scott is gone with my mission to Algiers, or I would send you a copy of the King and Queen's letter. I send you one from the Queen. Both King, Queen, and Acton, were very civil to Sir William Bolton. He dined with Acton. Bolton does very well in his brig; but, he has made not a farthing of prize-money. If I knew where to send him for some, he should go; but, unless we have a Spanish war, I shall live here at a great expence: although Mr. Chevalier takes every care, and I have great reason to be satisfied. I have just asked William, who behaves very well, whether he chooses to remit any of his wages to his father. It does not appear he does at present. He is paid, by the King, eighteen pounds a-year, as one of my retinue; therefore I have nothing to pay. I have told him whenever he chooses to send any, to tell Mr. Scott, or Captain Hardy, and he will receive a remittance bill; so he may now act as he pleases. *Apropos* of Mr. Scott. He is very much obliged to you for your news

[3] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. p. 175—178.

of Mrs. Scott's being brought to bed. No letters came in the cutter, but to me, and he was very uneasy. He is a very excellent good man; and I am very fortunate in having such a one. I admire your kindness to my dear sister Bolton. I have wrote her, that certainly I will assist Tom Bolton at college. It is better, as I tell her, not to promise more than I am sure I can perform. It is only doing them a injury. I tell her, if vacancies, please God, should happen, that my income will be much increased. With respect to Mr. Bolton—every body knows that I have no interest; nobody cares for me: but, if he will point out what he wants, I will try what can be done. But I am sure he will not be half so well off as at present. Supposing he could get a place of a few hundreds a-year, he would be a ten times poorer man than he is at present. I could convince you of it in a moment; but, if I was to begin, then it would be said I wanted inclination to render them a service. I should like to see Sir H— P—'s book. I cannot conceive how a man that is reported to have been so extravagant of government's money, to say no worse, can make a good story. I wrote to the old Duke, not long since. I regard him; but I would not let him touch you for all his money. No; that would never do! I believe Mr. Bennett's bill to be correct; but, it was not intended you should pay that out of the allowance for Merton; and, how could you afford to send Mrs. Bolton a hundred pounds. It is impossible, out of your income. I wish Mr. Addington would give you five hundred pounds a-year; then you would be better able to give away than at present. But your purse, my dear Emma, will always be empty; your heart is generous beyond your means. Your good mother is always sure of my sincerest regard; pray tell her so. Connor is getting on very well: but I cannot ask Captain Capel to rate him; that must depend upon the boy's fitness, and Capel's kindness. I have placed another year's allowance of thirty pounds in Capel's hands, and given Connor a present. What a story, about Oliver and Mr. Matcham buying an estate in Holstein; and, to sell out at such a loss! I never heard the like. I sincerely hope it will answer his expectations; it is a fine country, but miserably cold. How can Tyson be such a fool! I sincerely hope he will never want money. I am not surprised at Troubridge's abuse; but his tongue is no scandal. You make me laugh, when you imitate the Doctor! I am quite delighted with Miss Yonge's goodness: and I beg you will make my best respects to her and her good father; and assure Mr. Yonge, how much obliged I feel for all his kind attentions to you. Those who do that, are sure of a warm place in my esteem. I have wrote to Dumourier; therefore, I will only trouble you to say how much I respect him. I fancy he must have suffered great distress at Altona. However, I hope he will now be comfortable for life. He is a very clever man, and beats our Generals out and out. Don't they feel his coming? Advise him not to make enemies, by shewing he knows more than some of us. Envy knows no bounds to its persecution. He has seen the world, and will be on his guard. I put Suckling into a frigate, with a very good man, who has a schoolmaster; he does very well. Bulkeley will be a most excellent sea-officer; it is a pity he has not served his time. I have answered Mr. Suckling's letter. Gaetano is very well, and desires his duty. I think, sometimes, that he wishes to be left at Naples; but I am not sure. Mr. Denis's relation has been long in the Victory; but if the Admiralty will not promote my Lieutenants, they must all make a retrograde motion. But I hope they will not do such a cruel thing. I have had a very affectionate letter from Lord Minto. I hope George will be confirmed; but the Earl will not answer his application. I shall send you some sherry, and a cask of paxoretti, by the Convoy. Perhaps, it had better go to Merton at once; or, to Davison's cellar, where the wine cooper can draw it off. I have two pipes of sherry, that is bad: but, if you like, you can send the Doctor a hogshead of that which is coming. Davison will pay all the duties. Send it entirely free, even to the carriage. You know, doing the thing well, is twice doing it; for, sometimes, carriage is more thought of than the prime cost. The paxoretti I have given to Davison; and ordered one hogshead of sherry to Canterbury, and one to dear Merton[4]."

[4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 135.

Here, if this letter be genuine, Lady Hamilton is assured, in the strongest terms, that she is Nelson's "own;" that Nelson's "Alpha and Omega is Emma;" that he "cannot alter;" that "his affection and love for her is beyond even this world;" that she is the "friend of his bosom, and dearer to him than life," on the very day (if the year assigned to it be correct) on which he is said to have written a letter, in equally strong terms, to "Mrs. Thompson," and wherein he evidently alludes (though the words are suppressed) to her having had a child, and to the possibility of her having another, calling her his "wife in the eye of God," and he is said to have made Lady Hamilton the transmitter of those assurances, in whose possession the letter was found!

On the 6th of September 1803, Lord Nelson made a Codicil to his Will, bequeathing 4000*l.* to Miss Horatia Nelson Thompson, as his "adopted daughter;" and on the 21st of October he wrote to her his "first letter," which will be found in the fifth volume of this Work[5], but which is so important a part of the evidence respecting her parentage, that it will be inserted here:—

"MISS HORATIA NELSON THOMPSON.

"Victory, off Toulon, October 21st, 1803.

"My dear Child,—Receive this first letter from your most affectionate Father. If I live, it will be my pride to see you virtuously brought up; but if it pleases God to call me I trust to himself, in that case I have left dear Lady Hamilton your Guardian. I therefore charge you, my Child, on the value of a Father's blessing, to be obedient and attentive to all her kind admonitions and instructions. At this moment I have left you in a Codicil, dated the 6th of September 1803, the sum of four thousand pounds sterling, the interest of which is to be paid to Lady Emma Hamilton, your Guardian, for your maintenance and education. I shall only say, my dear Child, may God Almighty bless you, and make you an ornament to your sex, which I am sure you will be, if you attend to all dear Lady Hamilton's kind instructions; and be assured that I am my dear Horatia, your most affectionate Father,—NELSON AND BRONTE[6]."

In the Codicil he said that he made the request of guardianship to Lady Hamilton,—

"Knowing that she will educate my adopted child in the paths of religion and virtue, and give her those accomplishments which so much adorn herself, and I hope make her a fit wife for my dear nephew, Horatio Nelson, who I wish to marry her, if he should prove worthy, in Lady Hamilton's estimation, of such a treasure as I am sure she will be."

When it is remembered that the child was not then four years old,

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[5] Vol. v. p. 260. This letter, and the one dated on the 19th of October 1805, (p. 385, post) came into Mrs. Ward's possession in the following remarkable manner. While she was residing with Lord Nelson's brother-in-law, Mr. Matcham, in 1815, Mr. Coutts, the banker, wrote to Mr. Matcham, that he had some papers of importance entrusted to him by the Duchess of Devonshire, in whose hands they had been placed by Lady Hamilton, to take care of for Horatia Nelson. The pacquet contained only those two letters, and was *indorsed* by Lord Nelson, "To the particular care of Lady Hamilton." It was accompanied by a Note from the Duchess of Devonshire to Mr. Coutts, stating that those letters had been entrusted to her by Lady Hamilton, but as she was going abroad she considered them of too much value to remain with her papers, and therefore wished to place them in Mr. Coutts' hands.

[6] Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Ward.

Lord Nelson could have had no other object in writing such a letter than to leave an acknowledgment of his relationship, and a testimony of his affection for her, in case of his death.

Two days before the date of that letter, he writes to Lady Hamilton :—

"If Mr. Addington gives you the pension it is well; but do not let it fret you. Have you not Merton? It is clear—the first purchase;—and my dear Horatia is provided for: and I hope, one of these days, that you will be my own Duchess of Bronté, and then a fig for them all." He added—"I am glad to find, my dear Emma, that you mean to take Horatia home. *Aye!* She is like her mother; will have her own way, or kick up a devil of a dust. But you will cure her. I am afraid I should spoil her, for I am sure I would shoot any one who would hurt her. She was always fond of my watch; and very probably I might have promised her one: indeed, I gave her one, which cost sixpence! But I go no where to get anything pretty: therefore do not think me neglectful[7]."

It appears from this letter, that Lady Hamilton had actually proposed that she, Horatia, and Lord Nelson's niece, Miss Charlotte Nelson, should go out and live on board the Victory, or, at all events, stay at Malta during his command in the Mediterranean; for, after pointing out the impossibility of complying with such a request, he said :—

"I know, my own dear Emma, if she will let her reason have fair play, will say I am right; but she is, like Horatia, very angry, if she cannot have her own way. Her Nelson is called upon, in the most honourable manner, to defend his Country. Absence to us is equally painful; but if I had either stayed at home, or neglected my duty abroad, would not my Emma have blushed for me? She could never have heard my praises, and how the Country looks up. I am writing, my dear Emma, to reason the point with you; and I am sure you will see it in its true light. But I have said my say on this subject, and will finish[8]." In a Postscript on the 22nd, he added—"Remember me kindly to Charlotte. Shall always love those that are good to Horatia. I will write her by another opportunity[9]."

There are only two other Notes of which the dates can be fixed, from Lady Hamilton to Mrs. Gibson, in 1803; and there is none after that year :—

[Post-mark, "Romford, 40 B, August 31, 1803."]

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—I am sorry Miss Thompson has been ill. Pray write and say she continues better. Tell her I shall bring her many pretty things, and she must love her god-mother. Write to me, and tell me what she says. I hope to see you, Mary, and her after this winter in Town. Ever believe me, yours sincerely. Kiss Horatia often for me.—E. H."

[Post-mark, "October 3, 1803, Nt."]

"My dear Mrs. Gibson,—Be so good to bring Miss Thompson on Saturday morning at eleven o'clock, as to-morrow I am engaged. Ever yours most affectionately.—E. HAMILTON."

Of the thirteen Notes, the dates of which cannot be ascertained, only five have been now printed, and of the remaining eight only the annexed are of the slightest consequence, as the others merely contain anxious inquiries after Miss Thompson's health, or directions for bringing her to Piccadilly, Clarges Street, or Merton :—

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—I send you fifteen pounds. Give ten to the Doctor,

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7 Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 157, 8.
8 Ibid. pp. 162, 3. 9 Ibid. p. 168.

and pay yourself, and the other may serve for coach-hire. I am going for to-day into the country, but shall be glad to see you on Saturday at one o'clock. Ever yours affectionately.—E. H.

"Kiss my god-child for me."

"Dear Mrs. Gibson,—Will you and Horatia be with me by eleven o'clock to go to Merton. We must defer Mary's [1] visit till next week, as the house is full of company. Come by half-past eleven in the morning. Ever yours.—E. HAMILTON."

In January 1804, Lord Nelson wrote the following letter to

"MISS HORATIA THOMSON.

"Victory, January 14th, 1804.

"My dear Horatia,—I feel very much pleased by your kind letter, and for your present of a lock of your beautiful hair. I am very glad to hear that you are so good, and mind everything which your Governess and dear Lady Hamilton tell you. I send you a lock of my hair, and a one-pound note to buy a locket to put it in, and I give you leave to wear it when you are dressed and behave well; and I send you another to buy some little thing for Mary and your Governess. As I am sure that for the world you would not tell a story, it must have slipt my memory that I promised you a watch, therefore I have sent to Naples to get one, and I will send it home as soon as it arrives. The Dog [2] I never could have promised, as we have no Dogs on board Ship. Only I beg, my dear Horatia, be obedient, and you will ever be sure of the affection of—NELSON AND BRONTE[3]."

On the 14th of March he said, in a letter to Lady Hamilton:—

"I also beg as my dear Horatia is to be at Merton, that a strong netting about three feet high may be placed round the Nile, that the little thing may not tumble in" . . . "I shall, when I come home, settle four thousand pounds in trustees' hands, for Horatia; for I will not put it in my own power to have her left destitute: for she would want friends, if we left her in this world. She shall be independent of any smiles or frowns! I am glad you are going to take her home; and, if you will take the trouble with Eliza and Ann[4], I am the very last to object. Tom, I shall certainly assist at college; and I am sure the Doctor expects that I should do the same for Horace: but I must make my arrangements, so as not to run in debt." . . . "I would not have Horatia think of a dog. I shall not bring her one; and I am sure she is better without a pet of that sort. But she is like her mother, would get all the old dogs in the place about her[5]."

On the 2nd of April 1804, Lord Nelson writes to Lady Hamilton:—

"I have, my dearest beloved Emma, been so uneasy for this last month, desiring most ardently to hear of your well doing. Captain Capel brought me your letters sent by the Thisbe from Gibraltar. I opened—opened—found none but December, or early in January. I was in such an agitation. At last I found one without a date—which, thank God, told my poor heart that you was recovering; but that dear little Emma was no more! and that Horatia had been so very ill—it quite upset me. But it was just at bed-time, and I had time to reflect, and be thankful to God for sparing you and our dear Horatia. I am sure the loss of one—much more both—would have drove mad. I was so agitated as it was, that I was glad it was night, and that I could be by myself. Kiss dear Horatia for me, and tell her to be a dutiful and good child, and if she is, that we shall always love her. You may, if you like, tell Mrs. G. that I shall certainly

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[1] Mrs. Gibson's daughter, afterwards Mrs. Johnstone.

[2] Mrs. Ward says that Lord Nelson sent her, instead, a locket with a Dog engraved upon it, which she still has, though the letter that accompanied it has been lost.

[3] Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Ward.

[4] His nieces, daughters of Mrs. Bolton.

[5] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. ii. pp. 14, 18, 20.

settle a small pension on her. It shall not be large, as we may have the pleasure of making her little presents: and, my dearest Emma, I shall not be wanting to everybody who has been kind to you, be they servants or gentlefolks. Admiral Lutwidge is a good man, and I like Mrs. Lutwidge, and shall always more, because she is fond of you. Never mind the great Bashaw at the Priory. He be damned! If he was single, and had a mind to marry you, he could only make you a Marchioness; but as he is situated, and I situated, I can make you a Duchess, and if it pleases God, that time may arrive. Amen! Amen[6]!"

In April Lord Nelson sent Horatia some books of Spanish dresses, with the following letter:—

"Victory, April 13th, 1804.

"My dear Horatia,—I send you twelve books of Spanish dresses, which you will let your Guardian Angel, Lady Hamilton, keep for you, when you are tired of looking at them. I am very glad to hear that you are perfectly recovered; and, that you are a very good child. I beg, my dear Horatia, that you will always continue so; which will be a great comfort to your most affectionate NELSON AND BRONTE[7]."

The following passages respecting the child occur in his letters to Lady Hamilton of the dates assigned to them. On the 10th of April 1804, he wrote:—

"I rejoice that dear Horatia is got well; and, also, that you, my dearest Emma, are recovered of your severe indisposition . . . . I am glad to hear that you are going to take my dear Horatia, to educate her. She must turn out an angel, if she minds what you say to her; and Eliza and Ann will never forget your goodness[8]."

On the 19th of April he said:—

"I am pleased with Charlotte's letter; and, as she loves my dear Horatia, I shall always like her. What hearts those must have, who do not! But, thank God, she shall not be dependent on any of them[9]."

On the same day he writes to Miss Nelson:—

"I thank you very much for your kind letters of January 3d and 4th; and I feel truly sensible of your kind regard for that dear little orphan, Horatia. Although her parents are lost, yet she is not without a fortune: and I shall cherish her to the last moment of my life; and curse them who curse her, and Heaven bless them who bless her! Dear innocent! she can have injured no one. I am glad to hear that she is attached to you; and, if she takes after her parents, so she will, to those who are kind to her[1]."

On the 30th of May, after saying to Lady Hamilton,—

"Your resemblance is so deeply engraved in my heart, that there it can never be effaced; and, who knows? some day, I may have the happiness of having a living picture of you!" he added, "every thing you tell me about my dear Horatia charms me. I think I see her, hear her, and admire her; but, she is like her dear, dear mother" . . . . "I wish I could but be at dear Merton, to assist in making the alterations. I think I should have persuaded you to have kept the pike, and a clear stream; and to have put all the carp, tench, and fish who muddy the water, into the pond. But, as you like, I am content. Only take care, that my darling does not fall in, and get drowned. I begged you to get the little netting along the edges, and particularly on the bridges[2]."

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[6] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. ii. pp. 21—23.
[7] Ibid. p. 107. [8] Ibid. pp. 27, 28. [9] Ibid. p. 32.
[1] Ibid. p. 109. [2] Ibid. pp. 42, 44.

On the 6th of June:—

"Remember me most kindly to Horatia, good Mrs. Cadogan, Charlotte, Miss Connor, and all our friends at dear Merton[3]."

On the 1st of July he says:—

"Kiss my dear Horatia for me. I hope you will have her at Merton[4]."

On the 12th of August he said:—

"I have wrote you, my dear Emma, about Horatia; but by the Kent, I shall write fully[5]."

On the 31st of August he says:—

"I am very uneasy at your and Horatia being on the coast: for you cannot move, if the French make the attempt; which, I am told they have done, and been repulsed. Pray God, it may be true! I shall rejoice to hear you and Horatia are safe at Merton; and happy shall I be, the day I join you. *Gannam Justem*[6]."

On his birthday, 29th of September:—

"This day, my dearest Emma, which gave me birth, I consider as more fortunate than common days; as, by my coming into this world, it has brought me so intimately acquainted with you, who my soul holds most dear. I well know that you will keep it, and have my dear Horatia to drink my health" . . . . "Kiss dear Horatia, I hope she is at Merton *fixed*[7]."

On October the 13th:—

"Kiss our dear Horatia a thousand times, for your own faithful Nelson[8]."

On the 23rd of November, in a letter which he says goes by "such a roundabout way that he cannot say all that his heart wishes," he writes:—

"Thomson desires to be most kindly remembered to his dear wife and children. He is most sincerely attached to them, and wishes to save what he can for their benefit[9]."

On the 9th of March 1805, he said:—

"How is my dear Horatia? I hope you have her under your guardian wing, at Merton. May God bless her[1]!"

On the 16th of May in that year, he wrote to Mr. Haslewood, and to Lady Hamilton, the Letters in vol. vi. p. 444, in which he expressed his intention of settling an annuity on Mrs. Gibson, the nurse:—

"When that she gives up my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson, to the guardianship of my dear friend Lady Emma Hamilton, and promises not to have anything more to do with the child either directly or indirectly," and requested Lady Hamilton to take his "adopted daughter from under the care of Mrs. Gibson, and to place her under her guardianship, in order that she may be properly educated and brought up."

On the 17th of September, he says:—

"I entreat, my dear Emma, that you will cheer up; and we will look forward to many, many happy years, and be surrounded by our children's children. God Almighty can, when he pleases, remove the impediment. My heart and soul is with you and Horatia[2]."

On the 11th of October 1805, he wrote the following letter to Lady Hamilton, the autograph of which is in the possession of Mrs.

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[3] Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 51.
[4] Ibid. p. 61. [5] Ibid. p. 64. [6] Ibid. p. 71.
[7] Ibid. pp. 73—76. [8] Ibid. p. 81. [9] Ibid. pp. 84—86.
[1] Ibid. p. 90. [2] Ibid. p. 97.

Salter, and which was not sent to the Editor until the Letters in the Addenda were printed:—

"Victory, October 11th, 1805.

"My dearest Emma,—Mr. Davis' request of Lieutenant Hargrave's introduction shall be attended to, but if must be considered that very few opportunities offer of ever getting on board the Commander-in-Chief's Ship in the winter months, and our Battle, I hope, will be over long before the summer days.

"October 12th.—The wind has blown so fresh these two days, that the Enemy, if so disposed, have not had the power of putting to sea, which I am firmly of opinion they intend. God send it; for our sakes as well as that of our Country, well over. Our friend Sutton is going home for his health. Hoste has Amphion, and Sir William Bolton, Eurydice, which I hope the Admiralty will approve. This is the last chance of Sir Billy's making a fortune. If he is active and persevering, he may do it, and be easy for life. Ah, my beloved Emma, how I envy Sutton going home; his going to Merton and seeing you and Horatia. I do really feel that the twenty-five days I was at Merton, was the very happiest of my life. Would to God they were to be passed over again, but that time will, I trust, soon come, and many, many more days added to them. I have been, as you may believe, made very uneasy or rather uncomfortable by the situation of Sir Robert Calder. He was to have gone home in another Ship and a vast lumber. However, I have given way to his misery, and directed the Prince of Wales to carry him to Spithead; for whatever the result of the inquiry may be, I think he has a right to be treated with respect: therefore, my dear Emma, do not form any opinion about him till the trial is over.

"October 13th.—I am working like a horse in a mill, but never the nearer finishing my task, which I find difficulty enough in getting and keeping clear from confusion, but I never allow it to accumulate. Agamemnon is in sight, and I hope I shall have letters from you, who I hold dearer than any other person in this world, and I shall hope to hear that all our family goes on well, at that dear, dear cottage. Believe all I would say upon this occasion, but letters being in quarantine, may be read, not that I care who knows that I love you most tenderly and affectionately. I send you Abbé Campbell's letter, and copy of those from the King and Queen. You see they would never wish me out of the Mediterranean. Kiss dear Horatia a thousand times for your faithful

NELSON AND BRONTE."

The next time the child is mentioned is in that pathetic letter addressed to her on the 19th of October 1805, when the Combined Fleets were coming out of Port, and which should not be separated from the other evidence:—

"Victory, October 19th, 1805.

"My dearest Angel,—I was made happy by the pleasure of receiving your letter of September 19th, and I rejoice to hear that you are so very good a girl, and love my dear Lady Hamilton, who most dearly loves you. Give her a kiss for me. The Combined Fleets of the Enemy are now reported to be coming out of Cadiz; and therefore I answer your letter, my dearest Horatia, to mark to you that you are ever uppermost in my thoughts. I shall be sure of your prayers for my safety, conquest, and speedy return to dear Merton, and our dearest good Lady Hamilton. Be a good girl, mind what Miss Connor says to you. Receive, my dearest Horatia, the affectionate Parental Blessing of your Father,

NELSON AND BRONTE.[2]"

In the memorable Codicil to his Will, written with his own hand a few hours before he fell, he thus mentioned her:—

"I also leave to the beneficence of my Country my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson, and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only."

To this evidence is to be added the repeated, solemn, and express

[2] Autograph it the possession of Mrs. Ward.

declarations of Lady Hamilton, that the child was Lord Nelson's. Among the papers lent to the Editor by Mrs. Locker, were some memoranda made by Mr. Edward Hawke Locker, of a communication he had received from Sir Thomas Hardy on the subject, on the 24th of March 1835. It appears that Sir Thomas Hardy did not believe that Lord Nelson was really the father of the child; and he seems to have asked the question directly of Lady Hamilton, for Mr. Locker has copied the following Note from her to Sir Thomas Hardy, which Note was thus indorsed by Sir Thomas, "Received 7th October 1812, from Lady Hamilton":—

"My dear Sir Thomas,

"Let me only say to you *that which is true*. Horatia is our dear Nelson's daughter. May God bless you! EMMA HAMILTON."

That nothing may be suppressed, it is proper to insert the account of the child which Sir Thomas Hardy gave to Mr. Locker:—

"On asking Sir Thomas this day, 24th of March 1835, whose daughter he considered Horatia Nelson Thompson to be, he said, 'certainly not Lady Hamilton's nor Lord Nelson's. I know the whole story, which is simply this,—her father was Thompson, sailmaker of the Elephant, in which Nelson hoisted his flag in the bombardment of Copenhagen, on the 2nd October [April] 1801. Thompson's wife was with him on board, and being taken in labour during the Action, gave birth to this child in the sail-room. When the circumstance was made known to Nelson, he took a fancy to the child, and sent it home to Lady Hamilton's charge. When I was in London afterwards, upon our return, I called on Lady Hamilton in Piccadilly. She soon left the room, and presently returned with this child in her arms, saying, 'look what a pretty baby I have got,' but made no observation as to whose it was, which I well knew, and said nothing myself, therefore.'

"When I asked Sir Thomas," adds Mr. Locker, "to explain what more he knew, he said, 'I consider she subsequently declared the child was Nelson's, that she might claim some pension or provision for it; and in order to favour this notion, when I pressed her in 1812 to say whose child it was, she wrote down the statement given in the preceding page.'"

There is, however, *complete* and *irresistible* proof that Sir Thomas Hardy was *entirely mistaken* in his account of the child's parentage. Lord Nelson hoisted his Flag on board the *Elephant*, at Copenhagen, on the 2nd of *April* 1801, and the child was undoubtedly in existence, if not in October 1800, certainly on the 7th of *February* 1801, as is shown by Lady Hamilton's Note to her nurse, bearing the *post-mark* with that date, desiring to know "how the dear little *Miss Horatia is;*" and there are other Notes to the nurse, in which the child is mentioned, with *post-marks* of the 11th and 18th of that month; of the 7th, 14th, 15th, and two of the 23rd of March, and of the 3rd and 11th of April; and the child is alluded by Lord Nelson in his letters of the 16th of February and 10th of March 1801[3]. Sir Thomas Hardy, though Captain of Lord Nelson's Flag-ship, the St. George, at Copenhagen, was not himself on board the Elephant; and though it must be needless to give any other proof of the incorrectness of that gallant officer's statement, than a comparison of dates, yet it may be observed, that *neither* the *Sail-maker* nor the *Sail-maker's mate* of the Elephant, in 1801, was

[3] Vide p. *372, 373, 274*, ante.

called *Thompson*[4]. Moreover, if Sir Thomas Hardy felt sure that the facts were as he stated them to Mr. Locker in 1835, why should he have pressed Lady Hamilton in 1812, to give him information on the subject? The truth is, that the lapse of thirty-four years must have impaired Sir Thomas Hardy's memory; and if any additional proof that he was entirely mistaken can be necessary, it will be found in Mr. Haslewood's assurance to the Editor, that this account of the child is erroneous.

The annexed Testamentary Papers, which are curious in themselves, are remarkable for Lady Hamilton's positive and repeated assertions that Horatia was Lord Nelson's daughter, and for the first of them stating, like the register of her baptism, that she was born on the 29th of October 1800:—

"Merton, October 7th, 1806.

"I, EMMA HAMILTON, being in sound body and mind, leave this as my last Will and Testament. I beg, as the virtuous and dear Nelson wished me to be buried near him, that, if it is possible, I may be, if it cannot *be, then let* me be buried at Merton; but if it is possible, let me rest near my ever beloved Nelson. I give to my dear mother, formerly Mary Kidd, then Lions, and after Mary Doggen, or Cadogan, however she may be called, all my property, let it be either in wearing apparel, or furniture, gold, silver, jewels, pictures, wine, and everything in the house at Merton, and seventy acres which the glorious Nelson left me, and two acres and a half which I have bought since, added to it, all of which I give to my dearest mother for her natural life, and after her death, I give all that I have mentioned, Merton and all that belongs to it, inside the house and on the lands, as well as the lands to my dear Horatia Nelson Thomson, or, properly, Horatia Nelson, for her and her children for ever, and if she dies without children, or without a Will, for she can leave it to whom she pleases after she is eighteen years of age, in case then she should die without a Will, I leave it to the heirs of Susannah Bolton, wife of Thomas Bolton, Esq., of Cranwich, Norfolk, on condition that they pay Sarah Reynolds, my cousin, one hundred a-year for her life, and fifty pounds a-year to Cecilia Connor, my cousin; also I beg and leave to my dear Horatia Nelson, that she pays the above yearly pensions to Sarah Reynolds and Cecilia Connor. I do not leave anything to Ann or Mary Ann Connor, the daughter of Michael and Sarah Connor, as she has been a wicked story-telling young woman, and tried to defame her best friends and relations. I leave Horatia Nelson a ward in Chancery, after my mother's death, and I beg my dear friend George Matcham, Esq., of Bath, and his wife, to have the goodness to see after her education, and that she is properly brought up after my mother's death; if they will see to this, *Nelson* and *Emma's* spirits will look down on them and bless them. My dearest mother I leave executrix, with full power, if I have not mentioned everything; I mean, that all I am possessed of, pictures, china, plate, coach, everything belonging to me in the house at Merton, and out on the premises, belong to my mother for her natural life, and after, to Horatia Nelson, my ward, she being six years old. She will be six the 29th of this month of October. I beg this to be considered my last Will.—EMMA HAMILTON."

"October 7th, 1806."

"This I declare to be my last Will and Testament, October the 16th, 1808, Richmond.—If I can be buried in St. Paul's, I should be very happy to be near the glorious Nelson, whom I loved and admired; and as once Sir William, Nelson, and myself had agreed we should all be buried near each other, if the King had [not] granted him a public funeral this would have been, that three persons who

[4] It appears from the Ship's Books of the Elephant, that in April 1801, the Sail-maker's name was *William Murray*, and that of his Mate, *William Brown*.

were so much attached to each other from virtue and friendship should have been laid in one grave, when they quitted this ill-natured slanderous world. But 'tis past, and in Heaven I hope we shall meet. If I am not permitted to be buried in St. Paul's, let me be put where I shall be near my dear mother, when she is called from this ungrateful world. But I hope she will live and be a mother to Nelson's child Horatia. I beg that Merton may be sold and all debts paid; and whatever money shall be left after all debts are paid, I give to my dear mother, and after her death to my dear Horatia Nelson. I also give all that I am possessed of in this world to my dear mother Mary Doggin or Cadogan, for her use, and after her death to Horatia Nelson. I give them all my ready money, plate, linen, pictures, wearing apparel, household furniture, trinkets, wine, in short, everything I have in the world, to my mother during her life, and after her death to my dearest Horatia Nelson. I hope Mr. George Rose will be my executor, and take care of my dear mother and Horatia; and if he should not be living, I hope his eldest son will do me this last favour to see justice done to Nelson's daughter; and also I beg His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as he dearly loved Nelson, that his Royal Highness will protect his child, and be kind to her, for this I beg of him, for there is no one that I so highly regard as his Royal Highness. Also my good friend the Duke of Queensbury, I beg of him, as Nelson beseeched him to be kind to me, so I recommend my dear mother and Horatia to his kind heart. I have done my King and Country some service, but, as they were ungrateful enough to neglect the request of the virtuous Nelson in providing for me, I do not expect they will do anything for his child; but if there should be any Administration in at my death, who have hearts and feelings, I beg they will provide for Horatia Nelson, the child who would have had a father, if he had not gone forth to fight his Country's Battles; therefore she has a claim on them. I declare before God, and as I hope to see Nelson in Heaven, that Ann Connor, who goes by the name of Carew, and tells many falsehoods that she is my daughter, but from what motive I know not, I declare that she is the eldest daughter of my mother's sister, Sarah Connor, and that I have the mother and six children to keep, all of them, except two, having turned out bad; I therefore beg of my mother to be kind to the two good ones, Sarah and Cecilia. This family having, by their extravagance, almost ruined me, I have nothing to leave them; and I pray to God to turn Ann Connor's alias Carew's heart. I forgive her, but as there is a madness in the Connor family, I hope it is only the effect of this disorder that may have induced this bad young woman to have persecuted me by her slander and falsehoods. I give all my papers, books, lace, and indeed everything to my dear mother and Horatia Nelson. This I declare to be my last Will and Testament, and to do away with all other Wills.—Signed EMMA HAMILTON, in presence of[5]."

There is, however, a still more extraordinary written statement on the subject by Lady Hamilton, and which has only just been discovered. On the 30th of August 1805, Lord Nelson called very early in the morning at Mr. Salter's the silversmith in the Strand, and purchased a silver gilt cup for Horatia; and there is in the possession of Mrs. Salter, a paper in the handwriting of Lady Hamilton, which has been examined by the Editor, containing the following statements:—

"The Victor of Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, &c. &c. &c., the glorious, the great, and good Nelson, bought this for his daughter Horatia Nelson, August 30th 1805. She used it till I thought it proper for her to lay it by as a sacred relic.—EMMA HAMILTON.

"She is the daughter, the true and beloved daughter of Viscount Nelson, and if he had lived, she would have been all that his love and fortune could have

[5] Autographs in the possession of Mrs. Ward.

made her; for nature has made her perfect, beautiful, good, and amiable. HER MOTHER WAS TOO GREAT TO BE MENTIONED[6], but her father, mother, and Horatia had a true and virtuous friend in EMMA HAMILTON."

In considering this evidence, (and the Editor is not aware of there being any more,) it must be again observed that the authenticity of the Letters printed in the volumes called "Letters to Lady Hamilton from Lord Nelson," is open to the objections already taken to it; and that in the most important of them—the Letter of the 26th of August 1803, to "Mrs. Thompson"—several material words were purposely suppressed. But there is this fact in support of their genuineness, that in a catalogue of "Lord Nelson's Papers," which were sold by Phillips, in Bond Street, in 1817, every one of the said printed Letters is mentioned, with dates agreeing exactly with those assigned to them in the printed volumes, including the two letters to Mrs. Thompson. In the same catalogue are also notices of the following letters:—

"Thomson to Lord Nelson, 19th May 1801; 20th August 1803; 25th July 1801.

"Thomson, Mr., to Lady Hamilton, no date.

"Thomson, Mrs., to Lady Hamilton, 12th August."

These papers were, as has been already stated, bought by Mr. Croker; but unfortunately every one of the letters alluded to was abstracted before the papers came into that gentleman's hands.

It is here proper, in common justice to Lord Nelson and to Lady Hamilton, to state, that great doubt has been created in the Editor's mind, after considering all the documents to which he has had access, and knowing the opinions of persons likely to be correctly informed on the subject, whether the intimacy between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton was ever, in the usual sense of the word, of a criminal nature. This proposition will probably startle most persons, because a platonic affection, under such circumstances, is very unusual, and because the early career of Lady Hamilton is not favourable to an opinion of her virtue in after life.

A slight narrative of Lady Hamilton's acquaintance with Lord Nelson, in which some particulars will be given of his separation from his wife, and of Lady Hamilton after his death, will best elucidate this delicate subject.

The early life of Lady Hamilton would, as is well known, almost justify any inference to her disadvantage. She was eminently beautiful, and though uneducated, had fascinating manners, and was endowed with considerable genius. In 1791, when about thirty, she married Sir William Hamilton, K.B., then British Minister at the Court of Naples, a widower, and, at that time, sixty years of age.

In September 1793, NELSON, then Captain of the Agamemnon, was sent to Naples, and first became known to Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Writing to Mrs. Nelson from Naples, Captain

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[6] In the original, the words "her mother was," and "to be mentioned," are doubly, and the words "too great," are trebly underlined.

Nelson said,—"Lady Hamilton has been wonderfully kind and good to Josiah. She is a young woman of amiable manners, and who does honour to the station to which she is raised[7]." Like all who approached her, Nelson was charmed with her manners; and he felt very grateful for her kindness to him and his step-son[8]. It does not appear that they met again for five years. In September 1798, Nelson went to Naples, after the Battle of the Nile; but that he had previously created a warm friendship on the part of Sir William and Lady Hamilton, is shown by Sir William's letter of congratulation to him on that event, wherein he calls him "our bosom friend[9]."

Enthusiastic as was the reception of Nelson at Naples by all classes, the rapture of his friends, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, exceeded even the general joy; and their interview on board the Vanguard can only be understood by reading his own description of it to Lady Nelson[1]. The wounded Hero became the object of their tenderest solicitude, and the gratitude which their kindness excited in his heart was as permanent as it was sincere. At this time a correspondence commenced between Lady Hamilton[2] and Lady Nelson; and though rumours of the improper nature of his intimacy had appeared in the newspapers[3] and reached England[4], and though Mr. Davison had written to Lord Nelson in December 1798, expressing his regret that he did not return to England, and said that Lady Nelson was "uneasy and anxious, which was not to be wondered at;" that, she had declared that, unless he soon came home, she would go to Naples, and that he should "excuse a woman's tender feelings—they are too acute to be expressed[5]," she wrote in her usual calm and affectionate style to her husband so late as February and March 1800 (the latest letters the Editor has seen), and on the 14th of October 1799, she expressed her surprise to Lord Nelson that Lady Hamilton had not acknowledged the receipt of some prints which she had packed up for her with her own hands.

To Nelson's personal gratitude for Lady Hamilton's kindness, was added a strong sense of the services which her influence at the Court of Naples, and especially with the Queen, had as he supposed,

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[7] Vol. i. p. 326. [8] Ibid. p. 379.

[9] Vol. iii. p. 71. [1] Vol. iii. p. 131. [2] Vol. iii. p. 138.

[3] Lady Hamilton thus alluded to those rumours in a letter to Mr. Greville, dated on the 25th of February 1800. "We are more united and comfortable than ever, in spite of the infamous Jacobin papers, jealous of Lord Nelson's glory, and Sir William's and mine. But we do not mind them. Lord N. is a truly virtuous and great man; and, because we have been fagging and ruining our health, and sacrificing every comfort, in the cause of loyalty, our private characters are to be stabbed in the dark. First, it was said, Sir W. and Lord N. fought; then, that we played, and lost. First, Sir W. and Lord N. live like brothers; next, Lord N. never plays: and this I give you my word of honour. So I beg you will contradict any of these vile reports. Not that Sir W. and Lord N. mind it; and I get scolded by the Queen, and all of them, for having suffered one day's uneasiness." Ibid. vol. i. p. 269.

[4] See Admiral Goodall's Letter to Lord Nelson of the 15th of November 1799, in vol. iv. p. 204, note.

[5] Vide vol. iii. p. 138.

enabled her to render to the Public, and to which he often adverted[6], especially in the Codicil to his Will. When the Court removed to Palermo in December 1798, it was accompanied by Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Lord Nelson conveyed them to that place in his own Ship; and with short intervals, including the expedition to Naples in June 1799, he remained in their house at Palermo from that time until he returned with them to England in November 1800.

During this period, it was natural that a fascinating woman should, in the absence of his own wife, have obtained great influence over a guest whose fame she pretended to adore, and to whom she daily administered the dangerous but grateful homage of flattery and praise. Nor is it surprising that her early history, the example of a corrupt Court, and the disparity of years between herself and her husband, should have exposed their intimacy to suspicion, or that to her suggestions the admirers of Nelson should have imputed what they saw reason to condemn in his public conduct. With all her faults, however, her goodness of heart is undeniable. She was the frequent intercessor with Nelson for offending sailors; and, in every vicissitude of her fortune, she manifested the warmest affection for her mother, and shewed the greatest kindness to a host of discreditable relations.

Though none of Lady Nelson's letters in 1798, 1799, or 1800, contain any reproach, or betray any suspicion about Lady Hamilton, she could not have been ignorant of the intimacy; and the brief letter[7] which he wrote to her on the 10th of May 1799 (the last that has been found, except a short note after their separation[8],) was by no means calculated to convince her that his affection was unimpaired.

Lord Nelson and Sir William and Lady Hamilton arrived in London on the 6th of November 1800, and, as has been already[9] stated, instead of Lady Nelson meeting her husband at Yarmouth on his landing, after an absence of two years and seven months, during which time he had immortalized himself, and made her a Peeress, her reception of him is said, on good authority, to have been cold and chilling. They continued to live together, however, for two months, though, according to Lord Nelson's own statement, not happily[1], but no separation was contemplated; and it appears, from the following important letter, with which the Editor has been favoured by Mr. Haslewood, that when it did take place, it was entirely her own act, and that it was wholly unexpected:—

"Kemp Town, Brighton, 13th April 1846.

"Dear Sir,—I was no less surprised than grieved when you told me of a prevailing opinion, that Lord Nelson of his own motion withdrew from the society of his wife, and took up his residence altogether with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and that you have never received from any member of his family an intimation to the contrary. His father, his brother, Dr. Nelson (afterwards Earl

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[6] Vide vol. vi. pp. 99, 105, 106.
[7] Addenda, p. clxxxi. [8] Vol. iv. p. 272. [9] Vol. iv. p. 268.
[1] Addenda, p. ccix.

Nelson), his sisters, Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Matcham, and their husbands, well knew, that the separation was unavoidable on Lord Nelson's part; and, as I happened to be present when the unhappy rupture took place, I have often talked over with all of them, but more especially with Mr. and Mrs. Matcham, the particulars which I proceed to relate, in justice to the memory of my illustrious friend, and in the hope of removing an erroneous impression from your mind.

"In the winter of 1800, 1801, I was breakfasting with Lord and Lady Nelson, at their lodgings in Arlington-street, and a cheerful conversation was passing on indifferent subjects, when Lord Nelson spoke of something which had been done or said, by 'dear Lady Hamilton;' upon which Lady Nelson rose from her chair, and exclaimed, with much vehemence, 'I am sick of hearing of dear Lady Hamilton, and am resolved that you shall give up either her or me.' Lord Nelson, with perfect calmness, said—'Take care, Fanny, what you say. I love you sincerely; but I cannot forget my obligations to Lady Hamilton, or speak of her otherwise than with affection and admiration.' Without one soothing word or gesture, but muttering something about her mind being made up, Lady Nelson left the room, and shortly after drove from the house. They never lived together afterwards. I believe that Lord Nelson took a formal leave of her Ladyship before joining the Fleet under Sir Hyde Parker; but that, to the day of her husband's glorious death, she never made any apology for her abrupt and ungentle conduct above related, or any overture towards a reconciliation. I am, dear Sir, your faithful servant,—W. Haslewood."

A separation unfortunately ensued, and Sir William Hamilton invited Lord Nelson to become a guest in his house during the remainder of his stay in London. He took his leave of Lady Nelson on the 13th of January 1801, the day he left London to join the Channel Fleet; and though his assurance at parting, "I call God to witness there is nothing in you or your conduct I wish otherwise," and his kind note to her from Southampton on the same day[2] left, the means of reconciliation open, if, indeed, the note was not written with that object, Lady Nelson never made the slightest effort to recover his affections; nor was it until the 23rd of April that he signified his determination to be "left to himself[3]." He settled 1200*l.* upon her, which was then half his income; and took care to provide for her by his Will in case of his decease. His conduct, however, seems to have been censured by his female friends, for in a letter to Mr. Davison of the 28th of January, he alluded to the coolness of Lady Spencer, adding this simple defence of himself, "Either as a public or a private man, I wish nothing undone that I have done[4]."

From this moment the affection[5] shown him by Sir William and Lady Hamilton knew no bounds, and he seems to have entirely surrendered himself to their friendship and society. Except while he was in the North Sea, they lived constantly together, either at Sir William's house in Piccadilly, or at Merton, or when making tours, or short excursions into the country. Early in March 1801, he invited them to visit him on board the St. George in Torbay; but Sir

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[2] Vol. iv. p. 272. [3] Addenda, p. ccix. [4] Addenda, p. cc.

[5] In Lord Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton until after January 1801, he addressed her as "My dear Lady Hamilton;" then "My dear Lady;" then "My dearest friend;" then "My truly dearest friend;" and in July 1801, for the first time, "My dearest Emma," being six months after his separation from Lady Nelson, and nearly two years before Sir William Hamilton's death.

William said he was too much occupied in preparing for the sale of his pictures; and as there was a valuable portrait of Lady Hamilton among them, Lord Nelson desired Mr. Davison to buy it, "for," he says, "I could not bear the idea of Sir William's selling his wife's picture." About September 1801 he purchased a small house at Merton in Surrey; and it is very remarkable that he should say to Mr. Davison, in October 1803, that Lady Hamilton "bought" it[6], unless he meant (and with which the context seems to agree) that the place was selected for him by her taste.

Sir William Hamilton died on the 6th of April 1803, at the age of seventy-two, and Lord Nelson immediately removed to lodgings at No. 19, Piccadilly. Finding that Lady Hamilton was not sufficiently provided for, he settled £1200 upon her; and though she had a house in Clarges-street, she made Merton her principal residence. These acts would seem to remove all probable doubt as to the character of their intimacy, were it not for the following considerations.

The intimacy between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton was perfectly well known to, and entirely approved of by her husband, who was a man of considerable talent and high character, and very unlikely to connive at his own dishonour. The friendship between Lord Nelson and Sir William Hamilton[7] was as strong as that between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton; he was constantly mentioned in their letters, and always with respect and kindness; and in a letter from her to Mrs. Nelson (Dr. Nelson's wife), on the 26th of February 1801, after speaking in the most exaggerated terms of her grief for Lord Nelson's approaching departure, she says, "God only knows what it is to part with such a friend: such a one! we were truly called the 'Tria juncta in uno,' for Sir William, he, and I, have but one heart in three bodies." Their attachment was publicly avowed; and Sir William Hamilton, who died in the arms of Nelson and Lady Hamilton, bequeathed her picture to him in the following emphatic words, only a week before that event:—

"The copy of Madame Le Brun's picture[8] of Emma, in enamel, by Bone, I give to my dearest friend Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronté: a small token of the great regard I have for his Lordship; the most virtuous, loyal, and truly brave character I have ever met with. God bless him, and shame fall on those who do not say—*Amen.*"

Moreover, Lord Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton, ardent as they latterly were, are written much more in the language of hope than of possession. He looks forward to making her his wife, and to his having children by her; and now, when the strong suspicion of her having been the mother of Horatia is at an end, expressions which seemed to imply a guilty attachment, wear a very different complexion. It is well known that she was an artful

[6] Vol. v. p. 219, and see Letters to Lady Hamilton, p. 60.

[7] See his letters to Lord Nelson, printed in the volumes entitled "Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton," which has been so often referred to.

[8] This picture was purchased of Lady Hamilton by the Prince of Wales, about 1809 or 1810.

though kind-hearted woman, whose great ambition was to obtain unbounded influence over Nelson's mind; and even if her virtue would not have resisted an improper request on his part, she must have been aware that its gratification would have placed her influence over him in eminent peril, for his affection mainly rested on his esteem for her character.

However great was Nelson's infatuation, his nice sense of honour, his feelings of propriety, and his love of truth, were unquestionable. Hence, though during a long separation from his wife on the Public service in the Mediterranean, he so far yielded to temptation as to become the father of a child, it is nevertheless difficult to believe that he should for years have had a criminal intercourse with the wife of a man of his own rank, whom he considered as his dearest friend, who placed the greatest confidence in his honour and virtue, and in whose house he was living. Still more difficult is it to believe, even if this had been the case, that he should not only have permitted every one of his relations, male and female—his wife, his father, his brothers, his brothers-in-law, his two sisters, and all their daughters, to visit and correspond with her, but even have allowed three of his nieces to live for a considerable time with her; have ostentatiously and frequently written and spoken of her "virtuous and religious" character[2],—holding her up as an example to his family; have appointed her the sole guardian of his child; have avowedly intended to make her his wife; have acted upon every occasion as if the purity of their intimacy was altogether free from suspicion; and in the last written act of his life have solemnly called upon his Country to reward and support her. An honourable and conscientious man rarely acts thus towards his *mistress;* and still more rarely do the female members of his family sanction, by their presence and friendship, an improper connexion of that kind. Moreover, Nelson's most intimate friends, including the Earl of St. Vincent, who called them "a pair of sentimental fools," Dr. Scott his Chaplain[1], and Mr. Haslewood, were of the same opinion; and Southey says, "there is no reason to believe that this most unfortunate attachment was criminal."

Very little remains to be said of Lady Hamilton's history after Lord Nelson's death. Her grief for the event, if not sincere, was loud and ostentatious; and it is due to her to give the annexed letter to Dr. Scott, dated on the 7th of September 1806, as it shows that her intimacy with Lord Nelson's sisters and with the other ladies of his family still subsisted, and because she speaks of the "innocency" of her intimacy with Nelson, of his "virtuous affection" for her, and of "the love he bore her husband:"—

"My dear friend,—I did not get your letter till the other day; for I have been with Mrs. Bolton to visit an old respectable aunt of my dear Nelson's. I shall be in town, that is, at Merton, the end of the week, and I hope you will come there

[2] See the letters from the Rev. Edmund Nelson, dated 7 Jan. 1802, from Dr. Nelson, and other letters in the "Letters to Lady Hamilton," vol. ii. p. 51, and vol. vii. p. 28.

[1] Recollections of the Life of the Rev. A. J. Scott, p. 192.

on Saturday, and pass Sunday with me. I want much to see you: consult with you about my affairs. How hard it is, how cruel their treatment to me and Horatia. That angel's last wishes all neglected, not to speak of the fraud that was acted to keep back the Codicil: but enough! when we meet we will speak about it. God bless you for all your attentions and love you showed to our virtuous Nelson, and his dear remains, but it seems those that truly loved him are to be victims to hatred, jealousy, and spite. However, we have innocency on our sides, and we have, and had, what they that persecute us never had, that was *his* unbounded love and esteem, his confidence and affection. I know well how he valued you, and what he would have done for you had he lived. You know the great and virtuous affection he had for me, the love he bore my husband, and, if I had any influence over him, I used it for the good of my country. Did I ever keep him at home? Did I not share in his glory? Even this last fatal victory, it was I bid him go forth. Did he not pat me on the back, call me brave Emma, and said, 'if there were more Emmas, there would be more Nelsons.' Does he not in his last moments do me justice, and request at the moment of his glorious death, that the King and Nation will do me justice? And I have got all his letters, and near eight hundred of the Queen of Naples's letters to show what I did for my King and Country, and prettily I am rewarded. *Psha*—I am above them, I despise them—for, thank God, I feel that having lived with honour and glory, glory they cannot take from me. I despise them—my soul is above them, and I can yet make some of them tremble, by showing them how he despised them; for in his letters to me he thought aloud. Look at ——, courting the man he despised, and neglecting now those whose feet he used to lick. Dirty, vile groveller! But enough till we meet. Mrs. Bolton and all the family beg their compliments. Write to me, at Merton; and ever believe me, my dear Sir, your affectionate

EMMA HAMILTON.

"Horatia is charming. She begs her love to you. She improves daily. She sends you 100,000,000 kisses[2]."

About 1807, Lady Hamilton's extravagance plunged her into such difficulties, that she was obliged to sell Merton, and after residing for two years at Richmond, she removed to lodgings in Bond-street. There, however, she soon became so much involved as to be compelled to secrete herself from her creditors, with Mrs. Billington, at Fulham; and from thence she placed herself within the Rules of the King's Bench, in Temple Place. She remained there about a year, and then went to Calais, where she died in great distress, of water on the chest, partly induced by intemperate habits, on the 6th of January 1814. During her embarrassments her effects, and particularly her papers, became scattered; and great part of the letters were purchased by Mr. Croker in 1817, but the Coat in which Lord Nelson fell, some pictures and other valuable articles were assigned to her principal creditor, the late Mr. Alderman Smith.

Miss Horatia Nelson lived with Lady Hamilton until her decease, and she bears this satisfactory testimony to Lady Hamilton's conduct towards her: "With all Lady Hamilton's faults—and she had *many*—she had many fine qualities, which had she been placed early in better hands, and in different circumstances, would have made her a very superior woman. It is but justice on my part to say that through *all her* difficulties, she *invariably* till the last few months, expended on my education, &c., the whole of the interest

[2] Recollections of the Life of the Rev. A. J. Scott, p. 209.

of the sum left me by Lord Nelson, and which was left entirely at her control." Immediately after Lady Hamilton's death, Miss Horatia Nelson returned to England, and resided for two years in the family of Mr. Matcham, and afterwards in that of Mr. Bolton, Lord Nelson's brothers-in-law, until February 1822, when she married the Reverend Philip Ward, now Vicar of Tenterden, in Kent, by whom she has eight children.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

LORD NELSON'S FUNERAL.

The following account of Lord Nelson's Funeral, &c., is taken from the Naval Chronicle of 1806, and the London Gazette:—

"The Coffin, which is considered as the most elegant and superb ever seen in Europe, is the production of Mr. France, undertaker, of Pall-Mall. The emblematical devices with which it is ornamented, were executed from designs by Mr. Ackerman, of the Strand. The covering is of fine black velvet, with treble rows of double gilt nails, the whole finely enriched with gold matt, enclosed, and chased. The Head-piece represents a monument supported by eagles, the emblem of Victory, with the portrait of the deceased Hero in bass relief, surmounted by an urn containing his ashes, over which reclines the figure of Grief. At the base are seen the British Lion, with one of his paws laid on the Gallic Cock, Sphinxes, and other trophies, intended to commemorate the brilliant Victory which the gallant Admiral obtained on the shores of Egypt, and to indicate that he might fairly claim the Sovereignty of the Ocean. Next is a Viscount's coronet, the reward of his Lordship's services to his King and Country. The breast-plate, of gold, thirteen inches by nine, the same size as that of the late Duke of Gloucester, prepared by His Majesty's goldsmith, with the following inscription:—

'DEPOSITUM.
The Most Noble Lord HORATIO NELSON,
Viscount and Baron NELSON of the NILE,
and of
Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk.
Baron NELSON of the Nile, and of Hilborough in the said County.
Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath;
Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of the Fleet;
and
Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean.
Also,
Duke of BRONTE, in Sicily;
Knight Grand Cross of the Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand,
and of Merit.
Member of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent;
and
Knight Grand Commander of the Order of St. Joachim.
Born September 29, 1758.
After a series of transcendant and heroic Services, this Gallant Admiral fell gloriously, in the moment of a brilliant and decisive Victory over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805.'

Lower down is the first Crest which His Majesty granted him after the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, where Lord Nelson boarded and took the San Josef, the motto, 'Faith and Works.' The last ornament on the lid is an Egyptian weeping figure (a cast from the antique), wrapped up in drapery, with the face hidden, emblematical of grief. On the left hand side of the Coffin, next to the head, is the British Lion, with the Union Flag, the Supporter of England, as also that of Lord Nelson's Arms. Lower down, about the shoulder, on the same side, is a display of the Insignia of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, with the motto, 'Tria juncta in Uno.' Directly in the centre, on the same side, is a

beautiful composition of Britannia and Neptune riding triumphant on the Ocean, drawn by Sea-horses, and led by Fame; while Neptune is pointing to a shield, which bears this motto, 'Viro immortali.' Next is the Order of St. Ferdinand, which Lord Nelson received of the King of Naples, with the motto, 'Fide a merito.' The last ornament, towards the feet, on this side, is a crocodile, allusive to the Battle of the Nile. The first device on the right hand side of the coffin, at the head, is the Sphynx, the emblem of Egypt. Corresponding with the Order of the Bath, on the opposite side, is the Order of the Great Crescent, which was transmitted to the noble Admiral by the Grand Seignor after the glorious Battle of the Nile. In the centre, on the right hand, are again Britannia and Neptune riding triumphant on the Ocean, drawn by Sea-horses, &c., as on the opposite side. Lower down, corresponding with the Order of St. Ferdinand, on the opposite side, is the Order of St. Joachim, transmitted to Lord Nelson by the Emperor Paul, as Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, with the motto, 'Junxit Amicos Amor.' The last ornament, on the right hand side, towards the foot, is a Dolphin, the noblest fish of the sea, and formerly claimed by the Heir of France. The device, at the head end of the Coffin, is composed of naval and military trophies, with Lord Nelson's arms on a shield. That at the foot end, is also a composition of naval and military trophies. Commissioner Grey's yacht, the Chatham, went from Sheerness to the Nore, on the morning of the 22nd, for the purpose of meeting the Victory and receiving the body. The Victory hove in sight about twelve o'clock, but the wind blowing strong at S.W. prevented her coming nearer to the Nore than five or six miles. As soon as it was known that she had arrived, the Ships at the Nore, and in the harbour, lowered their colours half-mast high. On the morning of the 23rd, the body was received on board the Chatham, which immediately proceeded for Greenwich. The Coffin, covered with an ensign, was placed on the deck. All the vessels, while the yacht was passing, hoisted colours half-mast high; and, at Tilbury and Gravesend, the forts fired minute guns. The bells were tolled, and afterwards rung a muffled peal. In the evening, the body was received by Lord Hood, with the greatest privacy, at Greenwich, and deposited in a private apartment, where it remained until the requisite arrangements were made for its lying in state in the Painted Chamber. It was not until the 27th of December that it was finally settled for the funeral to take place on Thursday the 9th of January following. The determination was then communicated by Lord Hawkesbury to the Board of Works, and orders were immediately sent from that department to St. Paul's Cathedral, addressed to all the principal artificers there employed, desiring them to expedite the finishing of their different orders on or before the 7th of January. On Saturday, the 4th of January, the preparations for the public to pay their last tribute to the remains of the immortal Nelson were completely finished; and, about one o'clock, the Princess of Wales, attended by her retinue, entered the saloon, where she remained for a considerable time, contemplating, with silent sorrow, the last solemn obsequies paid to the remains of the gallant Hero. After her departure, a few persons of respectability were also admitted by the Governors, to see the body lie in state. The Rev. Mr. Scott, Lord Nelson's favourite Chaplain, whom in his last moments he earnestly requested to pay particular attention to his remains till they were interred, accompanied by Mr. France's partner of Pall-Mall, the undertaker, remained with the body the whole of the night; and on Sunday, at eleven o'clock, the hall and gate were opened for the admission of strangers. The Painted Chamber had been fitted up for this melancholy spectacle with peculiar taste and elegance. A platform was erected along the chamber, with two divisions, one for the ingress and the other for the egress of the spectators; at the farther end of which, elevated six feet, a portion was railed off, in the form of a crescent, within which a canopy was erected of black cloth, festooned with gold; the festoons ornamented with the plume of triumph; the coronet and the stem of the San Josef, a Spanish Admiral's Ship, already quartered in his Lordship's arms, and the back field with an escutcheon of his Lordship's arms. Motto, 'Palmam qui meruit ferat,' surmounted by a laurel wreath, encircling Neptune's trident, and a palm branch in saltier; and above the whole, a golden wreath, with the word TRAFALGAR inscribed within it. Solar rays surrounded

his Lordship's shield, bearing the motto, 'Tria juncta in uno,' were appropriately interspersed in the back ground. The Coffin, richly ornamented, as already described, containing the Body, lying beneath it, covered with a black velvet pall lined with white satin, turned up at the foot, so as to expose the lower part of the Coffin (which was turned towards the entrance) to the spectators. On the top was Lord Nelson's coronet supported on a black velvet cushion richly fringed; at the head of which sat the Rev. Mr. Scott, Chaplain of the Victory, as chief mourner, seated in an elbow chair, dressed in his cassock, and without powder; and at the foot was a pedestal covered with black velvet trimmed with rich fringe, black and yellow alternately, and supporting models, richly gilt, of his Lordship's shields, gauntlets, sword and helmet, surmounted by a naval crown and chelengk, or triumphal plume, presented to his Lordship by the Grand Seignor, in approbation of his glorious victory at the Nile. Ten mourners, appointed from the Lord Chamberlain's office, also attended, two on each side of the Coffin, and three on each side the canopy; the former standing, the latter sitting: they were dressed in deep mourning, with black scarfs, full powdered, and wearing bag wigs. Ten banners, exhibiting various quarterings of his Lordship's arms, belonging to the several orders, and each bearing the motto inscribed on the escutcheon, elevated on staves, were pendant towards the Coffin. Four high benches covered with black cloth, were placed two on each side the Coffin, supporting twelve elegant silver trestles, with two wax candles in each. The railing was in the form of a crescent, about three feet in height, outside of which the spectators viewed the funeral saloon, and on the inside were stationed several persons from the Lord Chamberlain's office, appropriately dressed. Volunteers belonging to the Greenwich and Deptford Association, remained at the head of each avenue, and round the railing, to prevent riot, and to keep the throng in continual motion onward. The steps leading to, and coming from the saloon, were covered with matting and black cloth, as was the whole of the chamber floor. Double rows of sconces, highly plated, each with two branches, and containing wax lights, were suspended around the saloon, with escutcheons bearing two shields, and a coronet between each pair; above them a white satin belt was brought all round as a relief from the dead black; single rows of sconces and escutcheons were fixed in a similar manner to the other parts of the chamber. A large black curtain, festooned, was suspended at the entrance to the saloon. At the end of the avenue for egress a guard was placed, who directed the spectators as they came out of the hall, to pass on to the back gate of the hospital, and depart, to prevent confusion. This solemn exhibition continued for three days—Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. On the last day, some slight alterations were made in the arrangements in the saloon. The sable pall was cast from the Coffin, which was fully exposed to view, and upon it was placed the cushion supporting the coronet, with two armorial shields, appropriately emblazoned. The ten mourners, who before were seated at the head of the Coffin, to the right and left of the canopy, now took their places, five on each side, outside of the benches on which the trestles stood, and facing inwards. The effect was thus rendered much more solemn and impressive. On the afternoon of Tuesday, a little before four o'clock, the brig Elizabeth and Mary, from off Chatham, hove in sight at Greenwich, having on board a chosen band of seamen and marines belonging to the brave Crew of the Victory, who were intended to fall into the funeral procession of their deceased Commander. The St. George's Jack at the mast-head of the brig, was lowered half-mast high, as a funeral salute, which was immediately returned by the colours of all the Ships in sight from the terrace. Lieutenant Brown, the commanding Officer of the seamen and marines, came on shore to take orders for their proceeding. The Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich then proceeded to inform Lord Hood of their arrival; when that gallant Admiral, accompanied by a party of the River Fencibles, armed with their pikes, proceeded to the North Gate, next the River, and ordered the Heroes of Trafalgar to be brought on shore. The brig then hauled up alongside the quay, and the brave tars landed, amidst the warm greetings and grateful acclamations of the surrounding throng.

On Wednesday morning, the 8th January, at half-past seven o'clock, the Heralds, and the Naval Officers who were to assist in the Procession by water,

met at the Admiralty, and thence proceeded, about eight, to Greenwich. At ten o'clock they assembled in the Governor's House within Greenwich Hospital. The boats and gun-boats of the River Fencibles, with the whole of the establishment of the Water Bailiffs and Harbour Master, assembled off the King's Stairs at nine o'clock, and proceeded to arrange the barges and boats in the order that they were to go in the Procession, in a single line, which reached a considerable way down the River towards Woolwich. This prevented a great deal of confusion, although it in some measure occasioned more delay than might have been expected. A large guard, composed of the Life Guards and the Greenwich Volunteers and Pikemen, kept the respective avenues as clear as possible. The pressure, however, was great, and many people were much hurt in their attempts to obtain a view of the embarkation. The Naval Officers, who had assembled in Lord Hood's apartments, partook of a breakfast there, and were ready some time before the Lord Mayor and the City Companies arrived in state from London. On the alighting of the latter at the Governor's House, a signal was given, and a lane of guards, consisting of the Greenwich and Deptford Volunteers, was formed across the grass plat between the houses of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, to the North Gate, opening to the River. Another lane was also formed by the River Fencibles, armed with their swords and pikes, from the Volunteer line to the entrance of the Painted Chamber, through which the Corpse and its attendants moved in procession to the barges on the River appointed to receive them. The Body, it should be remembered, was carried from the Saloon, through the Great Hall; out at the eastern Portal, round the Royal Charlotte Ward to the North Gate. Precisely at half-past twelve o'clock the Procession began to move forwards, passing through the lanes of Volunteers, who received it with presented arms; the River Fencibles firing minute guns from the commencement to the close of the embarkation. The following was the order of Procession:—

Four fifes, and four drums, in the royal uniform, playing the Dead March in Saul.

Five hundred of the Greenwich Pensioners, who, as they advanced from the Hospital, filed off to the right and left and formed in front of the Volunteers, facing inwards.

Six Mourners in scarfs and hatbands.

Eight Trumpeters, sounding the 104th Psalm.

The Standard, borne by a Naval Captain, and supported by two Lieutenants.

Two Trumpeters, sounding as the former.

Two Pursuivants at Arms, properly attired.

The Guidon, borne by Captain Durham, supported by two Lieutenants, motto reversed.

Two Trumpeters, sounding as the former.

A Pursuivant at Arms.

The Banner of the Order of the Bath, emblazoned on a sable ground, borne as the Guidon.

The great Banner, borne by Captain Moorsom, and supported as the last.

Four Pursuivants at Arms.

Two Chaplains of Greenwich Hospital.

Six Lieutenants of ditto, Naval uniform coats, black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings.

Four Mourners.

A Banner of emblems and armorial bearings, borne by Captain T. M. Hardy, and supported by two Lieutenants.

The Coffin, covered with the black velvet pall, borne on a bier elegantly ornamental, and carried by twelve bearers in full mourning.

Chief Mourner, Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart.

His Train-bearer, the Hon. Captain Blackwood.

Supporters to the Chief Mourners, Admirals Lords Hood and Radstock.

Six Assistant Mourners.

Six Vice-Admirals:—Caldwell, Hamilton, Nugent, Bligh, Sir Roger Curtis, and Sir C. M. Pole; and an emblematical Banner, borne by a Captain, and supported

by two Lieutenants, exhibiting Britannia, seated beneath a cypress, weeping over the armorial shield of the Hero, with the British Lion couchant at her feet, guarding her shield. The colours of France, Spain, and Holland, lowered in the back ground.

Four Captains, and six Lieutenants of the Victory.

The whole passed onwards through the North Gate, down the steps, to the River side, along the causeway, and to the barges, the drums and trumpets halting and continuing to play. The Body having been placed on board the State Barge, the several members of the Procession took their places on board their appointed barges, when the Lord Mayor of London, Corporation, &c., proceeded from the Painted Chamber, uncovered, to the River side, and went on board their respective barges, appropriately decorated for the solemn occasion, the great bell over the south-east Colonnade tolling a funeral knell the whole time. The whole of the Procession, properly arranged, rowed round the stern of Sir Sidney Smith's little sloop, moored off the Hospital; and, favoured by the flood tide, though opposed by the wind, it proceeded up the River for London. The Procession moved forward at a slow rate, the flags half-staff high, and the boats of the River Fencibles firing minute guns the whole way to Whitehall stairs. Not a Ship or boat was suffered to disturb the order. The shores, with the decks, yards, rigging, and masts of the numerous Ships on the River, were lined with thousands of spectators. Every hat was off, and every countenance expressed the deepest regret. As the Procession passed the Tower, a quarter before three o'clock, the great guns were fired at minute intervals from the wharf, and were answered, in corresponding time, by the gun-boats. The extreme violence of the wind, it being south-westerly, much impeded the progress of the boats in their making the point of land opposite Somerset House: however, by great labour on the part of the rowers, the line of procession was tolerably well observed to the last. At half-past two o'clock, the 7th Royal Veteran battalion, to the amount of 800, formed a lane two deep, from the Admiralty to Whitehall stairs. At a quarter before three, a large black velvet covering was brought forth, supported by eight undertakers, with bearers, and formed into a temporary awning, at the entrance of the avenue leading to Whitehall stairs. Round the awning was a deep black velvet border and fringe, gilt and festooned in rich drapery, with Coronets and the insignia of different Orders, &c., painted in gold. The Procession arrived at Whitehall stairs precisely at half-past three o'clock; when the whole of the boats drew up, and lay upon their oars, forming columns, in the order of a crescent, suffering the barge with the Body to shoot ahead, and pass the stairs a short distance. This done, the barge tacked and brought-to, when the Coffin was landed and received with military honours under the above-described awning or canopy. The respective members of the Procession then landed in order, and formed in Whitehall yard, agreeably to the arrangement by which they had proceeded from Greenwich Hospital to the place of embarkation. They moved forward, at a slow pace, and reached the Admiralty about four o'clock, when the Body was conveyed into the apartment on the left of the Great Hall, called the Captains' Room. The Coffin was placed on a square platform, ascending three steps, and covered with a canopy of black velvet. The canopy was enriched with a display of armorial bearings, &c. On the top of the Coffin were placed the coronet and cushion, and on each side were six large wax lights in silver sconces. Round the room, which was lighted with wax lights to the number of eighty, were fixed the flags of different Ships. The Rev. Mr. Scott, who had sat up with the corpse during the whole time that it lay in state at Greenwich, also remained with it at the Admiralty the night previous to its interment. Although it had been generally understood that the public were not to view the lying in state at the Admiralty, the curiosity of the populace was so great, that every door of the office was surrounded early in the evening; and many remained till a late hour at night, without succeeding in their object. A Captain's guard, of the Invalids from the Tower, was stationed at the Admiralty during the whole of Wednesday night. The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, &c., did not land at Whitehall stairs, but proceeded in their barges to Palace Yard, where they landed, and returned in their carriages to the City. The boats of the River Fencibles, and others of the Procession, except-

ing the city barges, returned in order with the tide down stream, firing minute guns the whole way. The preparations in the streets through which the Procession was to pass, continued, almost unremittingly, during the whole of Wednesday night.

PUBLIC FUNERAL OF LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

[From the London Gazette of the 18th of January 1806.]

On Wednesday, the 8th instant, the remains of the late Right Honourable Horatio Viscount and Baron Nelson, K.B., Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, were conveyed from the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, where they had lain in state in the Painted Hall, on the three preceding days, to the Admiralty.

Soon after ten o'clock in the morning, the several persons appointed to attend the remains from Greenwich, assembled at the Governor's House within the Royal Hospital; and, at about one o'clock, proceeded in the Barges according to the following order, viz.:—

FIRST BARGE, covered with black cloth.

Drums—two trumpets, with their banners in the steerage.

The Standard, at the head, borne by Captains Sir Francis Laforey, Bart., of the Spartiate, supported by Lieutenants William Collins Barker and George Antram, of the Royal Navy.

The Guidon, at the door-place, borne by Captain Henry William Bayntun, of the Leviathan, (in the absence, by indisposition, of Captain Durham,) supported by two Lieutenants of the Royal Navy, all in their full uniform coats, with black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.

Rouge Croix and Blue Mantle, Pursuivants of Arms, in close mourning, with their tabards over their cloaks, and hatbands and scarves.

SECOND BARGE, covered with black cloth.

Four trumpets in the steerage.

Heralds of Arms, habited as those in the first Barge, bearing the Surcoat, Target, and Sword, Helm and Crest, and the Gauntlet and Spurs, of the Deceased.

The Banner of the Deceased as a Knight of the Bath, at the head, borne by Captain Edward Rotherham, of the Royal Sovereign, supported by two Lieutenants of the Royal Navy.

The Great Banner, with the augmentations, at the door-place, borne by Captain Robert Moorsom, of the Revenge, supported by Lieutenants David Keys and Nicholas Tucker, of the Nassau, all habited as those in the first Barge.

THIRD BARGE,

Covered with black velvet, the top adorned with plumes of black feathers; and in the centre, upon four shields of the Arms of the Deceased joining in point, a Viscount's coronet. Three bannerolls of the family lineage of the Deceased, on each side, affixed to the external parts of the Barge.

Six trumpets with the banners as before, in the steerage.

Six Officers of the Royal Navy, habited as those in the other Barges; one to each bannerol, viz.:—

Lieutenant (now Captain) John Pasco.
Lieutenant (now Captain) John Yule.
Thomas Atkinson, Master of the Victory.
Lieutenant (now Captain) —— Williams.
Lieutenant George Browne.
Lieutenant James Uzuld Purches.

The Body,

Covered with a large sheet, and a pall of velvet adorned with six escutcheons.

Norroy King of Arms, (in the absence by indisposition, of Clarenceux,) habited as the other Officers of Arms, and bearing, at the head of the Body, a Viscount's coronet upon a black velvet cushion.

At the head of the Barge the Union Flag of the United Kingdom.
Attendants on the Body while at Greenwich, in mourning.

FOURTH BARGE, covered with black cloth.

The Chief Mourner, Sir Peter Parker, Bart., Admiral of the Fleet, with his two Supporters, Admiral Samuel Viscount Hood, and Admiral William Lord Radstock; six assistant Mourners, viz., Admirals Benjamin Caldwell, Sir Roger Curtis, Knt. and Bart., Richard Rodney Bligh, Sir Charles Morice Pole, Bart., and Vice-Admirals Charles Edmund Nugent and Charles Powell Hamilton; four Supporters of the Pall, viz., Vice-Admirals James Hawkins Whitshed and Thomas Taylor, Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart., (in the absence, by indisposition, of Vice-Admiral Henry Savage, who had been nominated to this station,) and Rear-Admiral Eliab Harvey; six Supporters of the Canopy, viz., Rear-Admirals Thomas Drury, Sir William Henry Douglas, Bart., Thomas Wells, Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., John Alymer, and William Domett; and the Train-bearer of the Chief Mourner, Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood, of the Euryalus, all in mourning cloaks, over their respective full uniform coats, black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, crape round their arms, and crape hat-bands.

Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms, habited as the other Officers of Arms.

The Banner of Emblems, at the door-place, borne by Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy, of the Victory, supported by Lieutenants Andrew King and George Miller Bligh, of the Royal Navy, habited as those in the other Barges.

The Barges of His Majesty and of the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, followed, singly; and immediately after, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor in the City State Barge, followed by the Barges of several of the Companies of the City of London, singly, according to their rank: their respective colours half-staff.

The Procession was attended by a considerable number of gun-boats and row-boats of the River Fencibles; and the Lord Mayor, in his character of Conservator of the River Thames, highly distinguished himself upon this occasion by his Lordship's judicious and unremitting attentions to their due arrangement and order.

As the Procession passed the Tower of London, minute guns were there fired. During the time of landing THE BODY, and the several persons from the four mourning barges, at Whitehall stairs, the King's and Admiralty's barges, and those of the Lord Mayor, and the City Companies, lay on their oars.

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION FROM WHITEHALL STAIRS TO THE ADMIRALTY, ON FOOT.

Drums and Trumpets.
Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms.
The Standard, borne by the Captain, and supported by the two Lieutenants before mentioned.
Trumpet.
Blue Mantle Pursuivant of Arms.
The Guidon, borne and supported as in the Barge.
Two Trumpets.
Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms.
The Banner of the Deceased as a Knight of the Bath, borne and supported as in the Barge.
Two Trumpets.
Richmond Herald.
The Great Banner, borne and supported as in the Barge.
Gauntlet and Spurs, borne by York Herald.
Helm and Crest, —— Somerset Herald.
Sword and Target, —— Lancaster Herald.
Surcoat, —— Chester Herald.

Six Trumpets.

Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux, bearing the Coronet on a black velvet cushion.

Three Bannerolls of the Family lineage of the Deceased, borne as before mentioned. — Supporters of the Pall. — **The Body,** Covered with a black velvet Pall, adorned with Escutcheons, under a Canopy supported by six Admirals. — Supporters of the Pall. — Three Bannerolls of the Family lineage of the Deceased, borne as before mentioned.

Garter Principal King of Arms (absent, by indisposition).

Supporter, Adm. Lord Radstock. — THE CHIEF MOURNER, Sir Peter Parker, Bart., Admiral of the Fleet. — Supporter, Adm. Viscount Hood.

Train-Bearer,
Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood.
The Six Admirals before named, Assistant Mourners.
Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms.
The Banner of Emblems, borne and supported as in the Barge.
Attendants on the Body while at Greenwich.

Upon arrival at the Admiralty, THE BODY was there deposited, privately, till the following day, and the persons who were in the Procession retired.

Early in the morning of Thursday the 9th instant, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of the Blood Royal, with several of the great Officers, and the Nobility and Gentry, in their carriages; the relations of the Deceased, with the Officers and others of his household, the Officers of Arms, and a number of Naval Officers, in mourning coaches, assembled in Hyde Park; having been admitted at Cumberland and Grosvenor Gates upon producing tickets issued from the College of Arms; and, having there been marshalled within the rails, proceeded, one by one, across Piccadilly, into St. James's Park, by the gate at the top of Constitution Hill, and onwards, through the Horse Guards, to the Admiralty, in the order in which they were to move in the Procession. The Chief Mourner, with his Supporters and Train-bearer, and the several Naval Officers to whom duties were assigned in the solemnity, assembled at the Admiralty: the Seamen and Marines of the Victory, the Pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, the Watermen of the Deceased, the six Conductors, the Messenger of the College of Arms, and the Marshal's-Men, with the trumpets and drums, were stationed in the Admiralty Yard. Those persons in the Procession who were not to wear mourning cloaks, official gowns, or habits, appeared in mourning, without weepers and with mourning swords; Knights of the several Orders wore their Collars; Naval and Military Officers were in their full uniforms, with crape around their arms and in their hats; the Naval Officers, to whom particular duties were assigned, had black cloth waistcoats and breeches, and black stockings; and the Clergy were in their clerical habits. Servants not in mourning, attending the carriages, were admitted with silk or crape hatbands and gloves. The Troops, ordered by His Majesty to attend at the Funeral, under the command of General Sir David Dundas, K.B., were assembled and formed by the several General Officers under whose command they respectively were, on the Parade in St. James's Park, before the Horse Guards, at half-past eight o'clock in the morning. The whole fronted towards the Horse Guards, and were formed as follows (the Infantry being three deep), viz., four Companies of Grenadiers, with their right near to the angle of the Treasury building; four Companies of Light Infantry, in a line with the Grenadiers, and their right to the road leading through the Horse Guards; the second Brigade of Infantry, about sixty yards behind the Grenadiers, and their right to the Treasury wall; the first Brigade of Infantry, about sixty yards behind the second, and parallel to it. The Cavalry formed in one line behind the Infantry; their right to the sluice cover on the parade, and extending towards the end of the Mall, being parallel to the rows of trees, which were close in their rear. The Artillery assembled, and formed fronting to the

Treasury, with their right at the parade gun. This disposition being made, the march began at twelve o'clock in the following order; the General Officers and their Staff at the head of their respective Brigades.

General Sir David Dundas, K.B., Lieutenant-General Harry Burrard.

- A Detachment of Light Dragoons.
- Four Companies of Light Infantry.
- The 92nd Regiment } Commanded by the Honourable Major-General
- The 79th Regiment } Charles Hope.
- The 31st Regiment } Commanded by the Honourable Brigadier-
- The 21st Regiment } General Robert Meade.
- The 14th—2 Squadrons } Commanded by Major-General William
- The 10th—2 Squadrons } St. Leger.
- The 2nd—2 Squadrons }
- The Royal Artillery, with eleven pieces of cannon.
- Four Companies of Grenadiers.

Each corps marched off, and followed in succession from its left. The Infantry marched in sections of six or seven files: the Cavalry four men in front: the Artillery and its carriages two a-breast: Officers of Infantry in front of the divisions, and not on the flanks.

As soon as the Troops had passed the Admiralty, the Procession moved in the following order:

Marshal's-Men, on foot, to clear the way.

Messenger of the College of Arms, in a mourning cloak with a Badge of the College on his shoulder, his Staff tipped with silver and furled with sarsnet.

Six Conductors, in mourning cloaks, with black staves headed with Viscounts' coronets.

Forty-eight Pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, two and two, in mourning cloaks, with badges of the Crest of the Deceased on the shoulders, and black staves in their hands.

Forty-eight Seamen and Marines of His Majesty's Ship the Victory, two and two, in their ordinary dress, with black neck handkerchiefs and stockings, and crape in their hats.

Watermen of the Deceased, in black coats, with their Badges.

Drums and Fifes.

Drum-Major.

Trumpets.

Serjeant Trumpeter.

Rouge Croix, Pursuivant of Arms (alone in a mourning coach), in close mourning, with his Tabard over his cloak.

The Standard, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Captain Sir Francis Laforey, Bart., and his two Supporters, Lieutenants William Collins Barker and George Antram, of the Royal Navy.

Trumpets.

Blue Mantle, Pursuivant of Arms (alone in a mourning coach), habited as Rouge Croix.

The Guidon, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Captain Edward Rotherham, of the Royal Sovereign, supported by Lieutenants James Bradshaw and Thomas Errington, of the Royal Navy.

Servants of the Deceased, in mourning, in a mourning coach.

Officers of His Majesty's Wardrobe, in mourning coaches.

Gentlemen.

Esquires.

Deputations from the Great Commercial Companies of London.

Physicians of the Deceased, in a mourning coach.

Divines, in clerical habits.

Chaplains of the Deceased, in clerical habits, and Secretary of the Deceased, in a mourning coach.

Trumpets.

Rouge Dragon and Portcullis, Pursuivant of Arms (in a mourning coach), habited as before.

The Banner of the Deceased, as a Knight of the Bath, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Captain Philip Charles Durham, of the Defiance, supported by Lieutenants James Usuld Purches and James Poate, of the Royal Navy.

Attendants on the Body while it lay in State at Greenwich; viz., Reverend Alexander John Scott (Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales), Joseph Whidbey, Esquire, and John Tyson, Esquire, in a mourning coach.

Knights Bachelors.

Sergeants at Law.

Deputy to the Knight Marshal on horseback.

Knights of the Bath; viz.,

Sir Samuel Hood and Sir Thomas Trigge.

Baronets.

A Gentleman Usher (in a mourning coach) carrying a carpet and black velvet cushion, whereon the Trophies were to be deposited in the Church.

William Haslewood, Esq.; Alexander Davison, Esq.; and William Marsh, Esq.; as Comptroller, Treasurer, and Steward of the Household of the Deceased (in a mourning coach), in mourning cloaks, bearing white Staves.

Younger Sons of Barons, viz.,

Honourable Augustus Cavendish Bradshaw.

Honourable Richard Ryder, M.P. Honourable Charles James Fox, M.P.

Privy Counsellors, not Peers, viz.,

Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean, Baronet, M.P., and a Lord of the Admiralty.

Right Honourable George Tierney, M.P.

Right Honourable Sir William Scott, Knt., M.P., Judge of the Admiralty.

Right Honourable William Windham, M.P.

Younger Sons of Earls, viz.,

Honourable Thomas William Fermor.

Honourable —— Bennet. Honourable Alexander Murray.

Eldest Sons of Viscounts, viz.,

Honourable Thomas Newcomen. Honourable Henry Hood.

Honourable Thomas Knox.

Barons, viz.,

Lord Hutchinson, K.B. Lord Donalley.

Lord de Blaquiere, K.B. Lord Holland.

Lord Aston.

Lord Mulgrave, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. Lord Hawkesbury, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Lord Bishop of Exeter.

Younger Sons of Marquisses, viz.,

Lord Henry Moore. Lord Henry Petty.

Eldest Sons of Earls, viz.,

Viscount Castlereagh, Viscount Duncannon.

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Lord Delvin.

Viscount Fitzharris. Lord Hervey.

Lord Ossulston.

Viscount Kirkwall. Lord Fincastle.

Viscounts,

Viscount Sidmouth.

Viscount Hawarden. Viscount Gosford.

Viscount Chetwynd, Viscount Ranelagh.

Younger son of a Duke,

Lord Archibald Hamilton.

Eldest Son of a Marquis,

Earl of Altamont.

Earls,

Earl of Clancarty. Earl of Moira.

Earl of Fife. Earl of Bessborough.

Earl of Darnley. Earl of Westmeath.
Earl of Leicester. Earl of Buckinghamshire.
Earl of Portsmouth. Earl Cowper.
Earl of Bristol. Earl of Scarborough.
Earl of Winchelsea, K.G. Earl of Suffolk.

Earl of Dartmouth, K.G., Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household.

Eldest Sons of Dukes,

Marquis of Douglas.

Marquis of Blandford. Marquis of Hartington.

Dukes,

Duke of Montrose, K.T.

Duke of Devonshire, K.G. Duke of St. Albans.

Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal.

Earl Camden, K.G., Lord President of the Council.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dukes of the Blood Royal.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.
His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.
His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.
His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.
His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.
His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief.
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Richmond Herald (alone in a mourning coach), habited as the other Officers of Arms.

The Great Banner, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Captain Robert Moorsom, and his Supporters, Lieutenants David Keys and Nicholas Tucker, of the Royal Navy.

Gauntlet and Spurs, Helm and Crest, Target and Sword, Surcoat, } In front of four mourning coaches, in which were York, Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester Heralds, habited as before.

A mourning coach, in which were the Coronet of the Deceased, on a black velvet cushion, was borne by Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux, habited as before, and attended by two Gentlemen Ushers.

The six Lieutenants of the Royal Navy, habited as before, who were to bear the Bannerolls, in two mourning coaches.

The six Admirals, in like habits, who were to bear the Canopy, in two mourning coaches.

The four Admirals, in like habits, who were to support the Pall in a mourning coach.

The Body,

Placed on a Funeral Car, or open Hearse, decorated with a carved imitation of the Head and Stern of His Majesty's Ship the Victory, surrounded with escutcheons of the Arms of the Deceased, and adorned with appropriate Mottoes and emblematical Devices; under an elevated Canopy, in the form of the upper part of an ancient Sarcophagus, with six sable Plumes, and the Coronet of a Viscount in the centre, supported by four columns, representing palm trees, with wreaths of natural laurel and cypress entwining the shafts; the whole upon a four-wheeled carriage, drawn by six led horses, the caparisons adorned with armorial escutcheons.

N.B.—*The black velvet Pall, adorned with six Escutcheons of the Arms of the Deceased, and the six Bannerolls of the Family Lineage, were removed from the Hearse, in order to afford an unobstructed view of the Coffin containing the Remains of the gallant Admiral.*

Garter Principal King of Arms, in his official habit, with his Sceptre (in his carriage, his servants being in full mourning), attended by two Gentlemen Ushers.

THE CHIEF MOURNER,

In a mourning coach, with his two Supporters, and his Train-bearer, all in mourning cloaks.

Six assistant Mourners (in two mourning coaches), in mourning cloaks as before.

Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms, in a mourning coach, habited as the other Officers of Arms, and attended by two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Banner of Emblems in front of a mourning coach, in which were Captains Thomas Masterman Hardy and Henry William Bayntun, supported by Lieutenants Andrew King and George Miller Bligh, of the Royal Navy.

Relations of the Deceased, in mourning coaches.

Officers of the Navy and Army, according to their respective ranks, the seniors nearest the Body.

Within Temple Bar the Procession was received by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of London, attended by the Aldermen and Sheriffs and the Deputation from the Common Council. The six carriages of the Deputation from the Common Council fell into the Procession between the Deputation of the Great Commercial Companies of London and the Physicians of the Deceased, a Conductor on horseback being appointed to indicate the station. The carriages of the Aldermen and Sheriffs fell into the Procession between the Knights Bachelors and the Sergeants at Law; a Conductor on horseback being also there stationed for the purpose, as before. The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, on horseback, bearing the City Sword, was marshalled and placed in the Procession between His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the Herald of Arms, who preceded the Great Banner, in obedience to a warrant under His Majesty's Royal Signet and Sign Manual, bearing date 6th instant, directing Garter Principal King of Arms to marshal and place the Lord Mayor of London, on the present occasion, in the same station wherein his Lordship would have been placed if His Majesty had been present. When the head of the troops arrived at St. Paul's, the light companies entered within the railing, drew up, and remained. The rest of the column proceeded round St. Paul's, down Cheapside, along the Old Jewry and Coleman-street, to Moorfields, round which they were formed and posted. The Grenadiers quitted the column at St. Paul's, and entered within the railing. The Light Infantry lined each side of the space from the gate of the Church-yard to the door of the Church. The Grenadiers lined the great nave of the Church on each side from the outer door to the place where the Body was deposited, and from thence to the door of the Choir. The two Corps (who had their arms reversed during the time of their remaining at St. Paul's) formed two deep for that purpose; and the 2nd Dragoons, in passing St. Paul's, left an Officer and twenty men, who formed up, and remained within the outer gate of the iron railing. Upon arrival of the Procession at St. Paul's Cathedral, the six Conductors, forty-eight Pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, and forty-eight Seamen and Marines of the Victory, ascended the steps, divided and ranged on each side, without the great west door; and the rest of the Procession having alighted at the west gate of the Church-yard, entered the Church, and divided on either side, according to their ranks; those who had proceeded first remaining nearest the door. The Officers of Arms and the Bearers of the Banners, with their Supporters, entered the Choir, and stood within, near the door; and all above and including the rank of Knights Bachelors, as well as the Staff Officers, and the Naval Officers who attended the Procession, had seats assigned to them in the Choir. The Lord Mayor, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, City Officers, and Deputation from the Common Council, occupied their seats on the north side of the Choir. Near the entrance of the Church, the Dean and Prebendaries, attended by the Choir, fell into the Procession immediately after the Great Banner, and before the Heralds who bore the Trophies; the Choir singing the Sentence in the Office for Burial, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' &c. with the two following Sentences, and

continuing to sing until the Body was placed in the Choir. The Body, having been taken from the Funeral Car, was borne into the Church and Choir according to the following order:—

Richmond Herald.

Supporter, Lieut. Nicholas Tucker. — THE GREAT BANNER, borne by Capt. Robert Moorsom. — Supporter, Lieut. David Keys.

The Gauntlet and Spurs, borne by York Herald.
The Helm and Crest, borne by Somerset Herald.
The Target and Sword, borne by Lancaster Herald.
The Surcoat, borne by Chester Herald.

A Gentleman Usher. — The Coronet, on a black velvet cushion, borne by Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux. — A Gentleman Usher.

Three Bannerolls of the Family lineage, borne by Lieutenant (now Captain) John Paseo.

Lieutenant (now Captain) John Yule.

Thos. Atkinson, Master.

All of the Victory.

Supporters of the Canopy.

Rear-Admiral Sir W. Douglas, Bart.
Rear-Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart.
Rear-Admiral William Domett.

Supporters of the Pall.
Vice-Admiral James Hawkins Whitshed.

Supporters of the Pall.
Admiral Sir J. Orde, Bart.

THE
Body,
covered with
a Black Velvet Pall,
adorned with
Six Escutcheons
of the
Arms of the Deceased,
under a
Canopy of Black Velvet,
supported by
Six Admirals.

Rear-Admiral Eliab Harvey.
Vice-Admiral Thos. Taylor.

Rear-Admiral Thomas Drury.
Rear-Admiral Thomas Wells.
Rear-Admiral John Aylmer.

Supporters of the Canopy.

Three Bannerolls of the Family lineage, borne by Lieutenant (now Captain) — Williams.

Lieutenant George Browne.

Lieutenant — Peake, (Royal Marines.)

All of the Victory.

A Gentleman Usher. — Garter Principal King of Arms (with his Sceptre). — A Gentleman Usher.

Supporter to the Chief Mourner, Admiral William Lord Radstock. — CHIEF MOURNER, Sir Peter Parker, Bart., Admiral of the Fleet. — Supporter to the Chief Mourner, Admiral Samuel Viscount Hood.

Six Assistant Mourners, viz.,

Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, Knt. & Bart. — Admiral Caldwell.
Admiral Sir Charles Morice Pole, Bart. — Admiral Richard Rodney Bligh.
Vice-Admiral Charles Powell Hamilton. — Vice-Admiral Charles Edmund Nugent.

A Gentleman Usher. — Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms. — A Gentleman Usher.

Supporter, Lieutenant George Miller Bligh. — The BANNER of EMBLEMS, borne by Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy, and Captain Henry William Bayntun. — Supporter, Lieutenant Andrew King.

Relations of the Deceased, viz.,

Horatio Nelson, Esq., commonly called Viscount Merton, Nephew. — William Earl Nelson, sole Brother and Heir.
George Matcham, Esq., Nephew. — Thomas Bolton, Esq., Nephew.
George Matcham, Esq., Brother-in-Law. — Thomas Bolton, Esq., Brother-in-Law.

Reverend Robert Rolfé,
Thomas Trench Berney, Esq.,
Honourable Horatio Walpole,
Honourable George Walpole, } Cousins.

The Remainder of the Procession followed in the order as before marshalled.

The CHIEF MOURNER, his two Supporters and Train-bearer, were seated on chairs near the Body, on the opposite side nearest the Altar; and the six assistant Mourners, four Supporters of the Pall, and six supporters of the Canopy, on stools on each side. The Relations also near them in the Choir, and Garter was seated near the Chief Mourner. The Body, when placed in the Choir, was not covered with the Pall, nor the Canopy borne over it; the rule in that respect being dispensed with, for the reason before mentioned. The Bannerolls were borne on each side the Body. The Officers of the Navy, and the Staff Officers commanding the Troops, were seated near the Altar. The carpet and cushion (on which the Trophies were afterwards to be deposited) were laid, by the Gentleman Usher who carried them, on a table placed near the grave, which was under the centre of the dome, and behind the place which was to be there occupied by the Chief Mourner. The Coronet and Cushion borne by Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux, was laid on the Body. During the service in the Choir, an anthem suitable to the occasion was sung; and, at the conclusion, a Procession was made from thence to the grave, with the Banners and Bannerolls as before; the Officers of Arms preceding with the Trophies; the Body borne and attended as before; the Choir singing, 'Man that is born of a Woman,' &c., and the three following sentences. The Chief Mourner, with his Supporters, and, near them, Garter, had seats at the east end of the grave; the Train-bearer stood behind the Chief Mourner, and near him the Relations of the Deceased. At the opposite end sat the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of the Cathedral, attended by three Canons Residentiaries. A Supporter of the Pall stood at each angle. The Assistant Mourners, Supporters of the Canopy, and Bearers of the Bannerolls, on either side. On the right of the Dean were the Chaplains; on the left, the Officers of the Household of the Deceased. The Great Banner was borne on the north, the Banner of the Deceased as a Knight of the Bath, on the south of the grave; the Standard and Guidon behind the Dean; the Banner of Emblems behind the Chief Mourner; the Trophies in the angles. Then the Dean read, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God,' &c.; then the Choir sung part of an anthem, 'His Body is buried in peace; but his Name liveth evermore.' The service at the interment being over, Garter proclaimed the style; and the Comptroller, Treasurer, and Steward of the Deceased, breaking their staves, delivered the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave. Upon a signal given from St. Paul's that the Body was deposited, the Troops being drawn up in Moorfields, the Artillery fired their guns, and the Infantry gave vollies, by corps, three times repeated. The interment ended, the Standard, Banners, Bannerolls, and Trophies, were deposited on the table behind the Chief Mourner; and all persons in the Procession retired. During the whole of this solemn ceremony, the greatest order prevailed throughout the metropolis; and as the Remains of the much-lamented Hero proceeded along, every possible testimony of sorrow and of respect was manifested by an immense concourse of spectators of all ranks. From the Admiralty to the Cathedral, the streets were lined with the several Volunteer Corps of London and Westminster, the Militia, and many other military bodies, both Cavalry and Infantry."

The Naval Chronicle gives the following list of Officers who attended the Funeral, with some additional particulars:—

Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart.
—— Charles Chamberlayne
—— Murray
—— Sir John Orde
—— Viscount Hood
—— Sir Charles M. Pole
Admiral Bligh
—— Lord Radstock
—— Caldwell
—— Sir Roger Curtis, Bart.
Vice-Admiral Ed. Edwards
—— Whitshed

Vice-Admiral Taylor
—— Stanhope
—— Savage
—— C. P. Hamilton
—— Nugent
Rear-Adm. Sir Edmund Nagle, Knt.
—— Bertie
—— Sir Isaac Coffin
—— Wells
—— T. Drury
—— Eliab Harvey
—— Aylmer
—— Domett
—— Waymouth
—— Peacock
—— Thomas West
—— John Markham
—— Edmund Bowater
—— Wells
Hon. Captain Gardner
—— Captain H. Blackwood, Euryalus
Captain Sir Samuel Hood, K.B.
—— Fred. Belton
—— Burlton
—— John Hayes
—— Lumley
—— Whyte
—— S. Scudamore Heming
—— John Tower
—— Watkins
—— Edward Williams
—— Thomas Wholley
—— Thomas Cooke
—— J. Walton
—— H. Stacpole
—— J. W. Trotter
—— Dalling
—— D. Scott, (Bellerophon)
—— Sir Rupert George
—— George Pearson
—— William Kent
—— Thomas Surcombe
—— Richard Lee
—— James Green
—— Galway
—— Towry
—— William Browne
—— Toker
—— H. E. R. Baker
—— Andrews
—— Edward O'Bryan
—— William Waller
—— William Mounsey
—— Edward Lloyd Graham
—— Abdy
—— Hon. Henry Bennett
—— H. Tarnall
—— Sir Edward Hamilton
—— Thomas Boys

Captain Alexander Skene
—— John Broughton
—— John Smith
—— William Richardson
—— Richard Williams
—— Thomas Surridge
—— Walter Tremenheere
—— William Price Curnby
—— Richard Carruthers
—— Alexander
—— Archibald Duff
—— Charles Dikes
—— Isaac Smith
—— John Hatley
—— A. S. Burrows
—— Sir Francis Laforey
—— James Nicolson
—— Kennedy
—— Humphries
—— John Boyle
—— Richbell
—— E. Rotherham, Royal Sovereign
—— Samuel Sutton
—— Hardy, Victory
—— Robert Lambert
—— James Oswald
—— Henry Samuel Butt
—— Henry Stuart
—— John Temple
—— T. O. G. Skinner
—— A. Tinling
—— James Dunbar
—— Courtnay Boyle
—— Richards
—— Vincent
—— Cotterell
—— Guyot
—— Alexander Mackenzie
—— Durham, Defiance
—— Hallard
—— Haywood
—— D. Miller
—— John Tower
—— Moorsom, Revenge
—— Ballar
—— Farquhar
—— Cartier
—— Yeo
—— Thomas Staines
—— W. Pierrepoint
—— William Green
—— William Roberts
—— William Hotham
—— J. K. Shepherd
—— William Ponsonby
—— Cunningham
—— Robert Jackson
—— Sir W. H. Douglas
—— G. Murray
—— Maxwell

Lieut.-Col. Berkeley	Royal Marines.	Lieutenant James Milne
Captain Henry Cox		—— William Colliers Barker
—— Burn		—— Fisher
—— Lodington		—— John Murray Wegg
—— T. Sherman		—— Geo. Antrim
—— Thompson		—— Charles Jones
—— Tremenhee		—— William Field
—— Percival		—— John Read
Lieutenant Lawson		—— William Somerville
—— Croffon		—— Jones
—— Morgan		—— Thomas Wing
—— Cowperthwaite		—— Janverin, Defence
—— Bate		—— Henry Thomas Hardacre
—— Goltwaltz		—— John Bowen
—— Campbell		—— Thomas Wilkins
—— Joseph Coome		—— Robert Dunham
—— Seele		—— Williams
—— James Tithall		—— Yule
—— James Wallace		—— Pasco
—— Purchase, of the Defence		—— Browne
—— L. B. Reeves	Victory.	—— Hills
—— J. G. Peake		—— Thomas Hughes
—— King		—— Edmund Hanning Thomas
—— Bligh		—— J. W. Bazelgette
—— Richard Crawford		—— Ballard
—— Henry Hargrave		

So early as three and four o'clock on the morning of Thursday, thousands of people were in motion, lest they should not reach the places whence they intended to witness, what may almost be termed the apotheosis of Lord Nelson. An hour before daylight, the drums of the respective volunteer corps, in every part of the metropolis, beat to arms. The summons was quickly obeyed; and, soon after, the troops lined the streets, from the Admiralty to St. Paul's, agreeably to the orders which had been issued. By day-break the Life Guards also were mounted at their post in Hyde Park; and in St. James's Park were drawn up all the regiments of cavalry and infantry quartered within a hundred miles of London, who had served in the glorious campaigns in Egypt, after the ever-memorable Victory of the Nile. There was also a detachment of flying artillery, with twelve field-pieces and their ammunition tumbrils. Between eight and nine o'clock, eight mourning coaches and four brought the Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms from their college to the Admiralty. No carriages, but those which were connected with the Procession, (the carriages of Foreign Ambassadors excepted,) were permitted to pass through the Strand, Fleet Street, or Ludgate Hill. The remainder of the Procession followed, as nearly as might be, in the order which had been presented. The chief deviation was, that, to afford the spectators a more complete view of the Coffin, it appeared on the Car, stripped of its pall, on a platform covered with black cloth, festooned with velvet richly fringed, and decorated with escutcheons on each side, between which were inscribed the words 'Trinidad' and 'Bucentaur.' The Car stopped for some moments, immediately opposite to the statue of King Charles, at Charing Cross. Every hat was off, every sound was hushed, and the most awful silence prevailed. The whole moved on in solemn pace, through the Strand to Temple Bar Gate, where the Lord Mayor of London, attended by the Aldermen and Sheriffs and the Deputation from the Common Council, were waiting to receive them. As the Procession advanced within the City, the six carriages of the Deputation from the Common Council fell in between the Deputation of the great Commercial Companies of London and the Physicians of the Deceased, who were in a mourning coach; a conductor on horseback having been appointed to indicate the station. The carriages of the Aldermen and Sheriffs fell in between the Knights Bachelors, and the Masters in Chancery. The Lord Mayor rode from Temple Bar to St. Paul's

on horseback, uncovered, and carrying in his hand the City sword. His Royal Highness the Duke of York and his Staff, with the Colonels of Volunteers, followed the Funeral Car on horseback. On the arrival of the Procession at St. Paul's, the cavalry marched off to their barracks: the Scotch regiments drew up in the area fronting the Church, and marched into the western gate, and so remained. The forty-eight Greenwich Pensioners, with forty-eight Seamen and twelve Marines from the Victory, entered the western gate, ascended the steps, and divided in a line on each side under the great western portico, and the remainder of the Procession entered the Church, dividing on each side, and taking the rank and stations assigned them. When the Funeral Car reached the great entrance, it was drawn up without the western gate. The Body was taken from the Car, covered with the pall, and borne by twelve Seamen from the Victory, and was received within the gate by the Supporters and Pall-bearers, who had previously alighted for its reception. The Procession entered at the great western gate. The noble Cathedral of St. Paul had been thrown open for the reception of visitors, at the early hour of seven in the morning. Such, however, was the anxiety of the public to witness the solemnities of the day, that many suffered from the pressure before the opportunity for admission was afforded. A very short time elapsed after the doors were opened, before the principal part of the seats were occupied; and the interest was so deep, that no uneasiness whatever appeared to be produced by the time which it became necessary to wait, exposed to a great severity of cold. From seven o'clock till one, the company sat still, and not a symptom of impatience was discoverable. A few minutes after one o'clock the approach of the Procession was announced, and the great western door was thrown open. At half-past one General Sir David Dundas marched in at the head of the Grenadier companies of the 21st and 31st Foot, and the 79th and 92nd Highland regiments, amounting altogether to about 300 men. These Troops moved in slow time by single files, and formed lines on each side of the way assigned for the Procession from the western gate, along the aisle, the dome, and on to the gate of the choir. Having turned to the front, they, after some preliminary manœuvres, were ordered to rest on their arms reversed; and in this position they remained until the whole ceremony was concluded. The appearance of this fine body of men considerably augmented the interest of the scene. Upon any other occasion, the manly, soldier-like figures, which the Highland grenadiers presented, would have been deservedly the objects of particular notice and admiration. The 92nd were placed at the eastward of the aisle; the 79th under the dome, and the other companies took the western extremity. Previously to the introduction of these companies, a great part of 200 men belonging to the West London Regiment of Militia were employed in the body of the Church to guard particular seats, and to prevent any part of the crowd from getting into those places which were set apart for the accommodation of those nobility, &c., who were expected in the Procession. The whole of the Militia were placed under the command of the Dean, who had parties of them stationed at the several doors of the Church, in order to prevent pressure or riot. Some time had elapsed before the regiments to which the flank companies belonged had filed off to make way for the Procession. The part of it which entered the Church did not appear until two o'clock. It was preceded by some Marshal's men to clear the way. They were followed by two Naval Captains, the first bearing the Standard, the other the Guidon. These Captains were Bayntun and Laforey. Each was supported by two Lieutenants. Of the different degrees of rank, the Gentlemen and Esquires led the way; and among them were several of the most respectable men belonging to the Commercial community. The Aldermen of London went in on the north side of the Procession, and took their station opposite to the box assigned for their accommodation. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland, and conducted by the Dean, walked through the Church to the choir, where they remained for a short time, and then returned to join the Procession. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales took his place in the Procession immediately after the Lord President of the Council (Earl Camden), and was followed by the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, and Cambridge. The Lord Mayor and his suite were next to the Royal Dukes.

His Lordship wore a large black silk gown, provided for the occasion, highly fringed with gold lace, several rows of which were on the arms and round the collar. The most interesting part of the cavalcade—that which was certainly best calculated to make a strong impression upon the minds of the spectators, was the exhibition made by the brave Seamen of the Victory, who bore two Union Jacks, and the St. George's Ensign, belonging to that Ship. These colours were perforated in various places by the effects of the shot of the Enemy. Several parts of the Ensign were, literally, shattered. These parts were particularly exposed to view, and the effect which such a display was calculated to produce may be more easily conceived than described. Immediately on the van of the Procession entering the great western door, the organ commenced. The Minor Canons, Vicars Choral of the Cathedral, assisted by the Choristers from the Chapel Royal, and the Minor Canons and Vicars Choral belonging to the Church of St. Peter, Westminster; together with some Gentlemen from Windsor, amounting together to upwards of 100, sung as the Procession moved from the west door to the choir the following Anthems, which were set to music by Dr. Croft:—

'I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.' St. John, xi. 25, 26.

'I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin, worms destroy this body; yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold, and not another.' Job, xix. 25, 26, 27.

'We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' 1 Tim. vi. 7. Job, i. 21.

The Procession passed through the inclosed place in the centre of the dome, and of course over the grave, on its way to the choir. Although the first part entered the Church about two o'clock, the whole did not reach the choir till four. It remained in the choir during the performance of evening service, in the course of which the following Anthems, &c., were sung:—

Dixi Custodiam, Psalm xxxix; Domine, refugium, Psalm xc; Magnificat, Luke, i. 46.

During the performance of the service in the choir, the evening approached, and lights became necessary. Arrangements had been made for the purpose, and, as soon as it was found requisite, a number of torches were lighted up in the choir, both below and in the galleries. At the same time, the vast space under the dome was illuminated, (for the first time since its construction,) to a sufficient degree for the solemn purposes of the occasion, by a temporary lanthorn, consisting of an octagonal framing of wood, boarded on the outside, and finished at top by eight angles, and at bottom by a smaller octagon. This was painted black, and upon it were disposed about 130 patent lamps. It was suspended by a rope from the centre of the lanthorn; and, when drawn up, it gave as much light as was wanted in the church. There were some other lights placed in the aisles, but these were of no great consequence. The grand central light, though inferior to the celebrated annual illuminated crucifix of St. Peter's, had a most impressive and grand effect, and contributed greatly to the grandeur of a spectacle in which the burial of one of the first of Warriors and of Heroes was graced by the appearance of all the Princes of the Blood, of many of the first Nobility of the land, and of an unexampled number of the Subjects of His Majesty in general. A Bier, covered with black velvet, and ornamented with gold fringe and tassels, was placed in the choir, for the reception of the Coffin, during the service which was performed there. About five o'clock, the Procession returned from the choir to the grave in an inverted order, the rear, in proceeding to the choir, forming the van on its return. On reaching the dome, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, filed off to the Royal box, where, however, they remained but a short time before they proceeded to the inclosure which surrounded the grave. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen repaired to their box, where they remained till the ceremony of interment was over. The Officers of the Navy and Army, who assisted in the

Procession, continued in the body of the Church. The Dean (Bishop of Lincoln) and the Residentiary (Bishop of Chester), with two Prebends, ascended a desk which had been constructed for the solemn occasion. On the return of the Coffin from the choir, a grand Funeral Canopy of State was borne over it by six Admirals. It was composed of black velvet, supported by six small pillars covered with the same material, and crowned by six plumes of black ostrich feathers; the valance were fringed with black, and decorated with devices of festoons and symbols of his Lordship's victories, and his arms, crest, and coronet in gold. When the Coffin was brought to the centre of the dome, it was placed on a platform sufficiently elevated to be visible from every part of the Church. The state canopy was then withdrawn, and the pall taken off. The carpet and cushion on which the trophies were deposited, were laid, by the Gentleman Usher who carried them, on a table placed near the grave, and behind the place which was occupied by the Chief Mourner. The coronet and cushion, borne by Clarenceux, King of Arms, was laid on the body. The Chief Mourner and his Supporters placed themselves at the head of the grave, and the Assistant Mourners, with the Relations of the Deceased, near to them. During the return of the Corpse from the choir to the place of interment, a solemn dirge was performed on the organ; after which was sung the following Anthem, &c. Then the officiating Minister said, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.' After which was sung by the whole choir, 'I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, from henceforth blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord: even so saith the spirit; for they rest from their labours.'—Rev. xiv. 13. Concluding Anthem. Verse.—'His body is buried in peace.' Chorus.—'But his name liveth evermore.'

Precisely at thirty-three minutes and a half past five o'clock, the Coffin was lowered into the grave, by balance weight, secret machinery having been constructed expressly for the purpose. The funeral service having been concluded in the most solemn and impressive manner, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, proclaimed the Style and Titles of the deceased Lord, in nearly the following words:—'Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life, unto his divine mercy, the Most Noble Lord Horatio Nelson, Viscount and Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk, Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, in the same County; Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of the Fleet, and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean: also Duke of Bronte in Sicily; Knight Grand Cross of the Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit; Member of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent; Knight Grand Commander of the Order of St. Joachim; and the Hero who, in the moment of Victory, fell covered with immortal glory!—Let us humbly trust, that he is now raised to bliss ineffable, and to a glorious immortality.' The Comptroller, Treasurer, and Steward of his Lordship's household then broke their staves, and gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave, in which also the flags of the Victory, furled up by the sailors, were deposited.—These brave fellows, however, desirous of retaining some memorials of their great and favourite Commander, had torn off a considerable part of the largest flag, of which most of them obtained a portion. The ceremony was finally concluded a little before six o'clock, but the Church was not entirely vacated till past nine. The Procession left the Church in nearly its original order, but gradually separated, according as its respective members retired after the fatigues of the day. Thus terminated one of the most impressive and most splendid solemnities that ever took place in this Country, or perhaps in Europe. The Funeral Car, which attracted so much notice in the Procession, was designed by, and executed under the direction of the Rev. Mr. M'Quin, a particular friend of Sir Isaac Heard. It was modelled, at the ends, in imitation of the hull of the

Victory. Its head, towards the horses, was ornamented with a figure of Fame. The stern, carved and painted in the Naval style, with the word 'Victory,' in yellow raised letters on the lanthorn over the poop. The sides were decorated with escutcheons, three on each. Between them, two on each side, were represented four scrolls, surrounded by branches and wreaths of palm and laurel, and bearing the names of the four principal French and Spanish men-of-war which had been taken or destroyed by the deceased Hero, viz., the San Josef, l'Orient, Trinidad, and Bucentaure. The body of the Car consisted of three platforms, each elevated above the other. On the third was the Coffin, placed, as on the quarter-deck, with its head towards the stern, with an English Jack [? Ensign] pendant over the poop, and lowered half staff. There was an awning over the whole, consisting of an elegant canopy, supported by four pillars, in the form of palm-trees, and partly covered with black velvet. The corners and sides were decorated with black ostrich feathers, and festooned with black velvet, richly fringed. It was at first intended that the fringe should be gold; but it was afterwards considered that it would give too gaudy an appearance to the solemn vehicle, and therefore black fringe was adopted everywhere instead of it. Immediately above the festoons, in the front, was inscribed, in gold, the word NILE, at one end: on one side, the following motto,—'Hoste devicto, requievit:' behind, the word TRAFALGAR; and, on the other side, the motto—'Palmam qui meruit ferat.' The carriage was drawn by six led horses, in elegant furniture. It is a curious circumstance that, after the construction of the Car, necessity required it to be twice altered. In the first instance, it was discovered to be too high to pass under the arch at Temple Bar; and after this had been remedied, it was found to be too wide to enter the gates of the Admiralty. During the Friday and Saturday after the Procession, the Car was exhibited to the populace, in the King's Mews, Charing Cross. The preservation of this truly magnificent carriage, in the construction and embellishment of which the sum of 700*l.* is said to have been expended, being desirable, the following letter was dispatched from the Admiralty to Greenwich Hospital:—

'Sir, 'Admiralty Office, Jan. 11.

'My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty being desirous that the Funeral Car, which yesterday conveyed the remains of the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B., from hence to St. Paul's Cathedral for interment, should be deposited in the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, to perpetuate the memory of the Deceased, I have their Lordships' commands to desire that you will acquaint the Directors therewith, and request their acceptance of the said Car, for the purpose above mentioned, directions having been given for its being conveyed to the Hospital to-morrow, and delivered into the charge of such person as may be appointed to receive it.—I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

'WILLIAM MARSDEN.'

In consequence of the above, the Car was, on Sunday morning, conveyed to Greenwich Hospital, drawn by six of the King's black horses, with three postillions in the royal liveries, attended by a coachman on horseback, and escorted by a strong detachment of the Royal Westminster Volunteers, accompanied by a part of the band of that corps. It arrived on the Green, where it was received by Lord Hood, about noon; and, at one o'clock, it was deposited in the Painted Chamber." The Car has only lately been broken up.

PATENT OF CREATION OF THE VISCOUNTRY MERTON OF TRAFALGAR AND OF MERTON, AND EARLDOM OF NELSON.

"The Right Hon. Wm. Lord Nelson, D.D., Creation of Viscount and Earl with Remainders. } George the Third by the Grace of God, &c. To all Archbishops, Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Provosts, Freemen, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects whatsoever to whom these presents shall come, Greeting, Know ye that we in consideration of the great and important services of the late Horatio Viscount Nelson, who, after a series of transcendant and heroic services, fell gloriously on the twenty-first day of October last, in the moment of brilliant and decisive victory, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have advanced, preferred, and created our right trusty and well-beloved William Lord Nelson, Doctor in Divinity, brother of the said late Horatio Viscount Nelson, to the state, degree, dignity, and honour of Viscount Merton, of Trafalgar, and of Merton, in our County of Surry, and him the said William Lord Nelson, Viscount Merton of Trafalgar and of Merton aforesaid, do by these presents create, advance, and prefer, and we have appointed, given, and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do appoint, give and grant unto him the said William Lord Nelson, the name, state, degree, style, dignity, title, and honour of Viscount Merton of Trafalgar, and of Merton aforesaid, to have and to hold the said name, state, degree, style, dignity, title, and honour of Viscount Merton of Trafalgar, and of Merton aforesaid, to him the said William Lord Nelson, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten and to be begotten; And in default of such issue, to the heirs male of the body of Susanna the wife of Thomas Bolton, Esquire, and sister of the said late Horatio Viscount Nelson, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally and successively one after another, as they shall be in priority of birth; And in default of such issue, to the heirs male of the body of Catherine the wife of George Matcham, Esquire, and the sister of the said late Horatio Viscount Nelson, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally and successively, one after another as they shall be in priority of birth; willing, and by these presents granting, for us, our heirs and successors, that the said William Lord Nelson and his heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue to the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, severally and successively as aforesaid, and every of them successively, may bear, and have the name, state, degree, style, dignity, title, and honour of Viscount Merton of Trafalgar and of Merton aforesaid; and that they and every of them successively may be called and styled by the name of Viscount Merton of Trafalgar and of Merton, in our County of Surry: and that he the said William Lord Nelson, and his heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, severally and successively as aforesaid, and every of them successively, may in all things be held and deemed Viscounts Merton of Trafalgar and of Merton aforesaid, and be treated and reputed as Viscounts. And that they and every of them successively and respectively, may have, hold, and possess, a seat, place, and voice in the Parliament and Public Assemblies and Councils, of us, our heirs and successors, in this our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, amongst other Viscounts as Viscounts of Parliament and Public Assemblies and Councils: and also that the said William Lord Nelson, and his heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine Matcham severally and successively as aforesaid, may enjoy and use and every of them successively, may enjoy and use by the name of Viscount

MERTON of TRAFALGAR, and of MERTON aforesaid, all and singular the rights, privileges, preeminences, immunities, and advantages, to the degree of a Viscount in all things duly and of right belonging, which other Viscounts of this our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, have heretofore honourably and quietly used and enjoyed, or as they do at present use and enjoy. And moreover know ye, that we of our further especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have advanced, preferred, and created the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON to a more ample state, degree, dignity, and honour of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, in our said County of Surry, and him the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, do by these presents create, advance, and prefer, and we have appointed, given, and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do appoint, give, and grant unto him the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, the name, state, degree, style, dignity, title, and honour of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid; and him the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, we do by these presents really dignify and ennoble with the honour and dignity of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, by girting him with a sword, and putting a cap of honour and a coronet of gold on his head. To have and to hold the same name, state, degree, style, dignity, title, and honour of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, unto him the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and in default of such issue, to the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna the wife the said Thomas Bolton, Esquire, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally and successively one after another as they shall be in priority of birth; and in default of such issue, to the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine the wife of the said George Matcham, Esquire, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally and successively one after another as they shall be in priority of birth: Willing and by these presents granting for us, our heirs and successors, that the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, and his said heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, severally and successively as aforesaid, and every of them successively, may bear and have the name, state, degree, style, dignity, title, and honour of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, and that they and every of them successively, may be called and styled by the name of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON, in our County of Surry; and that he the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON and his heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, severally and successively as aforesaid, and every of them successively, may in all things be held and deemed EARLS NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, and be treated and reputed as Earls, and that they and every of them successively and respectively may have, hold, and possess a seat, place, and voice in the Parliaments and Public Assemblies, and Councils of us, our heirs and successors, within our said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, amongst other Earls as Earls of Parliament and Public Assemblies and Councils: And also that the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, and his heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, severally and successively as aforesaid, may enjoy and use and every of them successively, may enjoy and use by the name of EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, all and singular the rights, privileges, preeminences, precedences, immunities, and advantages to the degree of an Earl, in all things duly, and of right belonging, which other Earls of this our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, have heretofore honourably and quietly used or enjoyed, or as they do at present use and enjoy. Lastly, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said WILLIAM LORD NELSON, that these our Letters Patent, or the inrolment thereof, shall be sufficient and effectual in the law for dignifying, investing, and really ennobling him the said

WILLIAM LORD NELSON, and his heirs male aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Susanna Bolton, severally and successively as aforesaid, and in default of such issue, the heirs male of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, severally and successively as aforesaid, with the several and respective names, titles, dignities, and honours of VISCOUNT MERTON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON, and EARL NELSON of TRAFALGAR and of MERTON aforesaid, and this without any investiture, rites, ornaments, or ceremonies whatsoever in this behalf due and accustomed, which for some certain reasons best known to us, we could not in due manner do and perform; any ordinance, use, custom, rite, ceremony, prescription, or provision due, or used, or to be had, done or performed in conferring Honours of this kind, or any other matter or thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. We will also, &c. without fine in our Hanaper, and in witness, and witness, &c., the twentieth day of November.

By Writ of Privy Seal."

ADDITIONAL HERALDIC HONOURS.

By a Royal Warrant, dated on the 11th of January, 1806, the following Augmentation was made to the Arms of WILLIAM EARL NELSON, namely, on a fess wavy Azure, the word "TRAFALGAR" to be borne by him and his descendants.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Vol. I. p. 29. CAPTAIN THOMAS LLOYD.—For the following information respecting Captain Lloyd, the Editor has to express his obligations to the Marquis of Lansdowne:—

"Captain Lloyd, in one of the years between 1780 and 1790, commanded a Frigate which was sent with a large stock of gunpowder to Jamaica. The night after she got into the harbour of Port-Royal, one end of the Vessel was discovered to be on fire. On the flame bursting out Captain Lloyd at once perceived that if she blew up with all the gunpowder on board, all the warehouses and magazines not far from where she lay would be destroyed. He immediately summoned all hands, and declared that until every cask of gunpowder was thrown into the sea, not one should leave the Vessel; and that he himself would be the last to leave it. The crew, who were much attached to their Commander, obeyed his orders to the letter. Every cask was disposed of, and the crew carried off in boats as directed by the Captain, who, embarking in the last, just got clear in time to escape from the total destruction of the Vessel. For this service he afterwards received the warmest thanks of a meeting of the Merchants and Inhabitants. Captain Lloyd retired from his profession to a small estate he had inherited near Carmarthen, where I remember to have visited him on a tour through Wales, whilst I was at College."

Vol. I. p. 331. LIEUTENANT WALTER SEROCOLD.—This gallant Officer was the last male representative of an ancient Lancashire family, settled for some generations at Cherryhinton, in Cambridgeshire. His eldest sister and coheiress was married to Dr. Pearce, Dean of Ely; and their only son assumed the name of PEARCE SEROCOLD by Royal Licence in 1842.

Vol. III. p. 494. Add to the Note the following extract from the Foudroyant's Signal Log, "Monday, 24th June 1799.—P.M. At 3.30 Foudroyant to Seahorse —Truce, Annul.—4.50 Affirmed La Mutine's Pendants.—6.8 Foudroyant to Seahorse—for Captain."

Vol. VII. p. 41. The following statements are necessary to understand the Case of CAPTAIN SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND, upon which Lord Nelson was asked his opinion:—

When the War broke out in 1793, Sir Andrew Hamond commanded the Duke, 90, at Spithead, and had not the least idea of taking a Civil employment. His whole mind was in the active part of his profession; but he was solicited by Mr. Rose, then Secretary of the Treasury, on the part of Mr. Pitt, to accept the Office of Deputy Comptroller of the Navy, but which he declined for some time. He was, however, at length persuaded to comply with Mr. Pitt's wish by being assured that he would immediately become the Comptroller, as Sir Henry Martin was getting very infirm, and that he should have his Flag upon a promotion taking place. When the promotion occurred which would have included him, he begged to be allowed to have his Flag; but he was over-persuaded to remain in his Office, Mr. Pitt assuring him that he could not dispense with his services at the Navy Board, but promising faithfully that when he could, he should not only have his rank upon the List, but also a Command afloat. This went on until Mr. Pitt quitted Office, and came in again, when Sir Andrew renewed his application to Mr. Pitt to fulfil his promise by giving him his rank on the List of Admirals; but the same objection was started, and he was induced to hold his Civil appointment until after the Battle of Trafalgar. The Whigs then came into office, and Mr. Pitt's promise was entirely disregarded.

The allusions in Lord Nelson's Letter to "money transactions out of" Sir Andrew Hamond's "strict line of duty," was to money lodged in Hammersley's bank for the execution of the Stone Expedition to Boulogne, and which, to secure secrecy while under preparation, the Comptroller of the Navy was directed to superintend, by orders from the Secretary of State, in preference to the usual routine by the Admiralty; and Lord St. Vincent, then the First Lord, was

acquainted by the Secretary of State with that arrangement, and fully approved of it. Notwithstanding which, Lord St. Vincent upon his oath declared to the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry (vide Appendix to their Eleventh Report, page 533), that "*He had no knowledge of the transaction.*" The letter of the Secretary of State to Lord St. Vincent, acquainting his lordship that Sir Andrew Hamond was to superintend the execution and money details of such secret service, with his lordship's reply and approval thereof, were, however, afterwards laid before the said Commissioners, as may be seen in the Appendix, to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry," pp. 93—98, thereby disproving Lord St. Vincent's assertion," that his Lordship had no knowledge of the transaction."

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

It is stated in vol. i. p. 43, that NELSON was appointed Captain of the ALBEMARLE, a small Frigate, early in August 1781, and several Letters occur while he was in command of that Ship. Since their publication a copy of the Albemarle's Log has fallen into the Editor's hands, which affords so much information on that period of NELSON's life, and illustrates so many of the facts mentioned in those Letters, that the material statements in it will be here given.

1781. "Wednesday, 15th *August*.—This day came down and put the Ship in commission: found her in dock." Until the 31st of August in dock, and from that day until the 13th of October fitting at Woolwich. "Sunday, 14th *October*.—Going down the River to the Nore." (Vide vol. i. p. 46.)

No Letter, nor any information about NELSON occurs between the 21st of October 1781, when he says (vide vol. i. p. 47) he had arrived at the Nore from Long Reach on that day week, until the 18th of December, when the Albemarle arrived at Yarmouth from the Downs. In that interval the Log supplies the following facts:—

Monday, 29th *October*, in the Downs.—"Moderate and hazy weather. At half past 7 P.M., Tender's boat came on board, and acquainted us that a number of East Indiamen was coming up, and that they would not admit the Tender's boats on board to impress their men, in consequence of which we brought-to, and hove a great strain on the best bower. At 8 broke the messenger; reeved a purchase, and broke it. Finding our efforts to purchase the anchor of no effect, and four Sail of East Indiamen now abreast, and some above us, we was obliged to cut, leaving behind the best bower anchor. At 11 got within hail of the Haswell, and ordered her to come to an anchor, but she having all her men on board, would neither admit the boats to board her, or bring-to, until we compelled her, by firing twenty-six nine-pounders, and one eighteen-pounder, shotted at her. We likewise brought-to three others, and anchored alongside the headmost, in five fathoms water. 30th.—At 5 A.M., weighed and run alongside the Haswell, the people having refused to be impressed, and threatened resistance; but finding the Albemarle yard-arm with them they submitted, and the Tenders went alongside to take them on board. At half-past 9 fired one nine-pounder, and made signal for the Argo and Enterprize to get under weigh: also spoke the Enterprize, and ordered Captain Payne to weigh immediately, and follow me. At noon the Maypton beacon, N.E. b. E., and land's-end, off Shippy, S.S.W., distant off shore 6 or 7 miles. Calm, driving down with the tide—employed stowing the anchor: the Argo in company."

On the 31st of October, Captain Nelson sailed for Elsineur, having the Argo and Enterprize under his orders, and arrived there on the 4th of November, where they were joined on the 19th by the Sampson, whose Captain, being the Senior Officer, took the command; and they sailed on the 8th of December with a Convoy for England. They arrived in Yarmouth Roads on the 17th, and

sailed on the 26th, but were forced back, and on the 31st again sailed with the Sampson, Argo, and Preston. In his Letter from Yarmouth Roads to Captain Locker, dated December 22nd, Nelson said, that in their passage from Elsineur to Yarmouth "one Privateer was in our Fleet, but it was not possible to lay hold of him." (Vide vol. i. pp. 49, 50.) The Log thus notices the circumstance:

"Thursday, 13th December.—7, A.M. Fresh breezes, Convoy in company. Half past saw a Cutter to leeward and turning up to the Convoy. At 9 wore Ship after her, but finding we could not come up with her, wore Ship after the Convoy."

1782.

The Albemarle's Log of Saturday the 26th of *January*, 1782, thus describes the collision with an East India Store Ship mentioned in Captain Nelson's letter of the 28th of that month. (Vide vol. i. p. 55.) "At 8 A.M., came on a most violent squall from the Northward, in the height of which the Brilliant, an East India Store-Ship, drove athwart our hawse, and carried away our bowsprit, foremast-head, both bumpkins, mizen-gaff, spanker-boom, larboard cat-head, and quarter-gallery, together with the fore-topsail and top-gallant-yards, all of which were broke in sundry places, and went overboard with the mast. The wreck we cut away, fearing, from the great swell, and the weather-tide, it might bulge the Ship; nor was we able to save the sails, or any part of the rigging that was with the wreck. The sheet-anchor was likewise tore away. The stock broke, and about 20 fathoms of the cable run out with the anchor. Finding it necessary to have the spare anchor clear, the sheet being rendered useless for want of its stock, cut the sheet-cable in the hawse, and bent it to the spare anchor. It is to be observed, that the Ship is so crank, that before the Brilliant drove on board us, our carpenters was standing by with axes, to cut away the mainmast, fearing she might overset, notwithstanding the lee-guns was housed. At 10 moderate. Struck the main-topmast, and got down the topgallant-mast. Ditto struck the mizen topmast and crossjack-yard."

On the 31st of January, the Albemarle sailed from the Downs: on the 2nd of *February* she anchored at Spithead, (Vide vol. i. p. 56,) and on the 10th went into Portsmouth Harbour to repair, where she remained until the 3rd of *April*, when she proceeded to Spithead. On the 7th of April she sailed: on the 13th anchored in Kinsale Bay, weighed on the same day, and on the 17th arrived at Cork, where she remained until the 26th, when she sailed with a Convoy for Newfoundland, under the orders of Captain Pringle of the Dædalus. (Vide vol. i. pp. 56—63.)

On the 27th of *May* the Albemarle anchored at St. John's with the Convoy, and sailed on the 3rd of *June*, (Vide vol. i. p. 641,) with six Vessels in company, and having joined the Dædalus, anchored the next day in Capeline Bay. As there are no Letters from Nelson between the 1st of June and the 19th of October, it is desirable to trace his proceedings in the Albemarle's Log. On the 17th of June the Albemarle sailed, with the Dædalus, Œolus, and Convoy, and arrived off the Isle of Bic, in the River St. Lawrence, on the 2nd of July. She sailed again on the 4th on a cruize. (Vide vol. i. p. 66.) "Sunday, *July* 7th.—Cape Rozier, S. b. E. ½ E. Pandora in company—saw two Sloops in the N.W. which Captain Inglis informed me were two Whalers from Nantucket Island, with passes from Admiral Digby. Thursday, 11th.—A.M., saw a Schooner which I took to be an American privateer, but she was too near the shore to have any hopes of coming up with her." On the 12th the Albemarle and Pandora recaptured a Shallop, and on the 12th they recaptured a Sloop laden with wine from Madeira to Quebec, which had been taken the day before by the Lively, American Privateer. "13th.—6 P.M. saw a Sail in the S.E., made sail after her. At 8 came up with her, she being a Fishing Schooner belonging to Cape Cod; took her in tow. 14th.—P.M. Sent a boat on board the Schooner for the prisoners' clothes. 22nd.—I imagine we are just getting into the Gulf stream, by its being so very squally, which the Americans who are on board say is always the case. 27th.—Sent the boat on board the Schooner with carpenters to equip her for offensive service.

August 9th.—Account myself on the North end of St. George's Bank, from

which I shall take a fresh departure, finding my reckoning to be far to the westward of the Ship. P.M., half past 4, saw a Sail ahead; gave chase. 5, brought the chase to. A Fishing Schooner from Plymouth, New England; took possession of her and discharged the other Schooner with all our prisoners[1]. From this Schooner we learn that we are distant from Cape Negro 7 leagues, and that it bears N. b. W. Saw the looming of the land. 12th.—6 A.M. saw a Sail on the N.W.—gave chase. At 8 fired four six-pounders at the chase and brought her to, a prize to His Majesty's Ship Charlestown. Took the crew out and set her on fire, *as the Prize Master and people could not keep her free of water, and had not either provisions, or any instruments on board.* 14th.—At 3 P.M. five Sail in sight coming from Boston—gave chase. At 4 discovered the above vessels to be four Line-of-Battle Ships and one Frigate. Half past, one of the Line-of-Battle Ships made a signal with a gun, upon which the three Ships made sail after us. We wore and made sail from them, knowing them to be part of the French Squadron which got into Boston last Friday. At 7 the Ships in chase had dropped much. Fresh breezes; in top-gallant sails; close reefed the topsails, and hauled close upon a wind. (Vide vol. i. p. 66.) Thursday, August 15th.—At 5 A.M., tacked; two sail in sight in the W.S.W. At 9 two sail in sight to the Eastward—gave chase. At half past 11 spoke the chase, one our Schooner, the other a Fishing Vessel belonging to Plymouth. Sent our prisoners on board and permitted them to pass. At Meridian Cape Cod W.S.W. 7 leagues. Friday, 16th.—10 A.M., several Fishing Vessels in sight; fired a six-pounder at a Schooner. Took and destroyed a Fishing Boat from Boston, which place she left a few hours ago; the Master of which informs us that the Vessels we saw come out of Boston yesterday were four Line-of-Battle Ships and a Frigate bound to Piscataway to convoy round some Mast-Ships; that one 74 the *Nereid*[2] and a Cutter lay in Nantucket Roads, and that (*sic*) more Line-of-Battle Ships and two Frigates lay at Boston, all the disabled French Squadron. 19th.—10 A.M. Spoke a Fishing Boat from Boston, who acquaints us that a French 74 was lost last Friday in the harbour. August 20th.—Sounded 112 fathoms mud. Note. With this depth and ground you may be sure you are without the Capes, and more towards Cape Codd than Cape Ram, the latter being sandy. August 23rd.—1 P.M. Saw a sail to the N.E.—made sail and gave chase. Quarter past 3 she made private signal (an English Jack at the main topgallant-mast head, and a pendant at the mizen peek), which finding we could not answer, she tacked and stood from us. At 5 hoisted French colours, and she hoisted English, I believe. At 6 we had come up with her very much, when it came on thick fog and we lost sight of her. Half past 9 wore Ship and stood in for the land. 11 Moderate and clear, shortened sail—people at quarters all night.

September 8th.—Anchored off the Isle de Bic, but the Albemarle weighed and anchored again several times between the 8th and 17th, on which day she arrived at Quebec and found there H. M. Ships Dædalus, Hussar, and Cameaux, with several Transports. The Albemarle left Quebec on the 13th of October, and after anchoring several times, left the Isle of Bic, where the Assistance was at anchor, on the 19th for New York, with the Pandora and Convoy. (Vide vol. i. pp. 66, 67.) On the 11th of November she arrived with her Convoy at New York, weighed on the 20th, and anchored the next day near Sandy Hook Lighthouse, where she found Rear-Admiral Hood with 12 Sail of the Line and 2 Frigates. (Vide vol. i. p. 68.) On the 22nd she sailed with the Fleet for the West Indies.

From the 17th of *November*, 1782, to the 25th of February, 1783, there is not any Letter from Captain Nelson.

1783.

January 29th, 1783.—Off Cape Donna Maria, near Cape Tiberoon, A.M.

[1] This appears to be the Schooner to which the Certificate in vol. i. p. 65 relates.

[2] The words in italics are in the handwriting of Captain Nelson.

half past 5 the Admiral made our signal to chase three Sail to the Eastward. At 6 out pinnace and cutter and sent them on board—found them to be all Danes, bound to St. Thomas. At 8 the Cutter saw a Sloop to Windward; made sail and gave chase. Half past 10 fired at the chase, and Battery on shore fired several shot at us, which we returned. Half past 11 the chase run aground under the Battery. At noon bore away and made sail. On the 4th of February the Albemarle was ordered to proceed to Jamaica, and she anchored in Port Royal in the afternoon. Lord Hood and the Fleet arrived a few hours afterwards. The Albemarle in getting under weigh on the 7th, ran aground, but after starting her water, getting her guns out, &c., she was hove off on the following day and then anchored again.

The Log of the Albemarle in the Editor's possession, ends on Sunday the 16th of February 1783; and the following additions are from Nelson's own Journal in the Admiralty.

On the 16th of February, 1783, she weighed in company with the Drake, and on the 25th being off Cape Tiberoon, he wrote to Captain Locker. (Vide vol. i. p. 71.) *March* 6th.—A.M. At 5, saw three sail to the Eastward; hove to and cleared Ship for Action—found them to be H. M. Ship Resistance and two prizes. At noon joined us H. M. Ship Tartar.

Captain Nelson's attempt to recapture Turk's Island, which is described in his Official Report (Vide vol. i. p. 73), is thus noticed in his Journal:—"7th March. At half past 1 P.M. made the signal to prepare to anchor. At 5 anchored with the best bower in 4 fathoms, East end Grand Turk's Island S.E. b. S. off shore 2 cables length; carried our stream anchor to the Southward. Sent Captain Dixon on shore with a Flag of Truce with a summons to the Governor. At 8 the Flag returned with the Governor's determination to defend the place. During the night fired several guns (as we saw several fires) to annoy the Enemy. Saturday 8th.—A.M. At 5 disembarked our Marines and Seamen; made the signal to engage, and fired several broadsides to make good their landing. Quarter past, made the signal for landing the Troops which was effected by Captain Dixon, under his command, without the smallest opposition. At 9 arrived the Admiral Barrington—ditto, ordered the Drake under the command of our First Lieutenant and Barrington to batter the Enemy's works abreast of the Town, which they obeyed. At 1 P.M. the Brigs cut and came away from the battery. At 3 they anchored near to us. At 6 made the signal for the Troops to embark. Sunday 9th.—A.M. At 8 weighed, and hove short on the stream. At 10 cut ditto, not being able to purchase it, and made sail, in company with the Resistance, Drake, Barrington, and two prizes."

From this time until the 25th of June, 1783, when Captain Nelson reported the arrival of the Albemarle at Spithead, nothing is known of his proceedings. His Journal, however, states:

"March 15. Off Porto Plato.—P.M. At 4 came up with the chase—found her to be a Flag of Truce from Brest, bound to Cape François with the Preliminary Articles of Peace. 29th.—Saw the French Fleet in Porto Cavallo, one of them had a Flag at the fore, one at the main, and one at the mizen. Counted 11 Sail of the Line. 31st.—Captured a Brig from Nantz to Porto Cavallo. *April* 2nd.—Captured a Sloop under Dutch Colours. 3rd.—Found a but at the starboard bow to have started, from which the Ship made much water; bore away for Jamaica." 7th.—Anchored in Port Royal, Jamaica.

The Albemarle remained at Port Royal, repairing, until April 26th, when she weighed and came to sail and joined Lord Hood's Fleet. *May* 6th.—Parted company with the Fleet. 9th.—The Moroa Castle, S ¼. W ¼. of a mile. Saluted H.R.H. Prince William Henry with 21 guns, on his going on shore. At 1 P.M. anchored in the Havannah. 11th.—At 5 A.M. weighed and made sail. At 9 saluted H.R.H. Prince William Henry with 21 guns, on his returning from shore. Joined the Fleet. 14th.—Parted company with the Fleet. 16th.—Anchored in St. Augustin's Roads. 19th.—Weighed. *June* 25th.—Anchored at Spithead. 26th.—Went into Portsmouth Harbour. *July* 3rd.—"The Commissioner came on board and paid the Ship off. (Vide vol. i. pp. 75, 76.)

HORATIO NELSON.'

In March 1784, Captain NELSON was appointed to the command of the Boreas, of 28 guns, at Woolwich, and he continued in that Ship for upwards of three years. Numerous letters written by him during that period will be found in the first Volume, which give an account of his proceedings, especially in detecting the frauds committed upon Government in the West India Islands. Much additional information of him at that time is, however, afforded by the Log of the Boreas; and those passages which would have been inserted as Notes to the Letters, had the book then been in the Editor's hands, will, like the preceding extracts from the Log of the Albemarle, be inserted here.

"Wednesday, 24th *March*, 1784.—Came alongside the Hoy with the guns and all the Gunner's stores; employed getting them on board. Came on board Captain Nelson and superseded Captain Wells. Sunday, 11th *April*.—At 7 weighed: in canting the Ship got stern way: let go the anchor again and the Ship got on shore. (Vide vol. i. p. 104.) P.M. At ½ past 3 weighed and came to sail. At 6 came to with the small bower near the Nore Light. 13th. P.M.—Anchored in the Downs. Found lying here H. M. Sloop Scout with a Dutch Man-of-War and one East Indiaman. Fired the morning and evening gun. 14th P.M.—Took out of the Dutch Indiaman 14 Englishmen. (Vide vol. i. p. 103.) 15th. A.M.—¼ past 4 weighed and came to sail. 17th.—Anchored at Spithead. P.M. Saluted Admiral Montagu with 17 guns. 17th. P.M.—Weighed and anchored at St. Helens. Came on board Lady Hughes and family. (Vide vol. i. pp. 100, 107.) 18th.—Weighed and came to sail. 19th. P.M.—At 5 came to anchor in Plymouth Sound. Saluted Vice-Admiral Milbank with 15 guns, which he answered. Friday, 21st.—P.M. At 6 weighed and came to sail. Tuesday, 1st *June*.—At noon out boats and towed the Ship. Shortened sail. Made the signal with a gun for assistance. Came on board a boat from the Resource. At 4 P.M. came to in Funchal Roads. 2nd.—Saluted Lady Hughes on going on shore. 8th.—At 7 P.M. weighed and came to sail."

There are not any Letters between the 8th of June and 24th of September, 1784.

"Saturday, 26th June.—At 9 A.M. made the Island of Barbadoes. Fired 3 guns and hoisted a Union Jack at the main top-gallant-mast head as a signal for Lady Hughes being on board. Saw the Ships in Carlisle Bay. Saluted Admiral Hughes with 15 guns. At noon came to an anchor. At 1 P.M. came on board Admiral Hughes." The Boreas remained at Barbadoes until the 20th *July*.—At 5 P.M. weighed and came to sail. 21st.—P.M. Came on board a boat with a French Officer. At 5 anchored in Fort Royal Bay. 22nd.—At 5 A.M. saluted the Fort with 15 guns, which was returned. Fired two salutes of 11 guns for the Governor coming on board and going on shore. At 3 P.M. the Fort saluted the Captain on his coming from shore with 11 guns, which we returned. Weighed and came to sail standing for the West end of the Island. 23rd.—At 11 A.M. saluted the Fort with 15 guns, which was returned. At noon anchored. 24th P.M.—Weighed. 25th.—At 3 P.M. anchored in Prince Rupert's Bay. (Vide vol. i. p. 110.) 27th.—Weighed. 28th. P.M.—Anchored in English Harbour, Antigua. 29th.—Arrived the Adamant, Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, Bart. Employed stripping the Ship. 31st.—Arrived the Latona. *August* 1st.—Arrived the Unicorn, Zebra, and Fury.

TO —— KERR, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Mr. Kerr, of Antigua.]

English Harbour, 3rd August, 1784.

As the Captains of the Navy at this Port mean to establish a Mess for the Hurricane months, by their desire I write to beg that you will send us round by the first opportunity the

undermentioned articles: viz. one hogshead of port, one of the best white wine that you have, twelve dozen of porter in bottles, fifty pounds loaf-sugar, one firkin of good butter, two baskets of salt, two pounds of black pepper. I have the honour to be, your humble servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—As we only wait for these things to begin our Mess, the sooner they arrive the better. Mr. Druce, the Agent-Victualler, is a-going to send Provisions round for the Fury, which will be a good opportunity.

October 13th, 1784.—People employed rigging the Ship. Arrived H. M. Sloop Experiment. 16th.—Arrived the Falcon Sloop and Berbice Tender. 19th.—Employed painting the Ship. (Vide vol. i. p. iii.) 26th.—Sailed for England the Zebra Sloop. (Vide vol. i. p. 100.) 29th.—P.M. Bent sails. Went into Freeman's Bay the Latona: came off the harbour, the Mediator and Rattler. *November* 1st.—At 9 sailed out of the English Harbour, as did the Fleet. 6th.—At ½ past 4 anchored at Barbadoes, as did the Fleet. Found here the Mediator and Rattler. 13th.—Four of the Midshipmen went on shore and fought a duel, when Mr. Stansbury wounded Mr. Andrews mortally. (Vide vol. i. p. 125.) 16th.—Sailed Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, Bart. Called off the Harbour several American Vessels, but none of them came to an anchor. 17th.—Came into the Bay several American Vessels who are ordered not to anchor. (Vide vol. i. p. 113.) 20th.—Weighed and came to sail. 22nd.—Anchored in English Harbour, Antigua. 23rd.—Weighed. 25th.—Anchored in Craul Harbour [in one of the Virgin Islands]. The Master employed sounding the Harbour. (Vide vol. i. pp. 111, 112.) 28th.—Weighed. *December* 3rd.—Anchored in St. John's Harbour, Antigua. 5th.—Weighed and made sail. 10th.—Anchored in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes. 18th.—Arrived a French Schooner of War, and H. M. Sloop Falcon. 22nd.—Sailed the French Schooner of War. Fired two 9-pounders shotted at the Fort for not hoisting their colours to the French King's Vessel going out. Arrived the Packet from England. 8 P.M. weighed and came to sail. 24th.—Spoke the Latona. Got into English Harbour and moored Ship.

January 3rd, 1785.—Sailed from English Harbour and anchored in St. John's Road. Found lying here H.M. Ship Mediator. 4th.—Weighed and anchored in Monserrat Roads. 6th.—Sailed from Monserrat and anchored in Nevis Roads. 8th.—Weighed and ran over to St. Christopher's, and anchored in Basseterre Roads. 14th.—Weighed and anchored in St. Kitt's Road. 15th.—Weighed and returned to Basseterre Roads. (Vide vol. i. p. 113.) 18th.—Arrived the Rattler. Fired a gun, shotted at an American Brig, for not hoisting her colours. Fired 21 guns, it being the anniversary of Her Majesty's birthday. 19th.—Weighed and came to sail, going to Dominica for wood and water. 23rd.—Anchored in Prince Rupert's Bay. 26.—Weighed and came to sail. 27th.—Anchored in Monserrat Roads. At 9 A.M. weighed, and at 6 anchored in Basseterre Roads.

February 1st.—Sailed in company with the Rattler, and anchored in Nevis Roads. 4th.—Weighed and came to sail: Rattler in company. 5th.—Got into English Harbour. Found here H.M. Ships Latona and Hermione. 7th.—At 8 A.M. the Latona made the signal for weekly accounts. We made the signal for her Captain [8]. 9th.—Weighed and run out of the Harbour. 13th.—Anchored in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes. 14th.—Weighed and came to sail. 16th.—Got into English Harbour, Antigua. *March* 7th. — Came into Freeman's Bay, the

[8] Professional readers will at once perceive in these Signals, Nelson's instantaneous vindication of his authority as Senior Officer. (See the dispute on the subject, in vol. i. pp. 118—122.)

Mediator. Between the 11th and 15th the Boreas was occasionally at Nevis. Sailed in Basseterre Roads, and at other Islands in the vicinity. *April* 18th.—Anchored at Barbadoes. 22nd.—Fired a gun shotted at a Brig, for having Irish colours hoisted. 25th.—Weighed and anchored in Freeman's Bay. Between the 25th of April and the 2nd of May the Boreas touched at various Islands.

May 2nd.—In Basseterre Roads. At 9 A.M. sent an Officer in a boat to the Salt pans to examine a Schooner that was hovering inshore. At Noon he returned with the Schooner, who we found to be an American, showing English colours, and having two Registers on board—took possession of her. 19th.—Sent a Boat with a Lieutenant and a party of Marines to examine some Vessels at Nevis. 20th.—The Boat returned with some men belonging to two American Vessels laying at Nevis, under English colours and false papers. 22nd.—Anchored in Nevis Roads. Arrived the Rattler. Came on board Judge Ward, Esq., and took the depositions of the men belonging to the Vessels under false papers and colours. P.M. Arrived the Adamant. 24th.—Anchored in Basseterre Roads. 25th.—Arrived the Unicorn and Rattler. 27th.—At anchor in Nevis Roads, from which day until the 6th of June the Boreas was either at Nevis or in Basseterre Roads.

June 7th.—At Nevis. Called a Survey on two of the Brigs; found them not as reported. 8th.—Two of the Brigs was condemned for breach of trade. 19th.—Went past a French Frigate: the Fort fired at her. 20th.—At 5 A.M. weighed and came to sail. At Noon anchored at St. Eustatia Roads. Found lying here a French Frigate. Out pinnace and sent her on shore with an Officer. June 21.—Saluted the Fort, which was returned. Weighed. Anchored in Nevis Roads.

From the 24th of June to the 8th of August the Boreas was in Basseterre Roads or at Nevis.

August 10th.—Got into English Harbour, Antigua. Found the Fleet here. Employed stripping Ship..... *September* 20th.—Hove the Ship down. Found several sheets of copper raised by the Ship's striking on a rock in Hanson's Bay, St. John's, and a spike hole abaft the mainmast. 28th.—The Admiral shifted his flag on board the Latona. P.M. Sailed the Latona with the Admiral.

October 17th.—Sailed out to sea. 19th.—7 P.M. the Ship struck the ground off Nevis Point: got the stream anchor and cable out astern and hove her off. At 8 anchored in Nevis Road. 21st.—Boarded a Brig who had been in this Port three months past under American colours, and now under English: took her in custody. *November* 1st.—Anchored in Basseterre Roads. 2nd.—Returned to Nevis. 7th.—Arrived here H. M. Ship Adamant. Came on board the Admiral's flag, which was hoisted. Sailed the Adamant for St. Kitt's. 10th.—Anchored the Adamant. Sent the Flag on board the Adamant. 11th.—Anchored at St. Kitt's. 12th.—In Nevis Road or Basseterre Roads. 20th.—Anchored in Nevis Roads. 26th.—Came on board the Admiral. Weighed. 27th.—Anchored at Basseterre. 28th.—Weighed and came to in Nevis Road; Admiral went on shore. *December* 5th.—Anchored in Prince Rupert's Bay. 6th.—Sailed. 8th.—Anchored at Nevis. 11th.—Weighed. At 10 heard the mainmast crack, examined it, and found it sprung. 13th.—Anchored in English Harbour, Antigua. 15th.—Sailed. 19th.—Anchored in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes; found here the Adamant and Latona. 21st.—Weighed. 23rd.—Anchored in Nevis Roads.

January 9, 1786.—Anchored in English Harbour. Got out the mainmast, &c. 15th.—Sailed. 16th.—Anchored at Nevis. From January 16th to February 12th, the Boreas was at Nevis or in Basseterre Roads.

February 13th.—Came to an anchor in Basseterre Roads. At 3 P.M. weighed and came to sail. Half past spoke a Swedish Sloop; out cutter and sent her on board her; came on board the Governor of St. Bartholomew; saluted him with 13 guns. Made sail for St. Bartholomew. 14th.—At 7 A.M. anchored in St. Bartholomew Bay. At 8 the Governor and our Captain went on shore; saluted the Governor with 13 guns, which was returned by the Fort. Half past they returned. At 11 weighed and made sail. At 8 P.M. anchored in Basseterre Roads; the Swedish Governor went on shore. 15th.—Weighed, and at 10 anchored in Nevis Roads. 25th.—At Antigua. 26th.—Sailed. *March* 8th.—

Anchored in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes; found here the Latona and Admiral. 10th.—Came on board the Admiral's Flag, which we hoisted. Sailed the Adamant. 16th.—Took possession of an American Brig under English colours and papers. (Vide vol. i. pp. 165, 180.) 18th.—Ditto of an American Schooner, ditto. 20th.—Arrived here a French Sloop of War, (Vide vol. i. p. 164,)—employed watering of her. *April* 17th.—Sailed the Latona and Falcon to assist the Cyrus[4], she being on shore at the N.W. end of the Island. 18th.—Arrived the Latona, who informed us the Cyrus was sunk in 70 fathoms water. 20th.—Received on board the Cyrus ship's company. Anchored here H. M. Ship Adamant. 25th.—Sailed H. M. Ship Unicorn for England. 26th.—Sailed the Adamant, Rear-Admiral Hughes, Mediator, Latona, and Rattler. *May* 9th.—Weighed and made sail for Speights Town, Barbadoes. 10th.—Anchored. 17th.—Anchored the Adamant. 20th.—Weighed, as did the Brig and Schooner. 24th.—Anchored in Nevis Road, as did the Brig and Schooner.

From the 24th of May to the 14th of June the Boreas was mostly in Nevis, but occasionally in Basseterre Roads.

June 19th.—Moored in English Harbour, Antigua. 21st.—Sailed. 24th.—Anchored at Nevis. 27th.—The Brig and Schooner were condemned. *July* 8th.—Seized a Schooner from Trinidad, under Spanish colours, on suspicion of her being an American. Found her American papers; her cargo consisted of cattle. 17th.—Spanish-American Schooner condemned. 21st.—Anchored in Prince Rupert's Bay, Dominica. 22nd.—At Nevis. 26th.—At Nevis. Arrived H.M. Ship Adamant. 1st *August*.—Sailed the Adamant and Latona for England. Saluted the Admiral with 15 guns. 4th.—Anchored in English Harbour. *October* 9th.—Sailed from Antigua. 10th.—Anchored in Nevis Roads. 18th. Weighed. 21st.—Anchored in Woodbridge's Bay, Dominica. 24th.—Weighed. 25th.—Anchored in St. Pierre's Bay, Martinico; found lying here the Cleopatra French Frigate, 38 guns. Weighed. 28th.—Anchored in St. John's Roads, Antigua. *November* 1st.—Weighed, and at half past 7 P.M. anchored in Nevis Roads. From 1st to 24th the Boreas was mostly at Nevis, but occasionally in Basseterre Roads to examine Vessels. 25th.—Anchored in Freeman's Bay, Antigua. *December* 1st.—Weighed and ran out of the Bay. 2nd.—Anchored in Rouseau Bay, Antigua; found here H. M. Ships Pegasus[5], Amphion, Solebay, and Rattler. Anchored here La Favorite, French Man-of-War of 20 guns. 8th.—Weighed and came to sail in company with the Amphion, Solebay, Pegasus, and Rattler. At 6 P.M. anchored in Prince Rupert's Bay, as did the Solebay, Pegasus, and Rattler; the Amphion parted company. 11th.—Weighed, as did the Pegasus and Rattler. Wednesday, 13th.—At 6 A.M. moored in Freeman's Bay, Antigua. From the 13th to the 28th, at Antigua, Captain Nelson being Senior Officer. 31st.—Sailed the Solebay.

January 13th, 1787.—Sailed the Rattler. 27th. Arrived Solebay and Rattler. 28th.—Weighed. At 8 anchored in Nevis Roads. 31st.—Weighed. *February* 2nd.—Anchored at Freeman's Bay, Antigua; found here the Solebay, Pegasus, and Rattler. 10th.—Weighed in company with the Solebay and Pegasus. At 5 anchored in Plymouth Road, Montserrat. 12th.—Saluted H. R. H. Prince William Henry with 21 guns on his landing. 14th.—Weighed, in company with the Solebay and Pegasus. At 4 P.M. anchored in Nevis Roads, as did the Solebay and Pegasus. Anchored here H.M. S. Maidstone. 17th.—Fired 21 guns to salute H. R. H. Prince William Henry, on his landing at Nevis. 22nd.—Weighed, as did the rest of the Ships. At 2 P.M. anchored in Basseterre Road, as did the Solebay, Maidstone, and Pegasus. 26th.—At 3 P.M. fired 21 guns to salute H.R.H. Prince William Henry, on his landing at St. Christopher's. *March* 3rd.—Weighed, as did the Pegasus. P.M. Anchored in Old Road. 4th.—Weighed. At noon anchored in Sandy Point, as did the Pegasus. Found here the Maidstone. 7th.—Weighed in company with the Maidstone and Pegasus. These Ships anchored the same afternoon in Basseterre Roads. 8th.—Weighed and anchored

[4] An Armed Ship which arrived on the 5th, and sailed on the 15th of April.
[5] Commanded by H. R. H. Prince William Henry. (Vide vol. i. p. 203.)

in Nevis Roads the same evening. The Maidstone sailed on the 12th[6]. 19th.—11 A.M. weighed, as did the Pegasus. 22nd.—Anchored in Drake's Bay (Tortola), as did the Pegasus. 26th.—Saluted H. R. H. Prince William Henry with 21 guns, on his landing at Tortola. 28th.—Weighed, as did the Pegasus. 31st.—Anchored in Nevis Road.

April 4th.—Sailed the Pegasus. At 1 P.M. weighed. 6th.—Went into English Harbour, Antigua. Found there the Solebay, Maidstone, and Pegasus. 16th.—A man belonging to the Rattler was pardoned his sentence. (Vide vol. i. p. 222.) 19th.—Sailed the Solebay, Maidstone, and Pegasus. 25th.—Made sail out of the harbour. At 9 P.M. anchored in Nevis Road. Heard of Captain Collingwood's death. (Vide vol. i. p. 224.) *May* 21st.—Anchored here the Solebay and Pegasus. At 3 sailed the Pegasus and Rattler. Saluted H. R. H. Prince William Henry with 21 guns, on his leaving the station. 24th.—Arrived the Barbadoes Government Brig, with dispatches from Commodore William Parker. 25th.—At noon weighed, and at 9 P.M. anchored in St. John's Roads, Antigua. Found here the Solebay. *June* 2nd.—At noon the Commodore hove in sight; saluted Commodore Parker in the Jupiter, with 13 guns, which he returned. Arrived the Sybil. 4th.—At 8 A.M. weighed; saluted the Commodore with 13 guns, which he returned. At 2 P.M. anchored in Nevis Road. 7th.—At 5 A.M. weighed. At 10 anchored in St. Eustatia's Road. At 6 P.M. weighed and came to sail [for England].

July 4th.—Noon, Dunose, in the Isle of Wight, N.W. 6 leagues. 7 P.M. Saluted the Admiral with 13 guns. Anchored off Stoke's Bay; found lying here five Sail of the Line. *August* 18th.—Weighed and dropt out towards St. Helens. At noon turning out of St. Helens. 20th.—Anchored at the Little Nore. Saluted Commodore Hamond with 18 guns. *September* 23rd.—Weighed. At 11 anchored at the Great Nore and moored Ship. Boats employed on the impress service. (Vide vol. i. p. 264.) *October* 11th.—Saluted Admiral Edwards with 13 guns. *November* 21st.—At 3 P.M. weighed, and came to sail. At 7 lashed alongside the Iphigenia. 22nd.—Employed stripping Ship. 29th (or 30th).—Came on board the Commissioner and paid the Ship off.

TO HERCULES ROSS, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Horatio Ross, Esq.]

My dear Ross, Cavendish-Square, No. 5, 13th October, '87.

Your letter of the 6th I received yesterday, and I am most exceedingly obliged by that continuance of friendship which has heretofore subsisted between us. Mrs. Nelson will feel herself much honoured by being known to Mrs. Ross. Your letter of October 5th I have received not twenty minutes ago, and it can require no time to answer it. You know my heart is replete with an ambition to do my duty most strictly; but be assured it is ever open to the call of pity. A train of unfortunate circumstances made the seizure of poor Daniel's Vessels unavoidable, as I will more fully explain when we meet. Having so far done my duty, I should feel myself a beast, had I wished to feed upon the property of my friends: therefore, you may be assured, as far as relates to me personally, I shall most cheerfully do everything you can wish me. But the situation I am in, makes the process out of my

[6] On this day Captain Nelson was married.

way. The seizure was on behalf of the Crown; and if the Crown gives up the whole, no person has a right to complain. You know me, I am assured, and believe I have a soul above doing a mean or improper action. I might possibly have wrote from Nevis a little hastily, but that must have been occasioned by the mode of Mr. Erskine addressing me. I am only up from my Ship for a few hours; but if I can possibly, I will call on Mr. Lee. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Ross; and be assured I am your faithful friend,

HORATIO NELSON.

I do most solemnly assure you, that no person ever attempted to prejudice me against your brother; and if they had, I hope you believe I had too much sense to be the dupe of any man.

TO MR. THOMAS BOLTON, MERCHANT, NORWICH.

[Autograph in the possession of Miss Bolton, of Burnham.]

My dear Sir, Hilborough, May 18th, 1789.

My brother and myself have (according to our sister's and your desire) this day wrote to Messrs. Marsh and Creed, desiring them to pay the money to your order. We trust you will see that the writings are proper on the occasion. I shall return home to-morrow, and shall be happy to see you and Edmund as soon as you please. The papers you can bring with you, as it's not very likely I shall soon leave home again. All here join in love to Mrs. B., yourself, and family; and believe me, yours most sincerely,

HORATIO NELSON.

CAPTAIN NELSON, after numerous applications for employment, was appointed to the AGAMEMNON early in February 1793, and the following extracts from the Log of that Ship afford much information of his proceedings between that date and the 7th of November 1796, from which time until 1803, none of the Logs of the Ships which he commanded have fallen into the Editor's hands.

1793. *February* 7th.—Came on board Captain Horatio Nelson, with Mr. Hinton, First Lieutenant. 11th.—Came on board Wenman Allison, Fourth Lieutenant. *March* 1st.—Came on board Mr. Bullen, Second Lieutenant. From the 7th of February to the 22nd of March, at Chatham, fitting the Ship for sea. 23rd.—Anchored at Black Stakes, Sheerness. *April* 7th.—Sailed to the Great Nore. 24th.—Weighed and made sail down Channel; anchored in the Downs on the 25th. 28th.—P.M. anchored near to the Buoy of the Royal George, at Spithead. Gave the Admiral three cheers, which he returned. *May* 1st.—Weighed. 2nd.—Saw in La Hogue Roads, four Sail at anchor—made all sail to get towards them. At 5 P.M. they got under weigh, standing with their heads towards us, making a number of signals. At 6 they tacked, and stood in for the shore—we with all

sail set coming up with them fast. At 7 run them nearly on shore, under two forts in the harbour, near to Cape Barfleur. At the same time we were within a quarter of a mile of the rocks on the West side of the harbour, and near to the ground was forced to heave off to sea, leaving the chase. (Vide vol. i. p. 305.) 3rd.—At 10 A.M. saw two large Ships in Cherbourg—the Enemy were two Frigates and two armed Brigs. 5th.—P.M. anchored at Spithead. 7th.—Lord Hood hoisted his Flag in the Victory. 11th.—Sailed from St. Helens in company with the Britannia, Colossus, Courageux, Fortitude, Lowestoffe, and Meleager. (Vide vol. i. p. 306.) 25th.—Off the Lizard. The Fleet under Vice-Admiral Lord Hood joined the squadron. *June* 9th.—At noon the Colossus captured a French national Brig of 8 guns and 45 men. (Vide vol. i. p. 308.) 14th.—At 7 P.M. Cape St. Vincent, N.W. b. N. 15 or 16 miles—made sail in company with His Majesty's Ships the Robust[7], Courageux, Colossus, Leviathan, and Fortitude, the other part of the Fleet standing to the S.E. with Lord Hood. (Ibid.) 15th.—At 5 A.M. passed through the squadron a Spanish Line-of-Battle Ship. (Vide vol. i. p. 309.) At 7 passed through the squadron a Portuguese Frigate. 16th.—Anchored at Cadiz—received water, &c. 23rd.—Made sail out of Cadiz with the squadron. (Vide vol. i. p. 309.) 24th.—Anchored at Gibraltar. (Vide vol. i. p. 310.) Found lying here the Victory, Samuel Lord Hood, Commander-in-Chief; Britannia, Vice-Admiral Hotham; Windsor Castle, Vice-Admiral Colby; Prince Royal, Rear-Admiral Goodall; St. George, Rear-Admiral Gell; Monarch, Terrible, Alcide, Bedford, Berwick, Captain, Illustrious, Ardent, St. Albans, and Romney, with our squadron from Cadiz. 17th.—Sailed from Gibraltar with the Fleet. Sunday, *July* 7th.—Performed Divine Service to the Ship's company, and gave them a Psalm Book and Seaman's Monitor. 8th.—At daylight saw a large Fleet on the weather bow, which proved to be the Spanish Fleet of 24 Sail of the Line, besides Frigates. (Vide vol. i. p. 312.) At noon Isle of Formentera, N.E. ½ E. 3 or 4 leagues. 17th.—P.M. Found that the Illustrious and Leda had taken a French Corvette from Smyrna bound to Marseilles, taken at 20 minutes past 9 this morning (vide vol. i. p. 313.), and that the action we heard last night was between the Illustrious, Leda, and 3 French Frigates, who got away. At 8.55 the Admiral made the signal for us to chase E. b. N. At 10 minutes past ditto, the signal to come to the wind on the starboard tack. Being but little wind was unable to cut off a French Brig from getting into harbour. 21st.—(Off Cape Sicie.) Strong gales and squally. 4 A.M. saw a Ship to Leeward, making signals of distress and being in want of immediate assistance, which she repeated several times. (Vide vol. i. p. 314.) At 4.45 observed the same Ship making the same signals being obliged to leave the Fleet, and wanting the assistance of another Ship to see her safe into port. At 5 the Admiral made the Meleager's signal to go to her assistance. At 5.40 saw Frigate to Windward making signals of distress. *August* 1st.—Spoke the Romulus. 4th.—Sailed from the Fleet His Majesty's Ships Alcide, Juno, Nemesis, and Lapwing Brig. 8th.—Came into the Fleet H. M. Frigate the Aquilon, with H. R. H. Prince Augustus Frederick. (Vide vol. i. p. 316.) On the Victory's hoisting the Standard, the whole Fleet saluted with 21 guns. 9th.—Made sail and parted from the Fleet in company with the Robust[8], Colossus, and Romulus. 16th.—Brought-to a Snow from Marseilles to Smyrna, under Ragusa colours—took possession of her. 20th.—A Convoy under H. M. Ship St. Albans joined. P.M. Joined the Fleet under the command of Lord Hood. 22nd.—Sailed from the Fleet a Frigate with a Flag of Truce. 23rd.—A.M. Came into the Fleet a Flag of Truce from Marseilles, with three Commissioners to make a treaty with us. The Victory made the signal for all Flag Officers. 26th.—P.M. At 1½ the Admiral made our signal for the Captain. Came into the Fleet H. M. Ships Windsor Castle, Bedford, Terrible, and a Sardinian Frigate. At 3 tacked Ship and made sail. At a quarter before 4 the Admiral made the signal to call us into the Fleet—tacked Ship. At 4 the Admiral made our signal for a Lieutenant—hove to. At half-past 4 wore Ship and made sail, a Sardinian Frigate in com-

[7] The Robust was Senior Officer.

[8] Robust. (Commodore.) It seems they remained off Cape Sicie, and that the Fleet parted from them.

pany. 31st. A.M.—Half-past 10, the Tartar made the signal to speak us. At 11 the Captain came on board. P.M. At 4, Oneglia N.E. b. N. 6 or 7 miles. Sent on shore Lord Hood's dispatches—Sardinian Frigate in company.

September 4th.—Off Bastia. 7th.—Hoisted our colours and parted with Sardinian Frigate. 8th.—Took possession of a Ragusa Brig from Smyrna, Tunis, and Marseilles, laden with French merchandize. 12th.—P.M. At 1 anchored in the Bay of Naples. Found at anchor the Guiscardo, Line-of-Battle Ship, and 3 Frigates. Hoisted out the barge—the Captain went on shore to wait on the King of Naples with dispatches from Lord Hood. (Vide vol. i. pp. 325—327.) 13th.—At 8 A.M. the Neapolitan Admiral came on board; on his leaving the Ship we saluted him with 13 guns. 15th.—At 9 A.M. the English Ambassador came on board. Saluted him with 15 guns on his coming on board and leaving the Ship. 16th.—At 10 A.M. came on board the English Ambassador. P.M. Weighed and made sail. (Vide vol. i. p. 328.) 23rd.—Abreast of Bastia. 8 A.M. departed this life, Mr. Joseph Emerson, surgeon's 2nd mate. (Vide vol. i. p. 328.) P.M. 8.—Committed the body of Mr. Joseph Emerson to the deep. 25th.—At 2 P.M. anchored in Leghorn Roads. Found a French Frigate at anchor and a Swedish Frigate. 30th.—Got under weigh.

October 1st.—Spoke two Neapolitan Frigates with a convoy for Toulon. P.M. Brought-to a French boat bound to Corsica, under Genoese colours. Sent an Officer and 4 men to take her into Leghorn. 5th.—Brought to a French boat laden with wine—took her in tow. 6th.—Anchored at Toulon. 9th.—At 9 P.M. weighed and made sail. 17th.—Off Elba. Sent the barge and pinnace manned and armed with Officers after a French privateer-boat then in shore. 18th.—A.M. The barge and pinnace returned with a boat laden with wheat—took her in tow. 22nd.—[See the extract in vol. i. p. 334, respecting the Agamemnon's Action with some French Frigates.] 23rd.—Carpenters stopping holes in the Ship's sides. At noon, Carbonero W. b. N. 7 leagues, lat. 39.30. 24th.—A.M. Anchored at Cagliari. Struck the main top-mast, which gave way where the shot had gone through it. Carpenters employed about the fishes for the main-mast. Sailmakers repairing the sails. Got up another top-mast and top-gallant mast. Found here H. M. Ships Alcide, Illustrious, Berwick, Lowestoffe, and Nemesis. The Commodore would send us no assistance. P.M. The carpenters fishing the mainmast and rigging. The sailmakers repairing the sails. Our people hard at work all night. 25th.—A.M. At 7 up anchor, and made sail in company with H.M. Ships Alcide, Berwick, Illustrious, Lowestoffe, and Nemesis, under the command of Commodore Linzee. Gave the Commodore three cheers. 31st.—At 2 P.M. anchored in the Bay of Tunis (with the Squadron. Vide vol. i. pp. 337, 338.) Found at anchor three Spanish Line-of-Battle Ships, two Frigates, and a Brig; one French Line-of-Battle Ship, and one Frigate, and several Merchantmen. *November* 7th.—A.M. The Alcide hoisted the Truce Flag at the fore. 16th.—Weighed and made sail. 26th.—Anchored in Tunis Bay. 29th.—P.M. Weighed and made sail. *December* 8th.—Spoke H. M. Ship Leda, four days from Toulon, bound to Naples. 14th.—Hoisted out all boats and sent them manned and armed on shore [near Cape Corse]. At 1 the boats returned with a French boat, which was deserted. Sent an Officer and 2 men in the Prize to Leghorn. 18th.—Spoke H. M. Ships Lowestoffe, Meleager, and Amphitrite. 22nd.—Noon, anchored in Leghorn Roads. P.M. Shifted our berth clear of the French Frigates. 31st.—Received from the Leda 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants, &c., and 48 privates of the 69th Regiment.

January 2, 1794.—A.M. Up anchor and made sail in company with the Topaze, a French Frigate, into which we sent 1 Lieutenant and 30 seamen to assist to navigate the Ship to the Isle of Elba under our convoy. 3rd.—Anchored in Porto Ferrajo; found lying here H. M. Ships Britannia, Windsor Castle, and Le Commerce de Marseilles. 5th.—Up anchor and made sail. 7th.—Off Cape Corse. The Leda, Meleager and Amphitrite joined. 12th.—At noon, Calvi S.E. b. S. 14 or 15 miles. Saw our Ships in Action with two French Frigates. Calm. 14th.—P.M. Lowestoffe and Leda in company. 15th.—Sent the carpenter on board the Leda to inspect the damage she had received from the French Frigates. 17th.—Noon, off Calvi. Made the signal for the Captain of the

Amphitrite. Ordered Captain Hunt to chase a Polacca, which I take to be an Enemy. P.M. The Amphitrite made the signal that the chase was an Enemy. The Amphitrite fired many guns at the chase, who run on shore. 19th.—Joined the Squadron the Juno and La Fortune, a Gun-boat. 20th.—At daylight saw a Fleet in the N.W. Made the private signal, which was answered by a Spanish Line-of-Battle Ship with a convoy. At ½ past 8 made the signal to speak the Amphitrite. Ordered Captain Hunt to join the Leda till my return. At noon got a Pilot for Nonza in the Gulph of (*sic*). Bore away and made sail. 21st.—At 4 A.M. out boats, towed the Ship's head round. At 6 made the signal for all boats. At 7 the boats came alongside. At 8 embarked our Troops with the Marines from the Lowestoffe and Meleager on board our boats and the Gun boat: they pushed for the shore. Landed with little opposition from the Enemy. Destroyed all the corn and flour at the place. Burned the water-mill, and returned on board again before the Gun-boats and Troops from St. Fiorenzo arrived, without the loss of a man. At noon, the Town of St. Fiorenzo bearing S. ¼ E. 7 or 8 miles. (Vide vol. i. pp. 349; 350.) 26th.—A.M. Cape Corse E. b. S. 5 or 6 leagues. At ½ past 9 made the private signal to the Victory. At 10 our signal to close round the Admiral. P.M. The Victory made the signal for the Captain. (Vide vol. i. p. 349.) Parted from the Fleet. Made sail. 28th.—Heavy gale. Bore up for Leghorn. Noon anchored in Leghorn Roads.

[The Agamemnon sailed from Leghorn on the 31st of January for her station off Corsica, and on the 2nd of February was near the Isle of Rosse, in company with the Dido, Billette, Swallow, Fortuna, Pettit, Boston, and a strange Frigate in sight.]

February 5th.—P.M. Joined us His Majesty's Ship L'Aigle. The Lowestoffe at an anchor in shore. The Romulus in company with her. At ½ past 4 hove-to. Out boats and sent them on board the Lowestoffe, who had landed her and the Romulus' Marines, and set fire to four Vessels loaded with wine for St. Fiorenzo. Cape Corse E.N.E. ½ E. 4 or 5 miles. 6th.—Noon. Off Cape Corse. H.M. Ships Alcide, Fortitude, and Convoy coming down to us. 7th.—Made the private signal to the Victory. The Victory made our signal for the Captain. At 8 made all sail and parted from the Fleet. 8th.—At 40 m. past 8 the mole-head of Rogliani W.S.W. 2 miles. Beat to quarters on the lower deck. At 9 out boats. At 10 came-to in 9 fathoms. The mole-head W. ¾ S. ¼ of a mile. At the same time sent on shore a boat with a flag of truce. At ½ past ten landed the Troops. Captain Nelson hauled down the National colours from the top of an old castle, and the Tree of Liberty stuck up in the middle of the town. The Captain and Officers employed getting the vessels out of the mole into the road. The Ship with a spring upon the cable lying broadside to the Town. P.M. At 4 sent an Officer on board, and set fire to the eight vessels brought out of the mole at Rogliani. Burnt them to the water's edge. At half-past do. up anchor, and made sail in company with the Tartar, a Cutter, two Gun-boats, and 3 prizes. (Vide vol. i. p. 351.) 9th.—P.M. At a ¼ past 4 came-to with the small bower in 22 fathoms. Veered away to two-thirds of a cable with a spring, broadside to the fort. All hands at quarters. Sent a boat on shore to the Governor. The two points of the Bay bold close to the rocks. 10th.—At 1 A.M. got a small anchor with two hawsers to the N.N.W. to warp out the Ship; the boat employed towing out of the Bay. Employed getting under weigh. At 2 P.M. up anchor, and hoisted the staysail. Warped out of the Bay, the boats towing ahead. Slipped the hawser and made sail. (Vide vol. i. p. 352.) 12th.—A.M. At ½ past 7 sent the barge in chase of several Tartans near the Island of Cabrera, bearing nearly west. At ¾ past 9 saw the Barge fire at a Boat at anchor under the Island. Saw the Gun-boat fire. Out pinnace, and sent her to their assistance. Light airs. Standing off and on to the Island. At 10 saw the Gun-boat fire several guns at the Vessel at anchor—tacked in shore, and made sail for the boats. At noon the Town of Cabrera W.N.W. 4 or 5 miles—light breezes and clear—tacked occasionally. At 20 minutes past 1 saw musketry firing from the Cutter, and the Gun-boat her guns.—About 2 the Cutter, Gun-boat and musketry kept up a continual fire—the Troops then on board the Gun-boat, which rowed in shore. At 40 minutes past ditto, the fire ceased—the Cutter and Gun-boat with the prize in tow, standing out

from the shore, the Ships' boats in chase. At 4 in boats. At half-past ditto, made sail after two Sail in the N.W. quarter. At half past 5 made the signal to call in all the cruizers. The Town of Cabrera S.S.W. ½ W. 6 or 7 miles. (Vide vol. i. p. 353.) 13th.—At 9 A.M. joined Lord Hood's Fleet. P.M. Boarded a Genoese Ship laden with corn—took possession of her. 14th.—Noon, anchored at Leghorn. 17th.—Weighed and came to sail. 19th. A.M.—At 20 minutes past 10 L'Avasina N.N.W. 2 miles. Sounded in 48 fathoms. At half past, out boats. At 11 the boats with Captain Nelson, Lieutenant Andrews, Captain Clark, Lieutenant Mc Clintock, and Troops of the 69th Regiment and Tartar's marines landed at L'Avasina. At noon saw the Officers and Troops marching towards Bastia, to a village 2 miles from L'Avasina. At 20 minutes past noon saw the English colours flying on a small tower, two miles to the southward of L'Avasina, taken possession of by the Captain, Officers, Troops, &c. At 1 the Troops came off from the Tower of Miomo, where the English colours was flying. At 40 minutes past ditto the boats returned. At three quarters past ditto, in boats. At 3 calm—the Tartar parted company. (Vide vol. i. pp. 356—357.) 21st. P.M. Anchored in Rogliani Bay. Joined us H. M. Ships Romulus, Tartar, Gun-Boats, and Cutter, with her prize in tow. 22nd.—Weighed and made sail in company as above. 23rd.—P.M. As we drew nearer to Bastia, three quarters of a mile from shore, the water deepened from 15 to 16 fathoms, then within gun-shot of the town. At quarter past 12, the guns from the camp and a battery above it, opened upon us, which we returned. At half past 12 the forts of Bastia opened upon us with shot and shells—we returned the fire, and laid our main topsail to the mast, and engaged the fortifications; the Romulus and Tartar in the Line. At 2, being past the town, made the signal to discontinue the Action, and haul off. The Tisiphone joined company. At 4 fresh breezes — the Tisiphone parted company. Although the Ship was struck several times by their shot in her hull, not one man was either killed or wounded — the Frigate, Cutter, and Gun-Boat, in company. (Vide vol. i. p. 359.) 24th.—Boarded a Ragusa Brig, which came out of Bastia bound to Tunis, who informed us that our shot had done much damage to the town and killed several people. 25th.—P.M. At half past 12 the forts of Bastia opened their fire upon us with shot and shells, many of which burst very near us, and shook the Ship. At 1 P.M. not within gun-shot. At 4 wore. At 10 minutes past, hauled on a wind to annoy the Enemy, then at work on a new battery. At 25 minutes past 4 left off firing, and secured the guns —the Enemy then firing shot and shells at us. At half past 5 tacked in shore, Bastia W.N.W. ½ N. distance 6 miles — the Admiral and Squadron in sight bearing E. b. N. (Vide vol. i. p. 359.) 26th.—P.M. Joined company with Victory and 4 Frigates. *March* 19th.—Anchored in Martello Bay; found at anchor here the Victory and the rest of Lord Hood's Squadron. 25th.—Weighed and came to sail—proceeded off Bastia. *April* 1st.—Out barge, the Captain went on shore. Sent the Guard-boats in shore. 2nd.—Saw the Gun-Boats firing into the Town of Bastia. Joined H. M. Ships Victory, Princess Royal, and Fortitude. 3rd.—Gun-Boats cannonading the Town. 8 A.M. Bore up for Lord Hood. At half past 10 the Guard Boats returned. At 11 shortened sail—the Town of Bastia N. ½ W. distance 3 or 4 miles, distance off shore 1 mile. Found at anchor H. M. Ships Victory, Princess Royal, Alcide, Egmont, Fortitude, Inconstant, Tartar, La Fortuna, and Swallow, with Transports, &c. P.M. Came on board part of the 69th Regiment with tents and baggage—the people employed making sand-bags. At half-past 1 weighed and made sail.

The Log from the 5th of April to the 23rd of May relates to the siege of Bastia, which is fully described in Captain Nelson's Journal and Letters. (Vol. i. pp. 380—399.) The following extracts afford, however, some additional particulars. On the 3rd of *April* "Lord Hood hoisted the Truce Flag and sent a boat into Bastia. At half-past 9 the signal to recommence hostilities." There is no notice in the Log of the Flag of Truce being sent in on the 8th, as stated in Vol. i. p. 394. *May* 16th.—"The Admiral hoisted the Blue Flag at the main. Admiral Goodall hoisted ditto at the fore, and saluted Lord Hood's Flag." 19th.—At 3 the Admiral hoisted a Flag of Truce. At half past 5 the Enemy sent out a Flag of Truce to the Admiral. (Vide vol. i. p. 396.) 22nd.—At half past 5

the Troops marched to the different batteries southwards and took possession of them. 23rd.—At daylight saw the English colours flying on the Citadel. Having received on board Troops, ammunition, &c., on *June* 7th, weighed in company with the Admiral and Squadron. 9th.—Joined company Admiral Hotham, with 9 sail of the Line, and 1 Frigate. 10th.—P.M. Bore up from the Fleet, as did the Courageux. 11th.—Anchored off Bastia, embarking Troops from Bastia on board Transports. P.M. Weighed with the Convoy. 15th.—Anchored in Martello Bay. 16th.—Weighed with the Convoy. 17th.—Anchored in Porto Galere. 19th.—Landed the Troops and Seamen, guns, provisions, tents, &c. 21st. —Agamemnon was driven to sea in a gale of wind, and anchored in the evening in Martello Bay, where Lord Hood and several Ships were lying. 22nd.—Weighed and made sail. 25th.—Anchored in Galere Bay—landed howitzers, &c.

From the 26th of June to the 10th of August, at the Siege of Calvi, but the Log, during that time, contains few statements of any interest.

July 1st.—At 11 the Enemy hoisted a white Flag under the National one: the batteries ceased firing. 3rd.—"The Truce Flag flying in the Citadel," and the afternoon the Agamemnon parted from her anchors, and bore up for St. Fiorenzo, and was followed by the Victory. 7th.—Up anchor and made sail in company with the Victory, three Frigates, and several Transports. *August* 10th.—Anchored at Calvi—saw the Troops march into Calvi. 12th.—The Captain, Officers, and seamen came on board from the batteries. 15th.—Weighed. 16th.—Anchored in St. Fiorenzo Bay. 17th.—Weighed, and 18th anchored at Leghorn. 31st.—Anchored here H. M. Ships Victory, Britannia, and Captain. *September* 9th.—The Physician of the Fleet came on board and surveyed the ship's company; found them unfit to serve, being in a very weak state. 18th.—Weighed in company with the Victory, Britannia, and a Frigate. 19th.—Anchored in Genoa Mole. 23rd.—Anchored here H. M. Ships Victory and Britannia. 28th.—Made sail from Genoa Mole, in company with the Victory. 30th.—Parted company with the Admiral. *October* 1st.—At 10 hauled in shore after a Brig near Cape Martin. At half past 11 hove-to in the Bay of Cape Martin—hoisted the barge and pinnace—armed them to board the chase, who towed close under the Fort of Cape Martin—the Fort opened their fire upon us, but did not strike us—the boats employed towing the Ship out of the Bay. 2nd.—Joined the Admiral and Fleet of 11 Sail of the Line. —P.M. We made the signal for 4 sail in the N.W.—the Admiral made our signal to chase—wore ship, and made all sail. At half past 5 made the signal that the chase was an Enemy. At 6 the signal to call us into the Fleet. Shortened sail and hauled upon a wind to join the Admiral. 3rd.—At half-past 5 the Enemy's Ships anchored in Gourjean Bay, bore N.E. b. ½ E. distance 12 or 13 miles. 11th.—The Victory joined the Fleet, Lord Hood made our signal for the Captain. At 3 P.M. the Victory parted company. 18th.—Wore ship, made sail, and parted from the Fleet. 20th.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads. 31st.—Weighed. *November* 3rd.—Joined the Fleet—Cape Garoupe N.W. b. W. 5 or 6 leagues distance. P.M. Parted from the Fleet. 5th.—Saw 14 Sail of the Enemy's Ships at anchor in the inner Road of Toulon, and 8 in the outer Road, and the 7 Transports (detained), with English Ensigns, and the Truce Flag flying. (Vide vol. i. pp. 301—304.) 10th.—P.M. Anchored in Martello Bay, Corsica, and found the Fleet there. 12th.—Up anchor and made sail. 13th.—Anchored in Leghorn. 22nd.—Got out the mizen mast. Saluted Lord Longford with 11 guns on his coming on board and on leaving the ship. *December* 3rd.—Got out the main mast. 11th.—Came in the Fleet under the command of Lord Hotham. 12th to 15th.—Employed in getting in the main and mizen masts, &c. 21st.—Weighed with the Fleet. 23rd.—Off Cape Sepet.

January 9th, 1795.—Anchored in Fiorenzo Bay with the Fleet. 15th.—P.M. Heard guns fired in the inner harbour for all boats to attend a ship in distress. 16th.—A.M. Saw the Berwick dismasted. *February* 7th.—Weighed with the Fleet. 24th.—Anchored at Leghorn, as did the Fleet. *March* 9th.—All the Fleet under weigh. P.M. The Meleager made the signal for seeing the Enemy's Fleet. Cape Corse, S.W. 5 or 6 leagues. At ½ past 7 the Admiral made the signal for being near the Enemy. 10th.—A.M. At ½ past 8 the signal to bring to, and at the same time for all Admirals to repair on board the Commander-in-

Chief. At 20 minutes past noon the signal for a general chase N.W. At ½ past 5 the signal to leave off chasing. 12th.—At 6 A.M. the Egmont made the signal for a strange Fleet. At 8 the Egmont made the signal for seeing the Enemy's Fleet to the southward. At 9 the Princess Royal made the signal to close round the Admiral. At 10 ditto to form ahead or astern of the Admiral, as most convenient. At Noon, in a line with the Princess Royal, bearing down to join the Fleet. Genoa N.N.W. 7 or 8 leagues.

(For the Agamemnon's Log from Noon on the 12th, to Noon on the 14th of March, 1795, Vide vol. ii. pp. 463, 464.)

14th—P.M. The Action continuing from the centre to the rear of our Fleet—the carpenters and seamen repairing our damages. Found we had only six men and the Master wounded this day. At 2 the Enemy passed our Line to the westward. Came on board from the Ca Ira, 1 Lieutenant and 30 seamen, captured in His Majesty's Ship Berwick, on the 7th inst., off Cape Corse. 15th.—A.M. Light airs and clear—fresh breezes—saw the Admiral hoist 4 lights and fire 4 guns—the Princess Royal E.N.E. ½ a mile. Sent an Officer and a party of men on board Le Censeur to assist clearing away the wreck. Cape Delle Melle W.N.W. 8 or 9 leagues; our carpenters stopping shot-holes in the ship's sides between wind and water. The Ca Ira, entirely dismasted, dropping in shore, 3 leagues from the centre of the Fleet. P.M. Le Censeur in tow. 18th.—A.M. At ½ past 4 the stream cable and hawser gave way, the Prize parted company. P.M. Anchored in Port Especia. Le Censeur came to an anchor, and the Fleet came in and anchored. 25th.—Weighed. Took Le Censeur in tow. Fleet in company. 27th.—Anchored in Martello Bay. The town of St. Fiorenzo fired a feu de joie, which the Admiral returned. *April* 13th.—Came on board Lieutenant Charles Pierson, 69th Regiment. 18th.—Weighed, as did the Fleet. 24th.—Came into the Fleet, the Guiscardo, a Neapolitan Line-of-Battle Ship, and 2 Frigates—Cape Corse S.W. b. S. 7 or 8 leagues. 27th.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads, as did the Fleet. *May* 9th.—Weighed, as did the Fleet. From that day, until about June 22nd with the Fleet off Minorca. *June* 11th.—Came into the Fleet and saluted the Admiral, the Samnite, a Neapolitan 74 gun ship. Noon, Mahon N.W. ½ W. 8 or 9 miles. 14th.—Came into the Fleet, H. M. Ships Cumberland (Rear-Admiral Man), Victory, Gibraltar, Audacious, Defence, Culloden, Line-of-Battle Ships; Southampton Frigate, and Comet Fire-Ship. (Vide vol. ii. p. 39.) 19th.—Anchored in Martello Bay, Corsica, as did the Fleet. *July* 4th.—Came on board James Summers, 4th Lieutenant, and Cornwall Reynolds, Surgeon. Left the Ship, being invalided, Wenman Allison, 2nd Lieutenant, and Edward Chetham, 5th Lieutenant. P.M. At 7 weighed, the boats of the Division towing us out, in company with the Mozelle, Ariadne, Meleager, and Mutine. 7th.—P.M. Cape Delle Melle N. b. W. 6 or 7 leagues. Twenty-three sail of the Enemy's Fleet in sight—bearing W.N.W. At 50 minutes past 4 made the signal to call in all cruizers. Ditto for the Meleager to come within hail. At ½ past 5 repeated ditto. At half past 6 ditto for the Mozelle to come within hail. At 7 the body of the French Fleet N.W. 5 or 6 leagues, several sail in chase of us. At 11 the (*sic*) of the Enemy's Ships astern coming fast up with the Mozelle. 8th.—A.M. At ¾ past 4 made the signal for the Mozelle to tack, one of the Enemy's Frigates coming fast up with her. At ¾ past 6 made the signal for the Meleager to keep more ahead. At 20 minutes past 7 began firing signal guns to our Fleet in St. Fiorenzo. At half past 7 made the Meleager's signal to alter course two points to starboard. At 8 for ditto to repeat signals—4 sail bearing N.W. b. N. in chase of us. At 8 Cape Corse S.E. b. S. 5 or 6 leagues, standing in for St. Fiorenzo Bay. At ½ past 9 the Enemy left off chase, and tacked with their heads to the westward. From 8 to 10 nearly calm. At Noon Cape Corse E. b. N. 7 or 8 miles. (Vide vol. ii. pp. 49, 50.) The Agamemnon then joined the Fleet. 12th.—P.M. At ¾ past 6 our signal to look out during the night. At 7 the signal to prepare for Action—cleared ship and beat to quarters. 13th.—At day-light the Enemy's Fleet bearing E.N.E., distance 4 or 5 leagues. At ½ past 6 our signal to join the Fleet. The Isle de Levant 6 or 7 leagues. At ½ past 7 the signal for a general chase. At 8 coming up with the rear Ships of the Enemy's Fleet. At ½ past 9 the signal to engage the Enemy as coming up with them. At Noon, Cape Fregus N. b. W. 3 leagues. At ½ past ditto began to engage; the centre and rear of our

Fleet at a great distance—the Victory and Culloden began the Action. P.M. Light airs and clear—the wind variable, from W.S.W. to S.S.E. At 8 minutes before 1 P.M. the Admiral made the Captain's signal No. 60. At 20 min. before 2 one of the Enemy's Ships struck her colours. At ½ past 2 the signal to discontinue the Action—at the same time perceived the Ship which had struck to be on fire in the fore-top; and at ½ past 3 she blew up—the boats of the Fleet employed taking up the prisoners from the wreck. At 8 the Isle de Levant, W. ½ S. 5 or 6 leagues. Sent two carpenters on board the Victory to assist repairing her damages—light airs and clear. 14th—A.M. Ditto weather—careened ship to stop a shot-hole between wind and water—the sail-makers employed repairing the sails, the people splicing and repairing the rigging. (Vide vol. ii. pp. 50, 53.) 15th.—Noon, anchored in Martello Bay. 16th.—Weighed in company with the Ariadne, &c. 17th.—P.M. Anchored at Genoa.

A VERY BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE VADO CAMPAIGN, FOR THE PERUSAL OF SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B., and another Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

On the 3rd of July 1795, Admiral Hotham received letters from Mr. Brame, His Majesty's Consul at Genoa, enclosing one from General de Vins, telling him that the Austrian Army had taken possession of Vado, and requesting a co-operation; and that the French Fleet were returned into Toulon. On the 4th I sailed, with a small Squadron, from St. Fiorenzo. On the 6th fell in with the French Fleet; and it was not till after the Action of July 13th that I sailed again for the Coast of Genoa. My orders were, to confer with Mr. Drake, His Majesty's Minister at Genoa, on such points as might be essential towards co-operating with General de Vins. I anchored in Genoa Mole on July 18th, and sailed with Mr. Drake on the 20th. On the 21st I anchored in Vado Bay, where we met Mr. Trevor, His Majesty's Minister to the Court of Turin, and had an immediate conference with General de Vins[9].

[Captain Nelson here quoted the passage in his Letter to Admiral Hotham, of the 22nd of July, 1795, relating to General de Vins, in vol. ii. p. 58.]

The 25th, the Cutter carried the Generals to look at the Enemy's Advanced Post at Borgetta. From my arrival to the first week in August, the General never seemed to doubt

[9] Friday, *July* 17th, 1795. P.M. At half-past 5 anchored in Genoa Mole; found riding here, La Vestale and La Brune, French Frigates, and two Brigs, the Scout and Alert, and a Spanish Sloop of War. 20th.—Weighed with the Squadron. 21st.—Anchored in Vado Bay; saluted the Minister with 13 guns on his landing, and the Austrian Fort with 17 guns. P.M. Saluted General de Vins, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Army on shore, with 15 guns on his coming on board, and the same number on his leaving the ship. The Squadron came in and anchored. (Vide vol. ii. pp. 57, 59.) 23rd.—Weighed, as did the Squadron. P.M. Sent the Barge into Genoa; saluted the Minister with 13 guns on his leaving the Ship. —*Agamemnon's Log.*

his ability to drive the French out of the whole Riviera of Genoa, and even of taking Nice itself. But he always expressed his wish to have a conference with Admiral Hotham, whom I had always reason to assure him, would, on his arrival from off Toulon, anchor in Vado Bay. On the 14th of August our Fleet was in sight to the Westward; and on the 15th I received letters from the Admiral, telling me he could not at present anchor in Vado Bay, as the Fleet was in want of wood, but that he should return from Leghorn in a very few days to water in Vado. In the evening I went on board the Admiral, to endeavour to induce the Admiral to stop for a few hours, as General de Vins was very anxious to see him, and would come on board to concert a plan of operation with him; but the Admiral did not think it right to stop, and proceeded to Leghorn. The General seemed much hurt, and requested of me to get clear answers from the Admiral to the following questions, viz.:

Will the Admiral return to Vado from Leghorn?

Ans. Uncertain; but I rather think I shall not have an opportunity of returning there, owing to the intelligence I have received from the Admiralty, which renders my presence immediately necessary at another place.

Ques. Will the Admiral assist, and cover, the landing of from six to ten thousand men on the Coast of Provence?

Ans. It will not be in my power so to do, on account of the Fleet being required for another service, as stated in the preceding answer.

Ques. Will the Admiral undertake to prevent the Toulon Fleet from molesting my operations?

From this time, August 19th, to the end of the month, the General was taken up in examining the Enemy's posts, and, as I thought, preparing for an attack[1].

August 21st. Extract of a letter from Mr. Jackson, His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Turin, in the absence of Mr. Trevor, viz.,—

'I was truly sorry to see that Admiral Hotham could not go into Vado Bay; for, though I am persuaded that the reasons alleged

[1] *July* 24th—P.M. Anchored in Leghorn Roads. 27th.—Careened the ship to stop a shot-hole between wind and water. Mr. M'Arther (the Agent) came on board and paid prize-money for the Virge del Merio, captured in September 1793. 28th.—Weighed—2 Frigates in company. *August* 1st.—Noon, anchored in Vado Bay. 9th.—Weighed. 10th.—Anchored in Vado Bay. 12th.—Made the signal for all Boats manned and armed, and for the Mutine to weigh. At 5 the Boats of the Squadron left the ship and steered to the Westward. *13th.*—P.M. The Boats returned and brought in a vessel laden with wine, some black pepper, and sundry things, having cut and brought out seven Vessels of different sorts from the Port of Alassio; the Enemy's Gun-boats being of superior force, they were obliged to relinquish six of them. 15th.—A.M. Saw our Fleet in the offing, who were steering for Leghorn.—*Agamemnon's Log.*

are perfectly proper, yet I very much fear it will not be seen with due candour by General de Vins—who, besides, may make it a reason for continuing in his present inactivity, or affect to do so.'

August 22nd.—Mr. Drake arrived to talk with the General, but we could make nothing of his intentions.

September 4th. Extract of a letter from Mr. Jackson;—

'I shall be very glad to see that General de Vins will have stopped your intended cruize off Delle Melle, and have employed your Squadron in some co-operation with his forces, whose inactivity is as unaccountable as it is prejudicial.'

September 8th, from Mr. Drake;—

'I am fully persuaded, from your and my own opinion, respecting the future inactivity of the Austrian Army.'

September 4th.—Not finding the General likely to move, I proceeded down the Coast as far as Nice, and sounded most part of it. On the 7th saw our Fleet standing to the Westward. On the 12th returned to Vado[2], and delivered the Paper marked 1, to General de Vins, to which I received the answer No. 2, which occasioned the letters 3, 4, and 5 to pass between us.

[2] 26th *August*.—Weighed, Squadron in company. At 10 came to an anchor in the Bay of Alassio—got springs on our cable, the fort in the centre of the Town N.W. ½ W. about 3 cables' length distant—made the signal for the Boats of the Squadron to proceed to cut the Vessels out—sent Lieutenant Andrews on board the Résolue French Corvette, to summon her to surrender to His Majesty's Squadron, which she did—cut her adrift and brought her out—made the signal for all boats to assist the Ariadne, she being aground. At noon she got off. P.M. Strong breezes and clear. At quarter-past 12, two sail cast out to sea, and made sail—saw one gun-boat and one other cast out to sea. At 1 P.M. the French Troops opened their fire of musketry on our boats, which were employed cutting-out the Vessels—the Ariadne and Speedy firing at the Enemy to cover the boats of the Squadron employed on that service. At 3 let go the spring and hove into half a cable. At half-past ditto, up anchor and made sail, the Squadron and 9 sail of Prizes in company. At 6 the Meleager, Tartar, and Speedy, parted company. At 7 Cape Noli, N.E. by E. 7 or 8 miles. (Vide vol. ii. p. 72.) 27th.—Anchored in Vado Bay. 29th.—Employed getting the two Gallies which we brought from Alassio ready to go out on a cruize. P.M. Ditto weather—the Gallies sailed—the launch employed watering. 30th.—A.M. Heavy squalls with a high sea from E.S.E. At half-past 5 came alongside an Austrian privateer, with 4 dead and 8 wounded men, which they brought from our Gallies then at sea—found that the Gallies had fallen in with three Vessels at 9 P.M., one of which they captured, and engaged the other two for three hours, when their ammunition being expended, they were obliged to quit them. The four men killed were Archibald Andrews (Seaman), James Strain and William Landagran (Soldiers), and Wm. Leonard (Seaman), belonging to the Southampton. The Southampton sailed. Interred the bodies on shore. *September* 1st.—Departed this life Dennis Dyer (Seaman) and Mr. William D. Williams (Midshipman), of the wounds they received in the two Gallies. Interred the bodies of the deceased on shore. 5th.—Weighed. At 2 P.M a Gun-boat, a Brig, and the Fort of Oneglia opened their fire upon us as passing along the coast—several shot went over us, but did not strike. At half-past 4 a Gun-boat fired several shot at us, and shot away the spritsail yard—let go the kedge anchor. 6th.—Up anchor and made sail—standing off and on St. Remo. 9th.—P.M. Sent the boats in shore and brought out 2 small boats. 11th.—Anchored in Vado Bay.—*Agamemnon's Log*.

Extract of my letter, September 17th, to Admiral Hotham. —"It has some time appeared to me that the General intends to go no further than his present position, and to lay the blame of the miscarriage of the enterprise against Nice, (which I had always been led to believe was the great object of his Army,) to the non-co-operation of the British Fleet and the Sardinian Army. To leave the General no room to insinuate such a want on our part has been the object of my paper of the 12th, and my letter of the 17th. If the General's answer should be the desire of Transports, I think we have them. A passage of twenty-four hours is the outside, but I own I believe he will now find other excuses; and was you to grant the whole Fleet for Transports, I verily believe some excuse would be found. This, Sir, is my public opinion, and which I wish not to conceal[3]."

September 19th.—Received (5) from General de Vins: wrote Admiral Hotham by express (6). Mr. Drake has the Admiral's answer; but the purport of it was, that, on consultation with the Flag-Officers of the Fleet, he had refused the co-operation as a wild scheme. This answer, on consultation with Mr. Drake, was never communicated to General de Vins, nor did he ever ask for it.

September 23rd, from Mr. Drake;—

'General de Vins' excuse about the Court of Turin having made Peace is a mere pretext. To leave him no loop-hole, I have written to him to-day, to assure him, personally and ministerially, that it is not true, and you are fully at liberty to repeat to the General, in the strongest manner, these assurances from me.'

From Mr. Trevor, September 25th;—

'Every day since I first had the honour of seeing you has been marked by some fresh proof of your zeal and ability. Had it been equally seconded by land, much might have been, and still may be done, though I cannot help seeing the proposition made to you on the 14th exactly in the same light that you do. We must all of us act as if we thought differently, and take care to leave no pretext which can be laid at our door. If the troubles in the interim do not cut out work for the Troops at home, I am of opinion that the most vigorous efforts will be made to recover Vado.'

From Mr. Trevor, October 8th;—

'I am glad you kept the Admiral's answer secret. It was, however, on the whole, I think, favourable, since it appears that, but for the Messenger from the Admiralty, your application would have been complied with. But, before any actual execution be given to it, we should be assured that the General was in earnest, when he made the proposition. Till then, I conceive, all we have to do is

[3] This passage is printed in vol. ii. p. 84, from Clarke and M'Arthur's "Life of Lord Nelson," but not accurately.

to tell him (that is, as soon as the Admiral authorizes you and Mr. Drake to do so), that we are ready to execute our Naval share of the business, whenever he pleases, and I trust Mr. Drake will succeed in making the Admiral feel the necessity of his really co-operating with zeal in whatever can be attempted, and of taking away every pretext which the Austrians are so ready to seize, to cover their own abominable action. With respect to their being driven from Vado, I think the Enemy will make every effort to do so. I think their present Army must be drilled, in order to force General de Vins. I still think, however, that the French will attempt it, if possible; and that if they do, no very vigorous resistance will be made.'

From Mr. Drake, October 26th, Genoa;—

'I returned hither from my military excursion on Friday. I intended to have gone from Turin to Savona; but I was so fully persuaded, from everything I heard and saw during my tour, that there is no hope of stimulating the Austrian General to any active operations during the Campaign, that I thought it better to return to Genoa. I shall be very anxious to hear the result of your visit to the Admiral, and I hope he will have adopted your proposition.'

The object of my visit was to ask the Admiral to give me two Seventy-four gun Ships, and as many Transports as he had in Leghorn, with the Camel and Dolphin, to have carried the 10,000 men as desired; but the Admiral did not think it right to send a Ship, but reduced my force, and ordered me, in addition, always to undertake the reconnoitering the Port of Toulon[4]. On the 1st [3rd of November], I chased a very large Convoy into Alassio; and by the 8th they were increased to full 100 Sail, including Gun-Boats, and other Vessels of War; but they were too well protected for me to make any attempt with my small Squadron. On the 10th, the French took the Austrian Post at Voltri. On the 11th it was re-taken. On the 12th, the French were making every attempt for a most vigorous and bold attempt to establish themselves between Voltri and Savona, in a strong Post, and were in hopes of causing an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry. My presence was required at Genoa to prevent this Expedition by Mr. Drake, the Austrian Minister, and by the Austrian General commanding at Vado. On the 13th I went to Genoa, and was kept there, contrary to my inclination, till after the defeat of the Austrian Army,

[4] *September* 15th.—Weighed and anchored in Genoa Mole; found riding here La Vestale and La Brune Frigates, and La Scout and l'Alert Brigs, belonging to the French Republic, with several Privateers. 19th.—A.M. Weighed, and at 6 P.M. anchored in Vado Bay. 20th.—P.M. Weighed and made sail, with the two small gallies in tow. 24th.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads. 28th.—Weighed. 30th.—Anchored in Vado Bay. *October* 12th.—Weighed. 16th.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads; found Admiral Hotham and the Squadron at an anchor here.—*Agamemnon's Log.*

November 23rd. However, I have this consolation that to the Agamemnon's staying at Genoa do many thousands of Austrians owe their safety, by the pass of the Borgetta being kept open, and, among others, does General de Vins himself owe his safety to the Agamemnon.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BARON DE VINS.

[From a Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Vado Bay, October 2nd, 1795.

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date, and beg you to be assured that the security of your Army from any attacks by sea, is never neglected by me. The news from Genoa is too romantic to give a serious consideration to. His Excellency Mr. Drake, from whose situation at the Head-Quarters of your Excellency's Army, I am obliged to communicate all my movements, will inform you of the disposition I have made of my Sovereign's Squadron, intrusted to my directions. Believe me to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF HIS SICILIAN MAJESTY'S GALLIES AT SAVONA.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Road, November 16th, 1795.

From the present very critical situation of affairs at this place, I must request that although you remain in the Mole of Savona, that you will order the Galleys and Feluccas to be ready for service at a moment's notice. From the flagrant breach of neutrality which the French have been allowed to commit, it is more necessary, perhaps, to be on our guard against what may be done from the Port of Genoa, than from a Port of the French. I am, Sir, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO CAPTAIN MIDDLETON, OR SENIOR CAPTAIN OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AT VADO.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Roads, November 17th, 1795.

The situation of affairs here is now so very uncertain from day to day, as to render it improper for this Port to be left without a superior force to what the French can fit out. I have therefore to desire that if Meleager and Dido, with the two Cutters arrive, that you will immediately dispatch a Frigate and Cutter to this place, and hold yourself and Prize

ready to proceed to Leghorn the moment I may join you. It is hardly possible for me to tell you the schemes of the French to annoy the Austrians; but this I am certain, that if I had not arrived here at the time I fortunately did, that a very large party would have taken post between Voltri and Savona. The Brune is now hauled into the Inner Mole, and inside many Merchant Ships, as also the Privateers, and Vessels which they had hired. The object was—in which, I fear, they had support from some Genoese, if not from the Government—to force General de Vins to have sent so many men from his advanced posts to have combated what would then have been a shadow, by which means the French might have made a successful attack on his posts, and the Austrians have been driven out of the Riviera. Nothing has saved this Army but the British Squadron. I cannot move till I get some of our Squadron here. I am laying at single anchor outside the Mole-Head.

I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

If any your superior Officer should arrive, you will please to communicate to him this letter. I have the pleasure to assure you that the French Army is not only totally defeated on the Rhine, but that, as an army, it is totally destroyed. All the cannon and baggage are in possession of the victors. Yesterday assured us that Manheim was taken, and 25,000 men prisoners: to-day that Mayence has fallen. I have seen the letters. All in that quarter is successful.

TO CAPTAIN MIDDLETON, OR THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS IN VADO BAY.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa, November 19th, 1795.

Sir Hyde Parker has told me that Meleager, Dido, and two Cutters are coming to join me. If they are arrived, or when they do arrive, I would have you proceed as expeditiously as possible with your Prize to Leghorn, and you will rejoin me in as short a time as possible. Some papers which I got from the Master of the Brig, I shall forward to Leghorn by the post, and from what the Master has said, I have no doubt as to the cargo, and but very little that the hull is absolutely French property. I told the Master to declare the truth before the Commissioners at Leghorn, and that if, from his declaration, the Vessel and cargo were made prizes of, that the Captors would make up his loss of voyage, by giving him £200 sterling. This is only conditional, that both Vessel and cargo are condemned in consequence of his

telling the truth. An Expedition is fitting out here for some purpose. I cannot quit the Port for the present. Manheim has surrendered, and 20,000 men prisoners of war. All the French train of artillery, stores, and clothing are taken, and the total loss of the French is more than 50,000 men. I am, Sir, yours very faithfully. HORATIO NELSON.

I cannot get the Neapolitan Feluccas to go down. You will see I wrote you some days past. I have wrote the Commander of the Gallies that he must keep his Vessels in readiness for service, in the present very critical situation of affairs.

TO CAPTAIN MIDDLETON, OR THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS IN VADO BAY.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa, November 19th, 1795.

I am to desire, immediately on the receipt of this letter, that you will direct the Speedy Brig, or one of the Cutters or Frigates, if any of them are in Vado, to join me in this Port, with all possible expedition, as I want them for service of the greatest importance. If the Inconstant is at Vado, I have orders for Captain Fremantle, and desire the Inconstant may come to me without loss of time. I am here by no means pleasantly situated. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

N.B.—A Cutter, in preference to any other Vessel, to be sent me.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HYDE PARKER.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is given in vol. ii. p. 103.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Road, November 20th, 1795.

Upon consultation with his Excellency Mr. Drake, I have determined on sending a Vessel to you, with the enclosed reports of the state of the Ships in Toulon. It is needless for me to make any further observation on their contents, than that if the Enemy's Squadron come on this Coast, and land from three to four thousand men between Genoa and Savona, I am assured that either the whole Austrian Army will be defeated, or they must instantly retreat into Piedmont, and abandon their artillery and stores. We are well acquainted with the French plans, and of the well-founded expectation they have of raising an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry, in a particular valley between this and Vado. I have not (which probably you know) been on former occasions back-

ward in representing to Admiral Hotham my thoughts, that at one time or other, the French would make a push on this Coast, and my wishes for a reinforcement of two 74-gun Ships, and that the Frigates should not be diminished; the latter, I am sorry to say, is done.

The extraordinary events which have taken place here, and the Expedition which would now sail from this Port, was I to withdraw the Agamemnon[5], will render it a measure of necessity always to keep a superior force to the French at this place, with orders to attack the Enemy, if they presume to sail. They have broke the Neutrality, and the Genoese have not called on me for my word to respect it. They are fully aware (I think) what my answer must be. Should the French Squadron come into Genoa, the debarkation can take place round the Lanthern at St. Pierre d'Arena. The Genoese have not the means of preventing it, and the safety of the Agamemnon becomes very precarious.

The Government, two nights ago, ordered a guard of forty men for Mr. Drake's house, about five miles from Genoa, as they were fearful for his personal safety. I believe they intend to recommend his residing in the Town, but which Mr. Drake is determined not to do. I have taken the liberty of breaking open the Rendezvous which you sent for Captain Fremantle, and I am, with great respect, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

[5] 20th *October*.—Weighed. 23rd.—P.M. Cape Garoupe, N.W. b. W. about 2 miles. The Fort fired two shot at us—Flora in company. 25th.—Off Toulon. 26th.—Off Marseilles. 29th.—P.M. Saw a Tartan in shore—made sail, and stood in after her—fired three shot at the chase, and brought her to. She proved to be French, laden with 70 barrels of powder, and 1036 six-pound shot—sent the boats manned and armed after two Tartans, then in shore—the boats returned with one laden with flour and bacon. The Flora joined company, with a Danish Brig from Cette, bound to Hamburgh. *November* 3rd.—A.M. Fired a gun at a strange sail, who not bringing to, fired several shot at her, and musketry. She then brought-to—sent the Cutter with a Lieutenant and six men on board her. At 4 ditto weather, reefed top-sails—the main and mizen top-sail split in several places. At daylight saw several Vessels in shore, who would not bring-to—fired several shot at them—the Vessels chased saved themselves in the Bays of Alassio and Languila. At noon, Cape Noli N.N.E. ½ E. 4 or 5 leagues—found that after boarding the Vessel the Cutter swamped—lost William Rolf (Seaman). P.M. Strong gale of wind with a high sea from the S.W.—in chase of a Brig—the Prize at some distance in shore. At 3 the Prize carried away her foremast—saw a French Gun-boat rowing out from Alassio to attack her—sent the boats manned and armed to her assistance. At 4 the sea running very high from the S.W., the ship labouring very much—carried away our mizen top-mast, split the jib, mizen top-mast staysail, main top-gallant sail, and mizen top-sail. At 7 took the Prize in tow—hoisted in the barge and pinnace and made sail. At 11 the yawl astern swamped, and was lost with all her furniture, not being able to hoist her in. Prize in tow. 5th.—Anchored in Vado Bay. 13th.—Weighed and made sail along shore to the eastward. P.M. Anchored in Genoa Mole. 17th.—Hove up the anchor and made sail from Genoa—the Neapolitan and Sicilian Gallies and Austrian Privateers sailed from Genoa for Leghorn.—*Agamemnon's Log*.

November 21st.—I am sorry to add that I have received letters from Leghorn, telling me that the Moselle is not arrived there; and as she left Vado thirteen days ago for Leghorn, I am, from her very bad state, under some apprehensions for her safety. The Speedy Brig is also missing seventeen days; but our weather is so extremely bad in this Gulf, that Sails, nor Ships, or people can remain at sea for a long time.

This morning, at daylight, the Austrians took possession of the French empty magazines at St. Pierre d'Arena, and their sentinels are now close to the gates of Genoa. Mr. Drake thinks General de Vins has done wrong in doing it. He demanded satisfaction and payment of the Genoese Government, and, without waiting for their answer, has taken satisfaction himself. Had the General done so at first, he would have found full magazines, instead of empty ones. By his conduct he has liberated the Genoese from their difficulties: things here are so changeable, that I cannot guess what may happen to-morrow. You may be assured I shall pursue a steady moderate line of conduct. H. N.

Peace is the univeral cry, as the King went to Parliament. This comes through France.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR. DRAKE.

[Autograph in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

My dear Sir, Genoa, November 22nd, 1795.

If the letter of Lord Grenville (which I suppose it must, by its being directed to you to inquire into) is intended to convey an insinuation or suspicion, on his part, of the infamous and scandalous behaviour of the conduct of myself, or His Majesty's Officers under my orders[c], I must request you will favour me with an official copy of his Lordship's letter, and also an attested translation of the Paper sent with it, that I may have an opportunity of expressing my sentiments on the villanous Paper sent, and also on his Lordship's suspicions, which must hurt my feelings so much, that unless I can clear myself to your Excellency in the first instance, as the first step towards convincing His Majesty that I am an Officer that has ever pursued the road of honour, very different from that to wealth, I shall humbly request that my Admiral will recall me from a Command which for a moment I am thought unworthy to fill. If you do not come to Town, Mr. Brame and myself will be with you at ten o'clock. I am, dear Sir, your much injured

HORATIO NELSON.

[c] Vide vol. ii. p. 103.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HYDE PARKER.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Two short passages of this Letter are in vol. ii. p. 111.]

Sir, Agamemnon, at Sea, December 2nd, 1795.

Although from circumstances I have reason to believe that you are acquainted that Vado is in possession of the French, yet I think it my duty to acquaint you of as much of the matter as I know. Reports say the Speedy Brig went into Vado, as also a Frigate, and three Merchant-Ships; therefore, as I have seen none of them, which I own I am a little surprised at, I take for granted they are returned to St. Fiorenzo. Mr. Drake and myself hired a Vessel at Genoa to carry dispatches to you, and I took the liberty to break open Captain Fremantle's letter, to find out where the Fleet was. The purport of my letter was to send you a Report of the state of the Ships in Toulon, the certainty of the intended debarkation between Genoa and Savona, and a letter from Mr. Drake. I directed the Master of the Vessel, if he fell in with any Ships of ours, to deliver the dispatches to him. If not, to deliver them to the Consul at Mahon. Not having any Ships with me, I had it not in my power to prevent the Enemy's Gun-Boats from annoying the flank of the Austrian Army, which I am given to understand the Generals mean to make the most of. However, I am satisfied, as is I believe, the whole Army, that I have done everything in my power to render them assistance. My being at Genoa, by the requisition of the General at Vado, the Imperial Minister, the Colonel commanding the Troops at St. Pierre d'Arena, and of Mr. Drake, although contrary to my wishes, has fortunately been the means of saving about eight or ten thousand Austrians, and most probably of De Vins himself, who came the road which, but for my prevention, would have been in possession of the French. I assure you, Sir, I never more regretted not being able to divide the Agamemnon. General Wallis is retreated to Ormea, with about 10,000 men; this is all, we know, that are collected; for the Troops from Vado, Savona, and on the Coast between Savona and Genoa, ran away, I am told, in the utmost confusion, and are gone towards Milan.

I am sorry to say I have a Lieutenant, two Midshipmen, and sixteen men taken in the Town of Savona[7], which the

[7] 29th *November*.—At noon, Savona, N. b. W. ½ W. 3 or 4 miles—Sent the jolly boat with a Lieutenant and Midshipman to Savona on duty. P.M. At 6 finding the jolly boat was detained, bore up. 30th.—P.M. Sent a boat with an Officer on shore at Genoa on duty. Three quarters past 4, the boat returned. Made sail, the Meleager in company. *December* 1st.—AP.M. At 2 anchored off Genoa Mole. At quarter past 4 weighed and made sail—the Meleager parted company.—*Agamemnon's Log.*

French before did not take possession of, nor did the Austrians. The Guns in the Batteries at Vado were spiked, but I suppose they will soon be cleared again. I was in Vado Bay on the 29th November, and saw the French in full possession. Meleager joined me on the 30th, at night, and I have directed Captain Cockburn to cruise off Vado, to prevent any of our Ships from going in, and to perform such other services as, on consultation with Mr. Drake, may be most for His Majesty's Service. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, G.C.B.

6th *December*.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads. 29th.—Arrived H. M. Ships Barfleur (Admiral Waldegrave), Blanche Frigate, Peterell Sloop, and Convoy, from England.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Sir, Agamemmon, Leghorn Roads, December 8th, 1795.

As I find that the Lowestoffe and her Convoy are safe, for the protection of whom I left Meleager to cruise off Vado Bay, of course the object is at an end: therefore I beg leave to acquaint you where she will be found, whenever you think proper to send for her. I also beg leave to observe that two or three Vessels in the Port of Genoa will be unloaded, and wishing for a Convoy to Leghorn, and that the Meleager, if you please, can perform that service. The Brune Frigate and several stout Privateers are at Genoa. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 121.]

Sir, Leghorn Roads, December 21st, 1795.

I cannot allow the Lively to have a chance of falling in with you, without telling you of our state. We are getting on very fast with our caulking; our head is secured; our rigging nearly overhauled; and our other matters in as great a state of forwardness as I could expect at this season of the year; I hope by the first week in January, the Agamemnon will be as fit for sea, as a rotten Ship can be.

I have wrote to Genoa, directing Captain Cockburn to take the Ships in that Port under his protection to Leghorn; but should they, from any change of circumstances, not wish to leave Genoa, then to join me here by the 31st of Decem-

ber, when I shall order him to be ready for sea. By letters from Mr. Drake, December 8th, at Milan, it appears that the French, after having attempted to get into the plain of Piedmont, in which they failed, had retired into winter-quarters. The defeat of General de Vins' Army, and also General Colli's being forced from Venice on the 28th November, had thrown the Court of Turin into the greatest consternation, and had nearly produced offers of Peace to the Enemy, which must have been disadvantageous to His Sardinian Majesty. However, their fears are now, I hope, quieted. The loss of the Austrian Army is not yet ascertained, but it is supposed to exceed 4,500 men, killed, wounded, and deserters. The oldest Officers of the Army assure Mr. Drake they never have been witnesses to so total a defeat. General Wallis has 18,000 men with him, and stragglers are joining their corps very fast: he is near Acqui, in a very good position for the defence of Piedmont. I understand that General has wrote to Sir Hyde Parker, since his defeat, but which I hear he is pleased to call a *check*, complaining of a want of co-operation on our parts. I take for granted, neither Sir Hyde or you will fully answer his letter, till I have an opportunity of explaining the whole of my conduct. His Excellency Mr. Drake, His Majesty's Minister at the Head-Quarters of the Army, to whom I always communicated all my proceedings, has borne to Lord Grenville the fullest approbation of my conduct. I shall only trouble you with one observation, which will almost furnish an answer to any letter General Wallis may have written, which is, that the part of the Austrian Army which had to sustain an attack in front, as well as the *terrible fire* of the Gun-boats, was the only part of the Army which was not forced, and the only part which retreated in a body; a proof clear to my mind, that either the Gun-boats did little or no mischief, or that the other parts of the line were not equally well defended. I have wrote to General Wallis to congratulate him, that (under the great misfortune) where he commanded all went well. I have been long on my guard against these gentlemen; and months ago apprised them of what would one day happen; but they believed themselves invincible. My health is but very indifferent, but I hope I shall get better.

Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

I shall not attempt to give you English news. Lord Garlies will tell you more in a minute than I could write in a quire. However, all seems quiet in England.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. pp. 125-6.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, 27th January, 1796.

Yesterday I joined the Meleager and Blanche, but the weather was too bad to have any communication till this morning: there is no appearance of any number of Vessels being collected, from Nice to Genoa, and no Vessel of war; therefore, any large embarkation cannot at present be intended on this Coast. As to a mere plundering party, in a few Feluccas, perhaps it is out of the power of our whole Fleet to prevent it; but I shall do my best. I send the Blanche to Genoa, with letters for Mr. Trevor and Mr. Drake, requesting them to give me all the information in their power, both in respect to the Austrian and Sardinian Armies, as also of the French and of the Toulon Fleet. I shall send or call every week off Genoa for any letters, and to get information. Although I have taken two Vessels loaded with corn to France, whose cargoes will be condemned, if the same policy is held by the Court of England which has hitherto been, yet I am sorry to say two others, from its falling little wind, got under the batteries of Monaco. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

January 14th, 1796.—Anchored here H. M. Ship Zealous, with the corpse of Lord Harvey on board. 16th.—Weighed. 18th.—Noon, saw the Fleet in Fiorenzo Bay. 19th.—Anchored in St. Fiorenzo Bay—manned ship and cheered Sir John Jervis. 21st.—Weighed. 23rd.—A.M. Boarded a Venetian Brig laden with corn bound to France; sent a Midshipman and seven seamen on board, and sent her off for Fiorenzo. 30th.—Anchored in Port Especia.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Sir, Agamemnon, at Sea, January 23rd, 1796.

In the night I stopped a Venetian Vessel, loaded with corn from the Morea, bound to Genoa, but the Master says, to Marseilles, or Nice, which I must believe, as I have taken him to the Westward of Nice, steering N.W. The wind at N.E. He passed between Elba and Corsica, as sufficient proof of his destination, and that his papers are false. If it is right to stop all corn bound to France, he is a good prize; if not, I beg you will order him to be released, and I will take no more. It blows very strong to the N.E. at present, and the Vessel having fell on board us, and carried away her bowsprit, which obliges me to lay to, to endeavour to save his foremast. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

The Master, and Passenger, a Tunisian, declares the papers are false, and that they were only made to pass the English Cruizers, but that the cargo belongs to Tunisians, and is going to France to be sold. The acknowledgment of the papers being false, I hope will be sufficient for condemnation of the cargo.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR, MINISTER AT TURIN.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. A part of this Letter is in vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

February 4th.—Weighed. Blanche in company. 5th.—Anchored in Genoa Mole. 9th.—Up anchor—took a Merchant Ship in tow. 11th.—Cast off the ship we towed from Genoa. P.M. anchored in Leghorn Roads. 12th.—Manned ship and cheered the Commander-in-Chief. 14th.—Weighed and made sail, Blanche in company. 19th.—Off Cape Sicie. 20th, P.M.—Heard several reports of guns in Toulon Harbour. 23rd. A.M.—Stood into Toulon Bay—saw the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 13 sail of the Line, 5 Frigates, 1 Brig (and 2 Ships in the Arsenal, doubtful if of the Line or not). At half-past 10 two Batteries from the shore opened their fire upon us—many shot went over, but none struck us. From 8 to 12 standing in and off shore in Toulon Bay. At noon Cape Sepet N.N.W. 5 or 6 miles. P.M. fresh breezes with rain. At quarter-past noon saw seven sail of our Fleet. At half-past 1 the Fleet joined us—the Forts firing as we passed Cape Sepet—answered the signal for a Midshipman. Came on board, Mr. James M'Arthur as Acting Lieutenant. At 5 made the Blanche's signal to keep company with us. Made sail and parted from the Fleet.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, at Sea, 24th February, 1796.

When I left Genoa the beginning of this month, I went to Leghorn with a Convoy, from whence the Admiral directed me to examine the Port of Toulon, where he was to join me so soon as the Fleet was fitted, which he did yesterday. I had good opportunities of examining, with a seaman's eye, the state of their Ships, as far as outward show goes; and I have no doubt in my mind, but that they are fitting for sea. But I should think it will be near a month before they are out, although with activity, which they do not want on occasion, it may be sooner. Thirteen Sail of the Line, and five Frigates, except having their sails bent, are perfectly ready: some others are masted and are in the Arsenal; but of these I cannot speak from my own knowledge. I am on my passage to Genoa, and hope to hear of intended movements of the Austrian Army towards Vado. I am sure, from Sir John's own mouth, that nothing will be wanting on his part towards an effectual co-operation, consistent with the other services which you so well know are required of an English Admiral; but I can take upon me to say, that Sir John will come to Vado Bay, and future plans may then be better concerted. I cannot help thinking the taking of Vado is a

great object, and it must be done early in the spring, or the Enemy's Fleet may with ease cover a body of Troops in Transports into Italy, which, if we possess, I will venture to say they cannot with their present Fleet. As the Admiral is punctual in answering letters, and has so lately wrote you, I have but little to say. I hear no more of my promotion, and whether the Agamemnon goes home with the first Convoy is not yet certain; but I believe we shall have a Battle before any Convoy sails, and which pray God send; for the event, under so active and good an Admiral, who can doubt of success? I shall keep this open till my arrival at Genoa. At present, we are in a gale of Easterly wind.

Genoa, March 2nd.

I am just arrived, and favoured by your three letters of February 6th, 13th and 18th, for which I am much obliged. From the state of the French at Toulon, if the Admiral had small Vessels, he could not venture to unman his Fleet. I was six days in sight of Toulon; and could each day see a visible getting forward of their Ships.

I sincerely hope our Fleet has not experienced the heavy gale we have lately had. If they have, I should fear some of them are damaged; and in that case we shall certainly have the French Fleet at sea directly; for the Ships seem by no means in bad order. I sincerely hope we shall once more possess Vado. It is the only place which will prevent, in a certain degree, the French from getting plenty of provisions. Believe me, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful Servant, HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. A part of this Letter is in pp. 128, 129.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, at Sea, February 28th, 1796.

After I went to Leghorn with the Ship Hope from Genoa, the Admiral desired me to look into Toulon; for all fears for Massa and Carrara are at an end, and if the Expedition was intended, we have kept it off, till whoever is Sovereign of the Country have had time sufficient to get Troops from Vienna: therefore I trust they do not now look to us for protection; and, if it should be true that the Sovereign will not send any Troops to protect his Dominions, I cannot help thinking they deserve what may happen, for there, or thereabouts, the French will make a landing, if they can get along the Coast. The French have thirteen Sail ready for sea, of the Line, and five Frigates—all but their sails bent. What

they have in the Arsenal I cannot say; but I saw some there, in a state of fitting. Men they are getting—so a Vessel which I spoke from Marseilles told me; but if your emissaries are come back from Toulon, you know better than I do.

The Admiral joined me off Toulon on the 23rd, and took a look at them, and we have been in a heavy gale of wind ever since—Easterly. This trip off Toulon has kept me longer from Genoa than I wished; for every week I purpose having a Frigate call off Genoa for any information you may please to give me. I hope the Austrians will be induced to take again possession of Vado. I am sure it may save the French from penetrating into Italy, by carrying their Troops to Massa, and taking, of course, possession of Port Especia, and, I have no doubt, of Leghorn, which would be a severe blow on the Fleet, and also on Corsica. I can take upon me to say, by the authority of the Admiral, that no co-operation will be wanting on his part, consistent with the necessary services required of the Fleet; and I and Sir John Jervis will be happy to meet and consult with our Allies, for the benefit of the common cause. I think I gave you Admiral Hotham's last answer to General de Vins' requisition for Transports, to land his Troops at St. Fiorenzo. If you meet with it, I shall be obliged to you for it, I shall not finish this letter till my arrival at Genoa.

March 2nd.—After encountering the hardest gale of wind which I have seen since I have been in the Mediterranean, we are arrived, with our stern stove in, and several planks started. I hope to God our Fleet, being further to the Westward, have not had so severe a gale. If they have, I have fears for the consequences.

I am favoured with your letter of the 7th of February, and shall, if possible, every week, have a Frigate in Genoa, in case news of sufficient importance should arrive as to render a communication with the Admiral necessary. Lieutenant Noble is returned here. I feel much obliged by your kind attention towards him, in paying several accounts for him. I am ever, dear Sir, your much obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONOURABLE JOHN TREVOR.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Two inaccurate extracts from this Letter are in vol. ii. p. 133.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Mole, March 4th, 1796, 7 P.M.

I am this moment favoured with your very important letter of February 27th, which I shall as soon as possible

communicate to the Admiral. I sail to-morrow morning from hence for Leghorn, in order to get some of our damages repaired, but I hope to get from thence by Saturday or Sunday next. I am (and I believe the Admiral is) not fully acquainted with the state of Sardinia. Is the whole Island in rebellion, and friendly with the French? Would it be dangerous for an English Ship to anchor in Orestan, or any other Port in Sardinia? (At that Port I was going to anchor the other day.) Should Vessels belonging to the Sardinians be seized? In short, pray tell me how the King of Sardinia considers the inhabitants of that Island, and how you think I should consider them? The Admiral is in full possession of the last Vado Campaign—at least, as well as my pen could describe it. I cannot again help mentioning in the strongest manner, my opinion of the necessity of possessing Vado. It will absolutely prevent the French Fleet from covering a Convoy to the Plain of Italy: I mean, beyond Port Especia, and prevent the passing into the Milanese by the pass of the Borgetta. There will then be only one object to look to—the defence of Piedmont. If three are to be attended to, depend upon it one will fall; and the Emperor, very possibly, may be more attentive to the Milanese than to Piedmont. I did not, I own, rejoice at the snow and very bad weather we have experienced, till you told me how beneficial it may be to our good Ally, the King of Sardinia, who I shall always respect for his conduct during the time we were in possession of Toulon. Had the Austrians done as much in proportion, we should have had that Port at present. If you think the request I have made for an account of Sardinia can reach me at Leghorn, pray send it. If not, I will order a Frigate to be here next Friday or Saturday. I beg my compliments to Mr. Jackson, and that you will believe me your obliged humble Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—I observe what you say about the anchorage at Cagliari: You are mistaken. I have been there with four Sail of the Line, and we anchored within reach of all the capital batteries—not that any batteries, if we can follow them in, will, I am persuaded, stop Sir John Jervis. But should they have time to moor in a Line, the case is altered.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. One passage of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 134.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Leghorn, March 10th, 1796.

As Mr. Udney tells me he shall this day send off dispatches to the Vice-Roy of Corsica, to be forwarded to you by some Ship from St. Fiorenzo, I cannot let slip the opportunity of a brief communication of my transactions and informations, since I left you, as also of my present intentions. I did not arrive at Genoa till the night of 2nd of March, owing to the very heavy gales of Easterly winds, which stove in our stern, carried away the starboard quarter-gallery, and sprung our main-topmast. I received a letter from Mr. Drake, referring me to Mr. Brame for Toulon information; and for other, whenever anything occurred necessary for my knowledge, he would communicate it. From Mr. Trevor I found three letters, containing Toulon information, which agrees very much with our observations, with the addition that great exertions were going forward to get the Fleet ready for sea. On the 4th, I received another letter from Mr. Trevor, containing an account that 60,000 men would open the Campaign, and that by secret information from Paris, that the Directory had determined on a grand stroke against Italy; at the same time saying, that the Emperor had 40,000 men, and would shortly have 50,000 in Lombardy, which, with the Piedmontese, if ordered to act with vigour and in proper places, would, he was convinced, be fully sufficient to prevent the invasion of Italy[1]. (This letter is wrote in a hurry, at the Consul's: therefore beg you will take it without the accuracy which I should have, was the letter of Mr. Trevor before me.) My letter was to Mr. Drake, to the following purport, giving an account of my observations at Toulon, reminding him that the Navy had hitherto protected Massa and Carrara, and afforded time sufficient for whoever was Sovereign of the Country to get Troops, even from Vienna, for its defence; and therefore they must not look entirely to the Navy in future; but, if anything happened, to recollect that the Sovereign of the Country only was to blame. I also pointed out the absolute necessity of the coalesced Powers possessing themselves of Vado Bay, without which Troops would pass along the Coast with stores, and that we could not prevent it. To Mr. Trevor I had, from my letter of January, endeavoured to impress him with the

[1] "That 6000 seamen are ordered from the East and West side of Toulon, and 6000 from Brest, and that side; and that they will soon be at Toulon."

absolute necessity of possessing Vado; and in my letter of March 2nd, I freely told him my full opinion of the necessity of possessing Vado, and that I could take upon me to say that you would afford every assistance to forward the operations of the Austrian Army, consistent with the other services which he so well knew was required of you. In answer to Mr. Trevor's letter of the 25th February, received the 4th [March,] I pressed stronger than ever the necessity of our possessing Vado: that by this possession, a stop would be put to Expeditions coastways, the Pass of the Borgetta secured, and nothing to look to but Piedmont; that if they ventured to cross the Gulf, that I had every hope that good fortune would throw you in their way, and I had no doubt but you would give a very good account of their embarkation. This has been the subject of my letters, and I hope you will approve of what I have said to Mr. Drake about Massa and Carrara, and also what I have urged to Mr. Trevor of the necessity of possessing Vado Bay. (On reading my letter, I find I have omitted two things mentioned by Mr. Trevor. One was, that but for the fall of snow, the Campaign would have been opened against Piedmont at that time: the other was that possibly the first destination of the French Fleet might be for Cagliari in Sardinia. I shall soon send you copies of my letters.) The Blanche I left at Genoa, to water and refit, having suffered damage. The Meleager is gone from hence with a Convoy for Genoa, and both are ordered to join me on Sunday, off Port Especia, with information, or letters from Genoa. It is my intention to proceed off Toulon, and from thence to detach a Frigate to you. By Mr. Wyndham's news, if the Tuscan Government are ready to receive a French Garrison, it will be very difficult to prevent it; till we possess Vado. The points for us to look to, are a small Squadron off Port Especia, and another on the other side of the Gulf; for the present, embarkation will be in small Vessels. But if the Genoese will not oppose their passage, there is nothing to prevent, in a march of forty-eight hours, their arrival at Leghorn. I shall only trespass now to beg you will believe me your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONOURABLE JOHN TREVOR.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

29th *February*.—P.M. At ¼ past 8 taken flat aback with a strong wind and a high sea from the N.E. b. E.—The ship having stern way, stove in all the sashes and glass of the ward room and starboard quarter gallery—shipped a deal of water, which blew up the rudder coat—got in all the dead-lights. A.M. The wind shifting every half hour—a heavy sea running as before—at 8 saw the high land near Calvi bearing S.E. *March* 2nd.—P.M. Anchored in Genoa Mole. 5th.—Weighed. 6th.—P.M. Anchored in Leghorn Roads. 13th.—Weighed.—*Agamemnon's Log*.]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, off Genoa, March 14th, 1796.

I was last night, when off Port Especia, favoured with Mr. Jackson's letter of March 8th, and thank him much for his information of the light in which Sardinia is considered by the Sovereign. It seems it is pleasant to consider that Island in a better state than I believe it is. On the receipt of Mr. Wyndham's news, I sent off a Frigate to the Admiral, and also an express to Sir William Hamilton, requesting him to apply to His Sicilian Majesty for some Zebecks, Corvettes, and such other small Vessels as would be useful, to prevent a disembarkation of Troops, and that I intended all the small Vessels to lay off Port Especia. Having received a letter from Mr. Drake, expressing his wish to speak to me, I am proceeding to that place, from whence it is my intention to proceed off Toulon; and after looking at the state of the Enemy's Fleet, to dispatch a Frigate to the Admiral, and return myself to Genoa. With best compliments to Mr. Jackson, believe me, dear Sir, your most obedient Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ., MINISTER AT GENOA.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B., and Letter Book. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 136.

15th March. Hoisted out the Barge, Captain Nelson went on shore.—*Agamemnon's Log*.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa, March 15th, 1796.

Having received information, on which I am told I may depend, that Salicetti is now here, with other Commissioners, for the express purpose of expediting the operations of the French Army for the invasion of Italy; and that one of the three columns, into which that Army is to be divided, is to either penetrate through the Genoese territory, or to be carried coastways to take possession of Port Especia, which will instantly give them the command of the flat country as far as Leghorn; and there can be no doubt but a small Army appearing before Leghorn, would, without any difficulty,

make themselves masters of it; I therefore feel it my duty, as Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Squadron employed on this Coast, and in the absence of the Naval Commander-in-Chief, to state clearly the fatal consequences which will attend this plan of the French Commissioners. The possession of Port Especia gives always an easy access to every part of Italy, even to the Kingdom of Naples, and security to Transports, Ships of War, and small Vessels; and I also beg it may be understood, that if the French Flotilla proceeds along the Coast, that our Ships of War cannot molest them, not being able to approach the Coast, from the shallowness of the water. And I must also observe, that the Enemy possessing themselves of Leghorn, cuts off all our supplies, such as fresh meat, fuel, and various other most essential necessaries; and of course our Fleet cannot always be looked for on the Northern Coast of Italy. I also beg leave to state, that to obviate these misfortunes, two plans are necessary to be attended to: the first and best, is the possession of Vado Bay; this done, as far as human foresight can look to, Italy is safe; the next is the possessing ourselves of Port Especia. As a Sea Officer, I beg leave to say, that unless one of these plans is adopted, my Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Fleet, cannot answer for the safety of Italy, from any attempts which may be made on it Coastways.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 137.]

Sir, Agamemnon, at Sea, 16th March, 1796.

I beg leave to transmit copies of all the letters which I have wrote or received from His Majesty's Ministers at Turin, Genoa, and Naples, that you may be in full possession of my conduct, and know whether I am worthy the honour of commanding the Squadron intrusted to my direction. My last letter to Mr. Drake, dated yesterday, is of so very important a nature, and the opinion I have given so very decisive, that I must request you will, as soon as possible, give me your opinion of my conduct. Should it unfortunately be disapprobation, I have only to regret that my abilities are not equal to my zeal.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 137.]

Sir, Agamemnon, at Sea, March 16th, 1796.

Mr. Drake having expressed a wish to see me, to communicate many things which he did not think it right to trust to paper, yesterday morning I arrived at Genoa, with the Meleager and Blanche, and held a conference with Mr. Drake. The part of the plan intimated in his letter and at present submitted to the consideration of Ministers, from the same cause which prevented him from writing, prevents me from entering fully into the subject: but which, whenever I have the honour of meeting you, I am at full liberty to communicate; for I would receive no information or plans which I might not freely communicate to you. Mr. Drake expressed himself pleased at your determination to give the Austrian General a meeting, whenever he pleased to bring his Army on the Coast; but, at the same time, he said, he found it extremely difficult to make them hear of the Riviera, although he had pressed very much to have the plan of last year carried into execution; with the exception, in the first instance, of penetrating into Provence. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army was not yet fixed on; but it was understood that the Archduke was to be the nominal, and General Beaulieu the active, Commander-in-Chief; that Beaulieu wished to meet the French in the plains of Lombardy, and then to follow up the blow, which he had no doubt would be decisive.

I could not help observing, that the very reason why the General wished to meet them in a particular place, would of course be the reason why the French would not penetrate by that route; that the information, which I had received of the intention of the Directory to order the movement of their Army in three columns, one by Ceva, another by the pass of the Bochetta, and another to march through the Genoese territory, or be carried coastways to Port Especia (which would give them an easy entry into the plains of Italy, and the possession of Leghorn); I had no doubt that the two first would be feints, and the last the real plan. I must here observe, that before night Mr. Drake had this same information communicated to him; and also, that a body of Troops would be embarked on board the Fleet, the moment Richery arrived from Cadiz, and a push made for Port Especia. This conversation and information induced [me] more, if possible, strongly than ever, to press the measure of taking Vado, or Port Especia, with all possible expedition; and that without one or the other was done, it was impossible for

you to answer for the safety of Italy coastways; and that it was now perfectly clear for what the two hundred Flat boats were built, and the numerous Gun-boats fitted out. Mr. Drake told me, that he had already pressed the measure of taking Vado, and would continue it, and also would press instantly the necessity of possessing Port Especia, if I would say the Austrians should be supported from attacks by sea by our Naval force; which, I said, there could be no doubt of, for it would be the home of our Squadron employed on this Coast. He then desired me to give my opinion in writing, as the authority of a Sea-Officer would have more weight than all he could urge to them: this is the cause of my writing the letter, for which I am so anxious to obtain your sentiments.

Salicetti has failed in his demand for the loan of thirty millions of livres. On Salicetti's first demand, it was understood that five millions would be given him to get rid of the demand, which, on Mr. Drake's hearing [of it], he came to Genoa, and all the Ministers of the coalesced Powers joined in a Note to the Serene Republic, stating that they had heard of the demand made by the French; that they did not believe the Republic would so far forget her neutral state, as to comply with the demand; but that if she should, the coalesced Powers would no longer recognize her as a neutral Power, but consider her as the ally of France. The demand of Salicetti was taken into consideration on Saturday night the 12th instant, and carried against the demand by 142 against 34. Mr. Drake yesterday received information that an embargo is laid on the Port of Toulon, and also the gates shut, and no person suffered to go out of the Town. This is an additional inducement for my looking into Toulon, which so soon as done I shall dispatch a Frigate to you. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

19th *March.*—A.M. At 9 saw 13 sail of the Line and 6 Frigates in Toulon Harbour. At three quarters past 8 tacked, and stood out again—two small batteries opened their fire upon us as we passed Sepet to the westward. At 11 hove-to—made the signal for Captain Sawyer of the Blanche—made the Meleager's signal to look out N.W. At Noon dispatched the Blanche for the Fleet.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Toulon, March 19th, 1796.

From the information which Mr. Drake gave me, that the gates of Toulon were shut, and an embargo on the Port, it was an additional inducement to me to look into that Harbour,

which I have this day done. There are only thirteen Sail of the Line in the Outer and Inner Roads, six or seven Frigates, and a Brig. Two of the Line are in the Arsenal, but only one has her topmast through the cap: the other has not her top overhead. They are all in a state of bending sails: not one but has some bent, and none of the Line-of-Battle Ships all bent. The Sans Culottes appeared to us to be bending her topsails this morning. I send Captain Sawyer to you off Mahon, where I hope he will find you, and shall return directly to Genoa. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO CAPTAIN CHARLES SAWYER, HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP BLANCHE.

[Letter Book in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.]

Agamemnon, off Toulon, 19th March, 1796.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed as expeditiously as possible off the Port of Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, where, not seeing our Fleet, you will send a Boat on shore to the English Consul, and learn from him if the Admiral has been off that Port, and where he has gone to. If you hear that the Admiral has not been off there, you will deliver the dispatches to the Consul, enjoining the greatest care of them, as they are of importance; but should you be informed that the Admiral has left that station, and also where you can find him, you will proceed to him. But should the Admiral have left that station, and the Consul not know where he is gone to, or any information of his speedy return, you will then proceed to St. Fiorenzo in the Island of Corsica, and deliver the dispatches to the Commanding Officer, for an opportunity of their being forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief.

HORATIO NELSON.

TO JOHN UDNEY, ESQ.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B., and Letter Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, March 23rd, 1796.

The latter end of last week, we looked into Toulon, and the whole Fleet are getting ready,—in particular, the Ships in the Arsenal. The Sans Culottes bent her sails the day we were off Toulon, and I should think they will be ready for sea in about fourteen days, fifteen Sail of the Line. Believe me, very sincerely, dear Sir, your most obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[Letter Book.]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, off Genoa, March 23rd, 1796.

On Saturday morning I looked into Toulon, as I informed you in my last was my intention. The thirteen Sail which were ready for sea when I looked at them in February, were employed in bending sails, and I saw the Sans Culottes bend her topsails. The Ships in the Arsenal are getting very forward. Two in the Grand Arsenal have all an end, and two in the Inner Arsenal are not so forward. If we suppose that one or two may not be intended to come to sea, they will have fifteen Sail of the Line and five Frigates. If I may judge, they will be perfectly ready in about twelve or fourteen days at furthest. I dispatched a Frigate to Sir John Jervis, with my observations; therefore, he will be on his guard. We have now such very fine weather that I begin to expect to hear of events every day. God send they may be favourable. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[Letter Book.

25th *March*.—P.M. Anchored in Genoa Mole. 30th.—Weighed. *April* 3rd.—Anchored in St. Fiorenzo Bay; found Sir John Jervis and the Fleet at anchor here. 5th.—A.M. Up anchor.—*Agamemnon's Log*.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, April 6th, 1796.

I am just come from Sir John Jervis at St. Fiorenzo, and delivered to him your plan of Cagliari; and should the French Fleet go there, I am certain the Admiral will give a very good account of them. I find every disposition in the Admiral to forward the objects which the Austrian and Piedmontese Armies may have in view, when they get on the Sea-coast, and I have no doubt I shall be supported in a much better manner than last year. We shall think of a Flotilla; perhaps Naples will supply us; and I think last year the King of Sardinia had a number of Seamen, who could be no where so well employed as in manning four or five large Tartans, with 36-pounders, the same as the French. I only mention this as a thing to be thought of, before the Army gets on the Coast, for then our thoughts should be speedily put in execution. It is impossible to suppose that our Fleet can in any manner be unmanned till the French Fleet is defeated; and whenever that glorious event happens, I am sure Sir John will do everything possible in this way. Whatever

I may be able to do towards manning of these kind of Vessels, it must be when our Ships are in a safe anchorage; for the service of the Ships must of course be given up when her men are absent. But when our friends get on the Sea-coast, I shall hope for the honour of seeing you, and explaining myself much fuller than I think it proper in a letter. At whatever part of the Coast the Army comes, whether the anchorage is good or bad, I am determined to risk every Ship, rather than the Army should be annoyed by a single Gunboat. This you will be pleased to say, whenever it may be necessary. The Admiral has added the Diadem 64 to my Squadron, and appointed me a Commodore with a Broad Pendant. I mentioned before, I wished you would get from Mr. Drake a copy of the cyphers, as I wished to mention several things which, Mr. Drake tells me, I must not trust to a letter by a common post, particularly as Genoa is situated. Believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful humble servant, HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 143.]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Genoa, 7th April, 1796.

Lieutenant Pierson of the 69th Regiment tells me that he hears he is to be ordered on board the Britannia, there being but one subaltern there, and that Major Saunderson is to be embarked on board the Agamemnon, to which it would seem that I could have no manner of objection. But I think, from a very particular circumstance, that Mr. Pierson will not be removed from me; and I hope Sir Hyde Parker will agree with me in the propriety of his staying here, abstracted from my regard for Mr. Pierson, his being brought forward in the 69th Regiment, under the auspices of Colonel Villettes and myself, and he having come to us at the Siege of Bastia, as a volunteer from the Neapolitan service, and never having served with any one but myself. But this I should lay no stress upon; was I not so situated as I am. We are likely (I hope) to have a numerous Neapolitan Flotilla, which of course will be under my command: he was last year my Aide-de-Camp to them, (as well as to the Austrian Generals,) and from his knowing the Neapolitan Service, was much better calculated to prevent mistakes, than a person would be who only knew the Italian language. I will only suppose, in an attack on the Enemy's flank, I want to send particular directions; I know of no person so qualified, both by his

knowledge of the Neapolitan Service, as by the knowledge of the language,—he speaking it better than English,—to prevent mistakes or confusion, from not clearly understanding my orders. I beg your pardon for this letter; but I hope you and Sir Hyde will think with me, that Mr. Pierson can be nowhere so usefully employed. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[Letter Book.

8th *April*.—A.M. At 8 hoisted the Broad Pendant. P.M. Anchored in Genoa Mole. 9th.—The Fort saluted the Broad Pendant with seven guns, which we returned with equal number. P.M. 10th.—At half-past 8 up anchor and made sail; Diadem, Meleager, and Blanche in company—sailed along shore to cover the Austrian Troops, who attacked the Enemy at Voltri. At three quarters past 10 hove-to—let go the kedge anchor, and clewed up all the sails. Saw the Austrians' lights on shore abreast of the Ship. 11th.—At 4 A.M. up anchor and made sail along shore to the westward—saw the French Troops retreating towards Savona—nearly calm—sent an Officer on shore to the Austrian Army for information. P.M. anchored in Genoa Mole.—*Agamemnon's Log*.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Mole, April 11th, 1796.

As I know General Beaulieu sent off an express to Turin, after his arrival at Voltri, I have but little to say, except regretting that the French did not wait for an attack this morning, which, had they done, I will venture to say but very few could have returned to Savona, for our Ships command every foot of the road. The attack on the Enemy's advanced post yesterday evening, which the Baron de Malcamp wrote me was not to take place till daylight this morning, prevented so effectual a co-operation as I could have wished. The French were aware of their situation, and retreated in the night to [Savona, and a calm] in the morning prevented our getting [in] with them. I do not, my dear Sir, mean this as any complaint, but to show the absolute necessity of punctuality in joint attacks. Ever, dear Sir, believe me your obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

[Letter Book.]

[About 11th April, 1796.]

Mr. Brame tells me he shall write you, but still I think you will like to have a line from myself. It has been well, but might have been better; for if I had been fully acquainted with the movements of the Army, I am sure not many of the French would have returned to Savona. Our Ships command

every foot of the road. I beg you will endeavour to impress on those about the General, the necessity of punctuality in a joint operation, for its success to be complete. Yesterday afternoon I received, at five o'clock, a note from the Baron de Malcamp, to tell me that the General had resolved to attack the French at daylight this morning, and on the right of Voltri. Yet by the Austrians getting too forward in the afternoon, a slight Action took place; and, in the night, the French retreated. My movements I kept secret, and after the shutting of the gates, weighed the Squadron from Genoa; and at half-past nine I anchored within half-gun shot of the Austrian Army, sending the Diadem and Blanche to anchor between Voltri and Savona. But the French were aware of their perilous situation, and passed our Ships in the night. I do not mean this as any complaint, but to show the necessity of punctuality; for had the Austrians kept back, very few of the French could have escaped. I hope that you are recovered, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you on the Coast, to the Westward of Vado. Believe me, dear Sir, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

[Letter Book.]

My Lord, Agamemnon, off Genoa, April 11th, 1796.

I take the liberty of acquainting you that the Austrians took possession of Voltri this morning—the French having retreated in the night, after having sustained a loss in their advanced posts of about 300 men. His Majesty's Squadron endeavoured to get between Voltri and Savona, to cut off their retreat, but it falling calm, the Enemy took the advantage, and escaped us; for our Ships command the whole road. General Beaulieu wrote me yesterday, that the attack was to be this morning at daylight; but his advanced guards having defeated the advance of the French, at daylight no Enemy remained. I weighed the Squadron from Genoa at dark last night, and joined the Austrian Army at half-past nine o'clock, sending a Ship of the Line and a Frigate to anchor between Voltri and Savona; but the Enemy was aware of their perilous situation, had they stayed till daylight. The General has expressed himself well pleased by letter; for our well-timed co-operation has saved a number of fine Troops, which must have been lost in the attack. General Beaulieu has gone towards Ceva, and writes me he will attack the French as soon as he arrives. Under so active a Commander, we can hardly fail of success, and no exertion of mine shall be wanting to

forward the views of the brave old General, seventy-four years of age. I do not feel that I ought to write to the Board, unless on a very extraordinary occasion. Pray excuse the incorrectness of this letter, for I am very much fatigued, and wish to save post. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—General Beaulieu sent me a Messenger that he had wrote to the Emperor of the co-operation of our Squadron; and the services we had rendered by our appearance, which had saved many of his Troops.

TO CAPTAIN ..... H. M. SHIP .....

[Letter Book.]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Voltri, April 11th, 1796.

General Baron Beaulieu having requested that a Ship may be stationed off Voltri, to prevent any molestation of the Austrian Troops stationed there, I have to desire that you will punctually attend to this service, anchoring or cruising off the Town as from weather you may judge most proper. The General having acquainted me that he has left the Baron de Malcamp to correspond with me, if necessity requires it, you will, therefore, Sir, be pleased, should the Baron wish to send me any letter, to bring it to me off Savona; and I need not, I am sure, press you to give every aid and assistance in your power, should the French advance from Savona. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Original, in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An inaccurate copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 151.]

Sir, Agamemnon, 13th April, 1796.

As it is impossible to be too particular in all my communications with the Austrian General, I think it right to note down the conversation I held last evening, with the Baron de Malcamp, nephew and Aide-de-Camp to General Beaulieu, who the General acquainted me by letter he had desired to communicate with me, in his behalf, and in the presence of Mr. Brame.

The Baron began by a return of thanks from his General, for our well-timed co-operation, and for the assurances I had given of every support and assistance; that the General wished to know what was the particular object of my Squadron, and in what manner his operations could be serviceable to me.

To these I replied, that the co-operation was my duty, and which I had the greatest pleasure in performing; that I begged he would assure the General, that my Squadron had no object whatever, but the co-operation with his Army, and that whenever he came down on the Sea-coast, he would be sure to find me.

The Baron then asked if I could anchor in any other place than Vado Bay? I replied, that for these five months to come, for nineteen days out of twenty, wherever he was on the Coast, there I should always be, that Finale, Albango, Alassio, Oneglia, St. Remo, and the whole Coast to Nice. I would anchor the Squadron opposite his Army, that Vado was the only place where our Fleet could lay in safety; but as for my Squadron, all places would suit it. Therefore I begged it might be perfectly and clearly understood, that if the General thought it better to cut down to the Sea-coast, to the Westward of Vado, that he would do so, for Vado was not necessary for my Squadron; that I had understood St. Giacomo was strongly fortified; and if six or seven thousand men were to be lost in getting it, merely for the immediate possession of Vado Bay, it was no object for us, if the General chose to leave them to the Eastward. This point I three different times pressed on the Baron, and he said he perfectly understood me; that he should go to the General, as this day, the 13th, and that the General would send me a *tableau* of his plan of operations. That the General desired him to assure me, that, on his part, the most perfect harmony would be kept up with me; and that from my character, as well as from my exactness on the 11th, he was assured all would go well for the common cause; that it would have the happiest effect, that our Enemies should be convinced of the most perfect harmony subsisting between the Allies.

I assured the Baron, that he might depend on my openness of conduct, that what I had promised, should, if possible, be performed: and that I would promise nothing that I had not a moral certainty of being able to perform; and I desired he would assure his General, that I was authorized by Sir John Jervis to assure him of the most sincere and cordial co-operation, and that nothing would be omitted on the part of my Admiral to convince him and all our Allies, as well as our Enemies, and Neutral Powers, how much he had the good of the Common Cause at heart; and further, that as soon as Sir John Jervis knew the General was on the Coast, that he would give him a meeting. I also desired he would acquaint the General, that I would undertake to provide proper Convoys, for their provisions being carried coastways from Genoa,

Voltri, &c. The Baron asked me, two or three times, if there was not a risk that my Squadron might be lost on the Coast? to this I constantly replied, that if these were lost, my Admiral would find another, that we should risk the Squadron at all times to assist the General; and having recapitulated all I had said, with this addition, that I requested the General would give me credit for my sincere disposition of contributing all in my power for the success of the common cause, and to assure him that he should not be disappointed. In three or four days he promised the General would write to me.—
I am, &c.,
HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B., and Letter Book. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. pp. 152, 153.

13th *April.*—P.M. Weighed. P.M. joined the Fleet. 14th.—Parted from the Fleet. 15th.—Anchored at Genoa.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Roads, 15th April, 1796.

I anchored here, this morning, and shall immediately get to the information which I have received from the Imperial and Sardinian Ministers, both of whom I immediately waited upon. General Beaulieu's letter to the Minister was dated Aqui, yesterday the 14th: he says, 'Yesterday, Generals Argenteau and Lipthain attacked a post of the Enemy at Montenotte; they did not succeed, and returned to their *first* position.' I beg you not to believe the reports of the mal intentione at Genoa. I cannot say I like this account; but you will form the same conjectures as myself: no loss mentioned, and the word *first* conveys to my mind a great deal. Argenteau has ever failed; they fell, report says, into an ambuscade. The Minister at Turin writes thus to Monsr. Nomis, the Sardinian Minister here: 'The snow still lays so much on the mountains near Ceva, that neither party can take possession of those posts they wish. The Enemy made an attack on one of our posts, but were repulsed with some loss.' Monsr. Nomis expects an express from Alessandria, with an account of the attack at Montenotte, and I shall know the contents as soon as they arrive. Salicetti sent from Savona, two days past, for thirty thousand pairs of shoes: the Consul[2] sent off the account to Captain Towry[3], who had his boats out all night, but without success: eight thousand pair are got to Savona.

[2] Mr. Brame. [3] Of the Dido.

I send you Mr. Trevor's original letters, for there are parts of them I do not wish my Clerk to see at present. Anxious as I am to do everything, we cannot equip Vessels quite so fast as his Excellency wishes. The Sardinian sailors manning two or three, will be of great use. And I know England must pay for them, and probably victual them. This measure must have a little further thought. Heavy Gun-Boats will not do as cruisers, and, on the contrary, we must have a place to keep them in; and stopping all Vessels going to places occupied by the French must be a thought of his Excellency and Mr. Drake. Let them write me clearly on this subject, and it shall be done; but I shall see you very soon, when I shall enlarge on this subject; and, I am afraid, time enough will remain to equip our Vessels, if not, so much the better. The firing I saw last night between Voltri and Savona on the hills I hope was, an advance of the Generals, but we have heard nothing.

Seven P.M.—We have no particulars, but it is said the French have been beat from some of the hills above Savona; many wounded have been brought to Savona. Mr. Brame has attested the conversation, copies of which I shall send to-day to Mr. Drake and Mr. Trevor. By Sunday I hope to get the General's promised *tableau*. We are readier here for any intelligence, where we can be useful, than anywhere that I know.

News from England not much. The Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade not carried, lost by 4. Cornwallis put back in the Royal Sovereign; but I dare say you have it all from Leghorn. If I have any potscript, I shall add it in the morning. Believe me, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

11 A.M. the 16th.—Have just received the notes relative to the French Squadron.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[Letter-Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Mole, April 15th, 1796.

I have this day been favoured with your three letters of the 13th. I hope to God General Beaulieu will be successful. I was a little alarmed to-day on my arrival from the Fleet, to find that the attack at Montenotte had not been successful. The Admiral came off Vado on the 13th, and from my communication of what was going on with the General, the Admiral is induced to stay a few days off here to

keep the Enemy in an alarm on the Coast. I shall send your letters to-morrow morning to him, as also one from Mr. Drake to the same purpose, I mean the cypher part—our 58, 407, 95, 343, 151, as many 314, 353, 93, 189, 139, 37 expected, we may expect everything possible from 59, 532, 607, 714, but I hope he will not be forgot in England. Respecting the Gun-Boats, I fancy we cannot set about fitting them out at the present moment at Genoa. Probably we could not buy and equip them. It must be at Leghorn. Besides, at present we have no place to keep them in; and heavy Gun-Boats are not the proper sort of Vessels for laying on the Coast to stop supplies. I hope Mr. Drake will soon give me a meeting. I have wrote to him on the subject of stopping supplies going to the Genoese Towns. It is a very nice point at present. The moment I have authority, I could soon equip two heavy Gun-Boats at Leghorn, and two or three Feluccas to lay on the Coast—the latter in particular would be manned by the Sardinian seamen. I suppose John Bull must pay for the Vessels, and victual the men. This, you will consider—the Neapolitan gentry, I know, will not act, without much looking after, and I know no other way than a joint Flotilla, which a superior English Officer may command. We will very soon fit out, when we set about it. I cannot think the present French Fleet will venture so far from home, unless the Cadiz Squadron joins; and should Admiral Man proceed to the West Indies, of which I have some fears, the Admiral will be distressed—not should they come out together, I am sure we shall beat them; but if they send five Sail upon any service, the Admiral has not Ships to send after them. I shall have a train [?] for these Gun-Boats. I shall write to Leghorn to a proper person to give me an idea of the expense, and also of two or three large Feluccas: therefore, as to-morrow is a post-day, you must excuse a long letter. I shall most probably see or hear from the Admiral in answer to my letter, before Tuesday. Rest assured all my thoughts are employed on this particular service. I send you a private letter from Leghorn. Corsica is bad enough; and the part respecting the Vice-Roy, although not exactly correct, is nearly so. I have it from Sir John Jervis. Believe me, dear Sir, with the highest esteem, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY [FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.?]

[Letter-Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Road, April 16th, 1796.

I yesterday received your letter of the 13th, which I immediately sent off to the Admiral, who was cruizing off Vado, and it was his intention so to do for eight or ten days, in hopes it might draw off the French Troops from the mountains; for Vado has scarcely a soldier left in it. Mr. Trevor has wrote me that he hopes we shall now be able to cut off supplies going to the French. I wrote you last post on this subject; for it would be extremely improper in me to seize or detain the Vessels from Genoa going to their Towns in possession of the Enemy, till I receive full authority from you on the subject; and probably before such a step is taken you would acquaint the Genoese Government of the measure. I have ventured to tell Captain Towry, that any large quantities of provisions going to Savona, he might desire the Vessel carrying it to return to Genoa; for she could not pass for a few days.

Mr. Trevor also hopes I shall equip some Gun-Boats to prevent these supplies. We intended that, if we equipped any Gun-Boats, they were to be such as to oppose the French ones, and these are for battering, not for laying on the Coast; for they do not row fast. Feluccas are the proper Vessels for that service; but I have neither power or authority to take any such steps. I have done so far; wrote to Leghorn, to know what a Tartan, equipped properly for carrying a 36-pounder, will come to, and also what a Felucca will cost, to carry two 6 or 9 pounders in her bow. When we have a place to put them in, we shall soon equip. I wrote about Sardinian seamen: they have one hundred. These will be most useful, when we have the Vessels; but somebody must say who is to buy the Vessels, who is to victual them? The men we put in them can only be occasionally; for a Ship must, at a time we man any of these Vessels, be rendered useless. I hope we shall soon have you with the Army on the Coast, and I am sure we shall find no difficulties. I inclose you a conversation I had with the Baron de Malcamp, which I chose should be attested by Mr. Brame, to prevent any mistakes. Believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful servant, HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Genoa Road, April 16th, 1796.

Mr. Brame sends you a joint of veal, &c., and I beg leave to send you a bundle of asparagus, and a salad. When you come again in sight of Genoa, I shall instantly weigh, whether I have a letter from the General or not. Believe me your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

I cannot believe the French Squadron mentioned will venture out of Toulon to come this road; but it shows what mischief may ensue, should Admiral Man proceed to the West Indies, and Richery come here. If you should leave the Coast with two Sixty-fours, it may be unpleasant; but with the addition of a Seventy-four, if we cannot act offensively, I have no fears that six Frenchmen would hurt us. This I am sure you will consider much more properly than I can. You will know every movement from the Frigates off Toulon. I almost believe much Toulon news is fabricated in Genoa, to show how alert they are. The principal is well paid, and is to have a good appointment, I hear, in Corsica, some time or other. This was told me in confidence. H. N.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

17th *April*.—Weighed. Joined the Fleet. P.M. bore away from the Fleet. 18th.—Anchored at Genoa.—*Agamemnon's Log*.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Road, April 19th, 1796.

I am full of sorrow and amazement at what has passed. It seems by land the French are invincible; and, to complete my sorrow, a Convoy of Polacca Brigs, and other small Vessels, got into Savona Mole, and Vado Bay, on Sunday evening. The Ministers, from their total ignorance of Sea affairs, fancy, because our superior Fleet saw them, that it was our neglect that they were not taken. I saw them myself, from the Victory, passing close in shore, and directly to windward of us; therefore the getting in with them was impossible before they anchored under such batteries as would have crippled our Fleet; and, had such an event happened, in the present state of the Enemy's Fleet, Tuscany, Naples, Rome, Sicily, &c., would have fallen as fast as their Ships could have sailed along the Coast. Our Fleet is the only saviour at present for those Countries; and for the sake of driving ashore a few Polaccas, &c., those Countries were not to be risked. Sir John Jervis

has cruized close up to the shore in this Gulf, where I will venture to say no Fleet ever cruized before, with the hopes of drawing some of the French troops from the inland countries, and I believe it has had its effect, or the Austrians would have been worse off than at present. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO .....

[Letter-Book.]

Agamemnon, Genoa, April 19th, 1796.

I am truly sorry to tell you that the Austrians have been so much worsted in the different attacks made by the French, that General Beaulieu is returned from Aqui, having given up the whole Riviera. He is forming a Camp between Alexandria and Tortona, called Bosco. His loss, we hear, is very great, and the Enemy near double his force. Sir John Jervis is off Cape Delle Melle, hoping his presence might draw a number of Troops from the inland to the Coast. The Fleet is very healthy. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

I have just received accounts from Toulon, that the French have received 5,000 men from Brest, which I know have been long expected, and I believe now their Fleet will put to sea.

POINTS SUBMITTED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF GENERAL BEAULIEU BY CAPTAIN NELSON.

[Letter-Book.]

[About 19th April, 1796.]

Whether there is any prospect of the Austrians coming up with the French? At what place the General intends to halt for the night, as I shall, if he wishes it, anchor a Ship off the Town, to prevent any of the Enemy's Gun-Boats from molesting him. Does the General intend to follow the French to Vado? It will be of consequence for me to know when we may anchor within shot of Savona. If the General has any measure to propose, in which I can be useful, he has only to mention it, and if possible it shall be done. Whether General Beaulieu wishes the English Squadron to cruise off any particular part of the Coast, which may be satisfactory to the General to see from the mountains, and of course discouraging to the French; with this risk—that calms, or contrary winds may put the Squadron at a distance, at the time General Beaulieu may arrive on the Coast. Or would the General rather have us remain at Genoa, with a moral certainty of

joining the General in ten or twelve hours after the news of his arrival on the Coast is sent to me? The next consideration, if General Beaulieu sends me notice at what particular time and place it is probable he may attack the French, in that case it is almost certain I could be very near at hand to act as opportunity may offer. For instance, suppose the attack is on the heights over Savona, the Squadron, if the weather is moderate, could anchor about five or six miles from Savona, instead of waiting at Genoa. These considerations are submitted to General Beaulieu, who has only to express his wishes to have them as far as is possible complied with.

A WEEK'S CAMPAIGN OF THE AUSTRIAN ARMY.

[Letter-Book.]

On Monday morning, the 11th of April, 10,000 Austrians took possession of Voltri, the French having lost 300, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The rest, about 4000, returned, and were not pursued.

Tuesday morning, at daylight, Generals Argenteau and Lipthian attacked a post of the French at Montenotte, which, being reinforced by the Troops which retreated from Voltri, defeated the Austrians, and took a number prisoners. The same day the French attacked a post of 900 Piedmontese, whom they took prisoners on honourable terms. After losing many men in the attack, the Piedmontese surrendered for want of ammunition and water.

Wednesday.—This day the French forced Dego, and made many prisoners, and some cannon.

Thursday.—This day the French forced Speigno, and made many prisoners, and some cannon.

Friday, at daylight, the French were forced from Speigno and Dego; the Austrians retook their cannon, and all that of the Enemy. Before night the French rallied, totally defeated the Austrians, who had forced them to retreat in the morning—took twenty pieces of cannon, ten colours, and vast quantities of ammunition and baggage, and very many prisoners. The French say they have taken since the 11th—230 Officers, 30 Lieutenants, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, and not less than 11,000 prisoners. They say about 3000 Austrians are killed and wounded. The Austrian Generals have not contradicted this report, which we must in a great measure believe. It is said the French have lost about seven or eight thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Austrians about the same number.

Saturday.—The French in full march to Aqui.

Sunday.—General Beaulieu evacuating Aqui, and forming his Camp at Bosco, between Novi and Alessandria.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY [THE HON. JOHN TREVOR?].

[Letter-Book.

20th *April* A.M.—Weighed. P.M. joined the Fleet, at seven hoisted in the barge and made sail. 22nd.—At noon lying to off Genoa. 23rd.—A.M. Rejoined the Fleet. Noon, parted from the Fleet. 25th, P.M.—Standing for the Town of Loarno, the Diadem, Meleager, and Peterel in company. At half-past 1 hoisted out all the boats, and sent them manned and armed to the Peterel—beat to quarters. At quarter before 2 the boats proceeded towards the Town to cut out the French Vessels at anchor. At 10 min. before 2 the Enemy opened their fire from the batteries upon the Squadron and boats—we kept up a continual fire upon the Enemy to cover the boats, till half-past 3, when they returned with four Vessels laden with corn, wine, arms, ammunition, and sundry stores. Wounded, belonging to the Agamemnon, Lieutenant James Noble. At 4 secured the guns —hoisted in the boats, and made sail. The Meleager took charge of the Prizes, and sailed for Leghorn.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Agamemnon, close to the Victory, Gulf of Genoa, April 22nd, 1796.

My dear Sir,

After the melancholy events which have taken place within these last ten days in the Riviera, but of which we have no accounts but by the publication of the French Minister at Genoa, the Admiral and myself are very anxious to hear of the extent of the misfortune, and what steps are now likely to be pursued. We hope the accounts published are exaggerated, but the Imperial Minister tells me he has received no accounts whatever from the General. I wished, and it was proper for Sir John Jervis to know, the number of Austrian Troops under Beaulieu's command, and also what Troops the King of Sardinia had to defend Piedmont, exclusive of the German Army, that he might form some opinion of what is likely to happen. I must think the Austrians have been guilty of a piece of neglect to us. I had placed a Ship off Voltri to protect the Austrian Troops: the General withdrew the Troops, and neither the Minister or General sent me notice of it, and the Captain was very near being taken by a party of French cavalry, who are now in Voltri. I am on my way to Genoa, to receive letters, I hope, from you and Mr. Drake to-morrow. If Sir John Jervis finds that his presence is of no service in the Gulf, he will of course cruise no longer in this very unpleasant, not to say dangerous Gulf, but proceed further Westward. I have wrote you fully, last post, of the circumstance of the Convoy's arrival at Vado, and of what I understand has been the tenor of the Imperial and Sardinian Minister's conversation. Nothing but their ignorance of Sea affairs can palliate, but by no means excuse them, giving

their opinion on a professional subject of which they must be totally ignorant. Let it be recollected that Admiral Goodall at Milan, from judgment, [and] that myself from experience, have uniformly declared that unless the Austrians got down on the Sea-coast, that we could not stop expeditions coastways with our large Ships. Had it been the French Fleet which we were to have destroyed, with the risk of ours, that is our object, and the loss of part of our Fleet would have been well used. But I will suppose that for driving a Convoy on shore, where they would most probably have had an opportunity of landing great part of their cargoes, that two or three of our Fleet had been crippled. What would then have been said when the French had been riding triumphant on the seas, as I fear they are on the land? I will tell you:—'England was bound to keep a Fleet equal to cope with the Enemy in the Mediterranean; the Admiral, to take a few prizes, has lost his Fleet.' This, from what I have seen and heard, would have been the language. Our Fleet, thank God, is perfect, and if the Enemy will give us an opportunity, the ancient glory of the British Navy will be kept up. I need not enlarge on this subject. You will, at proper times and places, make a proper use of it. But when I reflect, that after Sir John Jervis's great attention to the Austrian Army, and wishing to be at hand to render every assistance to the King of Sardinia, whenever the Army came on the Sea-coast, I cannot help being more than commonly displeased. I hope Port Especia will now be thought of; for let it ever be recollected that we cannot stop their Expeditions coastways, with our large Ships.

I send you an account of a conversation I had with the Baron de Malcamp, in the presence of Mr. Brame, who has attested it. We cannot be too clear in our proceedings. It can do no harm if all goes well; and if the contrary, it is better to have our proceedings clear. Believe me ever, my dear Sir, your obliged humble servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

What is now to be done with the Neapolitan Troops? Has the General sent any directions about them?

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, G.C.B., and Letter-Book. Inaccurate fragments of this Letter are in vol. ii. pp. 162, 163.]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Cape Noli, 26th April, 1796.

On Sunday evening I sent the Diadem off Genoa, to receive any letters which might arrive from Mr. Drake or Mr.

Trevor. Captain Towry rejoined me yesterday morning, with letters from Mr. Drake and Mr. Trevor, which I beg leave to transmit you. Captain Towry also brought me the unpleasant news, which I also enclose; and he tells me, that Mr. Brame has no doubt but the King of Sardinia is endeavouring to negotiate a peace with the French. We had several Boats on board yesterday, from Cape Noli, the people of which told us, that although the French had taken Ceva, and killed, wounded, and made prisoners of five or six thousand Piedmontese, yet that the French had lost not less than eleven thousand men. The fort of Ceva is not yet taken, the Town was plundered, and the Enemy passed on to Mondovi, leaving a strong post of Piedmontese in their rear. The Enemy plundered Mondovi, and every house between it and Ceva. If the King of Sardinia does not make peace, I should hope that such conduct of the French would rouse the whole Nation to arms. You will, Sir, observe what Mr. Drake writes about the Gun-Boats: I mean rather, Sir William Hamilton to Mr. Drake. The Xebecks certainly will be of the greatest use, and if the Galliots will come, and do their duty, not much provisions or stores can come to the French Army. As to my going to Naples, I need only say, the Neapolitans would not like the interference of a foreigner, especially Mr. Fortiguerra, who is at the head of their Marine, and fancies himself equal to any Officer in Europe. I wonder Mr. Drake should think of it. We must make the best of them *when* we get them.

April 27th.—Yesterday's heavy gale has drove [us] to the Westward of St. Remo—only Diadem in company, although there is a Frigate in sight to leeward, which I hope is either Blanche or Minerva. I am endeavouring to get to the Eastward, but we have an amazing strong western current. Seven or eight Sail are in St. Remo, but nothing like a Convoy.

April 28th.—We have now a light air Westerly—Blanche is in sight, Peterel parted, Meleager I sent to Leghorn with the Prizes. I am so anxious to examine the Ports along the Coast, to see if the Convoy is in any of them, that I hope you will excuse my immediate sending a Vessel to you. I am determined, at whatever place I find them, not to let the first favourable moment slip of attacking them. I wish sincerely for the Neapolitan Vessels. I will clear the Coast in a week of fine weather, if they will act; and I flatter myself I shall manage them to their liking. There is no Vessels of any consequence in any Bay from Monaco to Vado, but not less than 100 Genoese are every day passing, which may or

may not have stores for the French. I am going to Genoa to get the post to-morrow, and hope to be here by Saturday night, or Sunday morning. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

Thursday evening.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[Letter-Book.

28th *April* P.M.—The batteries fired several shot at us, which we returned. At 4 Cape Delle Melle N. b. W. about two miles. 29th, P.M.—Anchored at Genoa.—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, off Delle Melle, April 28th, 1796.

How I lament the prospect of affairs in Piedmont! and I hear from Genoa that the King of Sardinia is certainly negotiating a peace with the French. How sad all this is, when we know to what shifts the French Army is put to absolutely for common necessaries, and should the whole force of the Enemy be turned against General Beaulieu, I suppose he must retreat, and leave the Enemy unmolested, to journey to all parts of Italy, unless, which I fear is not likely, that double the number of Beaulieu's Army is sent from Germany. It would seem that a proper number of Troops has not been sent to insure success, but very few more than last year, and the Enemy have doubled their Army. I still hope, from the conduct of the French, that the Piedmontese will rouse to a man, and [*sic*] the French. This they may do, if they are one-half as zealous to defend their Country as the Enemy is to plunder it. We English have to regret that we cannot always decide the fate of Empires on the sea.

I am hunting for the French Convoy, and if I find them in any place where there is a probability of attacking them, you may depend they shall be either taken or destroyed at the risk of my Squadron; for at this moment I feel their Convoy is of more consequence than my Squadron, which is built to be risked on proper occasions. We have had a very heavy gale of wind, which has drove us as far to the Westward as Nice; and I fear the Convoy, which perhaps was in some of the Ports near Cape Delle Melle, may take the opportunity of getting the start of us. I was informed the other day that the Convoy had got into Loano; immediately proceeded off that place, but found only four vessels, loaded with muskets, cases of ammunition, rice and wine, which we took. Our loss was trifling in respect to numbers; but, among them, I have to regret one of the Lieutenants of the Agamemnon's.

April 29th, Genoa.—I am just arrived, and hear such bad

news, that writing is out of the question. I wish I had only 3000 men to command myself. I am vain enough to think I could command on shore as well as some of the Generals I have heard of; but it is past. I shall always feel a glow of gratitude in reflecting on your kind and uniform opinion of my conduct. With the sincerest wishes for your health and happiness, believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Alessio, April 28th, 1796.

The Blanche is returned, but with very few stores—not canvas enough to mend our sails, 10lbs. of twine, no tar, not a spar. We have, literally speaking, no top-gallant yards, no steering sail booms, those we have up are fished: not an ounce of paint, and many other things, the Commissioner tells me, but I send you letters. We want much, and I must beg you will give me your order to purchase stores. I assure you, Sir, not an article shall be got, but what is absolutely necessary. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

[Letter-Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, off Delle Melle, April 28th, 1796.

I have received your letters of April 21st, with the packet for Sir John Jervis, which I shall forward the first opportunity. I am anxious, my dear Sir, to be everywhere, but I really believe my presence may be of more utility in the Gulf, than any place else at present. I want to take or destroy the Convoy expected, and you may depend it shall be done, if there is the smallest possibility. You will, and I wish all the Allies would, give me credit for my earnest endeavours to destroy the Enemy. I have not a thought on any subject separated from the immediate object of my Command, nor a wish to be employed on any other service. So far the Allies, if I may be allowed the expression, are fortunate in having an Officer of this character; but I cannot command winds and weather. A Sea-Officer cannot, like a Land Officer, form plans; his object is to embrace the happy moment which now and then offers—it may be this day, not

for a month, and perhaps never. We have had dreadful weather, and been drove so far to the Westward as Nice. If the Convoy was at anchor in any of the Bays, near Cape Delle Melle, I have my fears they have pushed on, by the first Westerly wind. You may have heard of our little business at Loano a few days past. I had heard in the morning that the French Convoy of twenty Tartans, and two Bombards, had arrived there. Unfortunately we only found four Vessels laying under the batteries, which we took. One Ship loaded with corn, one Bombard loaded with muskets and cases of ammunition, one large Tartan of 100 tons loaded with wine, and one with corn. Our loss in numbers was trifling, but I have to regret among them Lieutenant Noble, of the Agamemnon, who received a musket ball through his throat. He is yet alive, but we all fear for him. The French have no occasion to send provisions from France. The Coasts are covered with Genoese Vessels with corn, wine, hay, &c., for places on the Coast; and they know I have no power to stop the trade with the Towns. This must be thought of, and if the French are well supplied, the fault must [not] be laid to me. I this day saw not less than forty-five Genoese Vessels, all laden, passing along the Coast. What can I do?

April 29th, Genoa.

I have this day received your and Mr. Trevor's letters. How bad eighteen days ago the Campaign opened! What has become of Mr. Trevor, I beg leave to inclose you [*sic.*] I shall send a Ship to the Admiral to-morrow, if possible. We are now harassing the French. I see plainly the utility of your plan for the 3,000 men in Transports. If we had them, we would have done, and will do, wonders. Mr. [*sic*] assures me, the six sail from Toulon may be expected with the Convoy. I hope the Neapolitans are on their way. Most probably, if I was there they would not pay much attention to a Foreigner. I hope General Beaulieu will be reinforced, and be able to get a fair blow.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

[Letter-Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, April 30th, 1796.

On reading again your dispatches, I find a part of them I have not answered. You may rest assured that the Admiral has no intention whatever to withdraw the Squadron from this Gulf, and we shall always keep a good look-out, should any embarkation take place; but you are well aware how

very difficult it is for us to prevent a landing so near Savona, as Sestro de Levant. The Admiral will naturally ask, may with propriety the Troops be landed at Port Especia? for we shall certainly not have the consent of the Genoese. In fine weather we can land them at La Venza, and I shall be happy to attend to it myself. The weather is so bad, a gale of wind at S.W., that I cannot get to sea, which I much regret. Pray give me your answer about Port Especia; and believe me, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—Every day since the 25th we have kept close to the shore, and harassed the Enemy's Troops very much. Field-pieces, &c., are drawn out on our standing in shore. You may be assured, I shall, now I know its importance, draw more of their attention. You must defend me, if any of the Genoese Towns are knocked down by firing at the Enemy's batteries. I have told Mr. Brame, that if the Secretary of State here should ever talk to him on the subject, to say that I never will fire the first shot; and the inhabitants, if they please, are always numerous enough to prevent the French from firing.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. and Letter-Book. Inaccurate extracts from this Letter are in vol. ii. pp. 164, 165, 166.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Genoa Mole, 1st of May, 1796.

By the Peterel, which put in here this evening, I learn that the Fox joined the Blanche yesterday, by whom you will receive the dispatches I left with Captain Sawyer. I now send you by Peterel a packet from Mr. Drake, and the letters, and information which I have received. I am still of opinion that my presence at Naples can be of no use; but should you think otherwise, I am most perfectly ready to proceed there, and do my best. When these Troops arrive at Leghorn, I will attend to their debarkation at La Venza, or Port Especia, as may be most proper. I have wrote to Mr. Drake, to have his opinion, whether, if more convenient from weather, or other causes, we should force a landing at Port Especia. I told him it was a question you would naturally ask, and I therefore desired his answer. This, I am assured, is the last gale, and therefore I shall be very glad to get the Neapolitan Vessels over to this Coast. You will observe the Report of the Commissioners, as they call themselves, of

the news of Toulon: I have long had reason to suspect great part is fabricated in Genoa, if a patron does not happen to arrive opportunely: however, it has its uses. My channel of information says, this day, if the wind is fair, two small Frigates, two Cutters, and thirty-three Sail of Transports, will sail from Marseilles, loaded with ammunition, provisions, and clothing. I feel distressed beyond measure at being kept here, and at present there is no sign of a change of wind. If you think that the report of these Commissioners is true, you will probably think it proper to reinforce me with a Ship of the Line; for they may slip past you in a strong Westerly wind: but I cannot bring myself to believe that the French will trust six Sail of the Line to the Eastward, even for the certainty of destroying us; but they do at times act contrary to all reasonable ideas, therefore we must not judge of them as of other people.

I think I have got to the end of our Naval business; therefore I shall take up the proceedings of General Beaulieu, and the Sardinians, where Mr. Drake stops. The treaty is finished, and an armistice agreed on, until the return of the courier from Paris. I never had much faith in the Sardinian Ministry, from their extraordinary request to me last year, and I much fear they have not done their utmost to defend Piedmont, and the French seem to have understood them. Ceva, nor the strong posts, as I wrote you, were not then taken, nor are they to this day. Twenty thousand French pushed forward within six miles of Turin: General Beaulieu pushed from Aqui, and was on one side of the plain, and next day would have attacked the French Army. The French had already begun to retreat, when an express reached him, that an armistice, and most probably a peace, had taken place between the Sardinians and France. Mr. Trevor, the Imperial, Neapolitan, and Russian Minister, waited on the King, to desire that Alessandria and Tortona might be delivered up to the Germans, which was peremptorily refused, when the Ministers quitted the Kingdom, without taking leave, and it is very probable we have now an additional Enemy. General Beaulieu is retreating, I am told, towards the Milanese; but how far he has fell back, I do not hear. The French near Aqui are very ill supplied, and this Convoy is of the greatest importance to their future operations; I am told if it does not reach them, they must come again to the Sea-coast. The Southampton is just anchored, which will save me sending the Peterel. I learn with pleasure that the largest of the batteries at Loano we knocked to pieces, and killed twenty-five French in it. The

Town is also very much damaged, which I regret; but these things must happen where batteries are situated in a Town. I have authorized Mr. Brame to say, should any conversation with the Secretary of State here turn that way, that I never will fire the first shot; and, therefore, if the inhabitants of Genoese Towns prevent the French from firing, which they can do if they please, their Towns will be safe. If the contrary, the act rests with them. I have wrote Mr. Drake what I have desired Mr. Brame to say. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—I have great pleasure in saying my poor Lieutenant is still alive, and we have some hopes.

May 2nd. Fresh wind S.W., can't get out.

P.S.—General Beaulieu's Army has taken post at Valenza, and between that place and Alessandria. The King of Sardinia, if the Convention ratifies the treaty, is to give up Cuneo and Alessandria, some say Suza; the latter place, I believe, as security for his punctual adherence to the treaty.

H. N.

P.S.—As you have letters from the Consuls, I take for granted they tell you all the news. The Neapolitan Minister is just arrived here, in a Spanish Frigate, from Barcelona. I dare say has been negotiating to desert us in case of a rupture with Spain, which from what I hear must soon happen, or, which is improbable, again unite against the French. The case of the Swedish Man-of-War convoying requires your advice or orders. Last War, you will recollect, we had orders to search all Convoys.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"May 3rd. P.M.—Weighed. 5th. P.M.—Chased a Ship and a Brig close in shore—made the Peterel's signal to chase N.W. At 3 made the signal to recall her from chase—ditto for her Captain—the two Vessels got close under the batteries at Albango, who fired several shot at us, which we returned. Falling little wind, and the swell setting in shore, tacked ship and stood out to sea. 7th. P.M.—At 20 minutes past 4 gave chase to a Brig and two Gun-boats into the Bay of Pietra—cleared ship for action—made the signal for all boats manned and armed. At 5 made the signal No. 54. At 10 minutes past 5 made the Blanche's signal No. 35—repeated the signal to the Peterel. At 6 the Blanche made the signal that the Vessels seen were at anchor; at half-past 6 the Town opened their fire upon the Squadron; at three quarters past 6 made the signal No. 5; at 55 minutes past 6 made the Blanche's signal No. 34. At half-past 8 the Blanche made the signal of distress, and for being in want of immediate assistance—sent our carpenters on board—hauled out to sea—the batteries ceased firing—calm at times. 8th. A.M.—The Boats of the Squadron brought out a Ship and a Brig from Finale, which both proving Genoese (and empty), liberated them."—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Noli, May 4th, 1796.

My letters, as also those of Mr. Trevor, and Mr. Drake, having been sent off in the Minerva, in her way to Leghorn, and, since writing in the morning, getting within three or four miles of Southampton, I have recalled her. Mr. Drake's is copies of letters to Lord Grenville, and one from Sir William Hamilton, saying the Flotilla would rendezvous at St. Fiorenzo. My letter was to say the Zebecks and Galliots would be very acceptable on this Coast: also the Feluccas. The Gun-Boats are not, I believe, fit for this service. I also sent a letter from Mr. Trevor.

I am told it is probable the Peterel may be wanted. The recall for her, if you please to direct it to the Senior-Officer then with her, may expedite her joining you. Our fit-out from Ajaccio is miserable, and I have requested your order to buy twine, spars, and some other articles, which the Commissioner has not sent. I have sent you his letters. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Part of this Letter is printed in vol. i. p. 167.]

Sir, Agamemnon, off Cape Noli, 4th of May, 1796.

I got out of Genoa yesterday forenoon, and this morning joined Blanche, when I received your letters of 26th and 27th of April, with the several inclosures, for which I beg leave to thank you. Captain Sawyer had unfortunately sent my letters, left with him on my going to Genoa, by the Minerva, which will make it some time before you receive them. Southampton is too far to the Westward to recall her, and send the substance. I have wrote by Southampton, and have only to add a letter of General La Harpe's, and that on the 1st instant the French, it is said, took possession of Alessandria. I have still hopes from General Beaulieu; should these people follow him into the plain, his force is very respectable. The French are levying contributions of money and bread, &c., all over Piedmont; and it is said the Piedmontese have paid more already than they used to pay their King for several years. The Peterel I left for the post, and she has not yet joined me. I send the Diadem direct for Genoa, to complete her water, and in eight or ten days I must go to Leghorn for wood and some wine, and to get some absolute necessaries for the Ship, on which subject I have wrote you. Transports can water at Genoa with greater

convenience and expedition than either at Leghorn or St. Fiorenzo. I should suppose the Genoese Government could have no objection on any ground of neutrality. Boats can be had to bring it off without any difficulty. Fresh lemons can be had better at Genoa than Leghorn, either in bulk or in chests. But I rather think you will be far Westerly after the Enemy. It is not improbable but they may be bound for Cadiz, to engage Admiral Man off that Port, and to be joined at the same time by Richery; but all must be conjecture, they may also be bound to Sicily, where all is not right. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B., and Letter-Book. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. i. p. 168.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, 8th May, 1796.

Since writing you by the Southampton, but little has occurred. I send you a copy of the Treaty of suspension of Arms, and of Mr. Trevor's letter to Mr. Brame. From the first, it appears, that the King of *Turin* is to accept of what the five Kings may direct; for the Minister, and Salicetti, &c., would not hear of a Treaty of Peace, without orders from Paris. Respecting Mr. Trevor's letter, I cannot but observe, *entre nous*, that a Minister may be continued too long at a particular Court; he becomes imperceptibly the friend of that Court, when he ought to be the jealous observer of their conduct. Indeed, Mr. Trevor seems sensible of the truth of my observation.

The Meleager has joined me from Leghorn. The Vice-roy has bought the sixteen hundred stand of arms, and all the ammunition: the hulls of all the Vessels, we expect, will also be condemned, for they are hired Transports. Yesterday evening we chased into Loano a French Gun-boat, two light Brigs, and one deep one; they came from the anchorage at Alassio; and yet, from missing the same sort of Vessels out of Vado, we rather believe (without being able to account how they came to the Westward, and steered again to the Eastward) they are from Vado. It fell stark calm as we got within shot, and dark. Several shots struck the Blanche, and one, a hot one, which set her on fire, but we soon got the shot cut out, and towed off; her sails and rigging were also cut, but not a man killed or wounded. With our general

good luck, not a shot struck us, and only one gun was fired from the Squadron; we were long gun-shot distant, and it would only have been a waste of powder and shot. The Enemy have at least five hundred men at work building a new battery, and I am waiting for a good wind to get at them, when I fully expect the deep Brig.

Two Brigs, and several Tartans, having got into Finale, which we supposed to be French, I took the opportunity of the Enemy's fancying we were looking at them, to send the Boats of the Squadron, under Lieutenants Culverhouse, Compton, and Drummond; Meleager, Agamemnon, Peterel, and Lieutenant Grant, of the Blanche, to cut out the Vessels at Finale, which they did without a person in the Town, or Vessels, knowing it; but they were all Genoese, and I released them this morning, sending a note to the Governor of Finale, which I trust can do no harm, and may be of some use to us.

May 9th; 7 A.M.—Minerva is in sight, by whom I send this letter. Diadem should have sailed yesterday morning from Genoa: I am sorry she did not. I spoke a Vessel last night which left Genoa yesterday. He says that the French will not make Peace with the King of Sardinia, and that a detachment of Austrians have again taken possession of the Bochetta. This account makes me more sorry that Diadem did not sail. I am afraid to give credit to what would please me so much. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF FINALE.

[From a copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Agamemnon, May 8th, 1796.

Commodore Nelson is very much surprised that whenever he approaches any Town belonging to the Genoese Government, they fire shot at him.

The Commodore promises never to fire on any Town, unless they fire, or permit anybody to fire, on him: then the Inhabitants must submit to the bad consequences. If the Batteries are in possession of the Enemy, and the Inhabitants do not prevent their firing, it is they who will suffer.

The Commodore begs you will let this be known to all Towns belonging to the Genoese.

P.S.—The Commodore avails himself of this opportunity to acquaint the Genoese Inhabitants that he has the greatest respect for the Genoese Nation, and he would be very sorry

should an individual suffer; for which reason he acquaints them of this his resolution, and, at the same time, wishes it to be known that every Genoese Ship which does not attempt to escape from the English Squadron will have nothing to fear.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, 14th May, 1796.

The Diadem joined me yesterday, after ten days' absence, not being able to get out of Genoa Mole. We have had, and now have, very extraordinary weather—fogs, heavy swells, and calms. I send you Mr. Trevor's letter to me, and will thank you to direct Mr. Purvis to lay by my letters from Mr. Trevor and Mr. Drake, that I may some time or other receive them again.

The French, by Captain Towry's account, are crossed the Po, and with little or no opposition. Reports say General Beaulieu is retreating to Mantua, and that Milan has presented its keys to the Enemy. Where, or when, is the progress of these people to be stopped? If the Emperor has not Troops to face them, Peace seems the only alternative. I send you, as Mr. Brame tells me he has inclosed the notes to you, what I wish if he has the authority (which he once told me he had not) to tell the Genoese Minister, and also an extract of my letter to Mr. Drake, the contents of all which, if I feel it necessary, I shall at a future time communicate to you. The Tartar is expected from Genoa, who I shall send to you, with this packet, and also what I expect by Blanche, who was to sail from Genoa this morning.

I must now revert to a subject as unpleasant for you to hear as for me to write—the miserable state of Agamemnon. Ourselves and Meleager are two tubs, floating on the water. Our ground-tier I have every reason to believe is given way: we know some of the casks fell in. I shall venture to get two spars for top-gallant yards at Leghorn, and twenty pounds of twine; for the Commissioner kindly sent us ten pounds of coarse twine, but not an inch of sewing. I am glad Captain Smith got good rope at Ajaccio. What is sent us is, without exception, the worst I ever saw. The twice-laid we make on board is far preferable. Indeed, I never saw any so bad in my life. How can a Commander-in-Chief form a true judgment from such direct opposite assertions? I must suppose the Ship going to the Fleet

was intended to be well served; and to us, from it, it was of no consequence, being too far from the ear of the Commander-in-Chief. This may be politic, but cannot be proper.

May 15th, Noon.—Tartar has joined me: Blanche is in sight. I send you Salicetti's account of the defeat of Beaulieu, but Captain Elphinstone tells me it is not believed. Pray God it is not so. Blanche is joined, and I send you every news I have received. Believe me, Sir, with every respect, your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO [MR. DRAKE?]

[Letter-Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, May 14th, 1796.

Affairs on shore seem going from bad to worse, and no prospect of an alteration for the better. However, I must suppose the Emperor could send more Troops if he pleases. If not, the consequences must be the same as at Turin. But, my dear Sir, Mr. Brame has sent me an extract of a letter without a name, which he says you desired him to send me, asserting such a [illegible]t charge of treason against the English Fleet, under the direction of Admiral Sir John Jervis, as cannot but surprise me.

I have related to you before the exact circumstances. As I was on board the Victory, and you appeared satisfied that we could not help the Convoy getting into Vado, I shall not forward this anonymous extract to the Admiral, until I know from yourself that it is your wish. The Admiral will, of course, take such measures as he shall j[illegible] proper for the vindication of his exalted character against [illegible] pen of a scoundrel. I feel no small degree of sorrow that you should receive such a letter from any correspondent, if he is known to you. He must be a bad man, and probably a true Sans Culotte, by his wishing, by fabrication, to injure the character of our Navy in the eyes of the world. I will finish this part.

Our Fleet is in high order off Toulon, and only wishing to meet the Enemy at sea. It will then be seen if we are traitors. I have once more to assert, that I cannot answer for the consequences if Port Especia is not taken possession of. The Enemy may send what they please by water, and let it be recollected that (although I will do my utmost) I do not believe it is in my power to prevent Troops or stores from passing along shore. Heavy swells, light breezes, and

the near approach to the shore which these Vessels go are our obstacles. This Coast is now full of Troops from one end of it to the other; some Vessels we stood after the other day till we got becalmed, with a heavy swell on the Coast. The Blanche was set on fire by hot shot, and nearly all the Squadron drove on shore; and this to endeavour to injure a Brig or two—perhaps Genoese, after all. I have now before me such complaints from the Genoese Secretary of State, for taking their Vessels even out of a French Port. On the other side lay a complaint that we receive Frenchmen on board, and allow a Convoy to pass.

Indeed, my dear Sir, you may perceive I feel distressed. Do you really think we are of any use here? if not, we may serve our Country much more by being in other places. The Levant and Coast of Spain call aloud for Ships, and they are, I fancy, employed to no purpose here; for unless the Austrians get possession of a point of land, we cannot stop the Coasting trade. With sincerest respect and regard, believe me your faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

[Letter-Book.]

My dear Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, May 14th, 1796.

Your letter of May 4th, with a letter for the Admiral, I received last night, and shall send to the Admiral to-morrow. We must all of us lament the fate of the King of Sardinia, more especially as I fear many of his Subjects were not so faithful to him as they ought to be. It rarely happens that Allies speak well of each other—the Austrians of the Piedmontese, and the Piedmontese speak ill of the Germans; and both, I fancy, speak ill of us,—for not stopping a Convoy which, I will venture to say, was no more to be stopped by us than the moon in her course.

Perhaps we Officers ought to avoid giving our opinions of measures out of our profession. Let the Germans take care of the land. We ever have, and ever will remain, I hope, Masters of the seas. Had the Germans, &c., been possessed of a point of land, and a Convoy had then passed, the blame would have laid, perhaps, properly with us; and until we have a point of land to act from, we cannot stop the Trade passing *terre à terre*. Indeed, I know of no use we are of here; for the Enemy do not want provisions, or warlike

stores. The Admiral is much distressed for Frigates to send up the Levant, and to the Coast of Spain.

Our Fleet is off Toulon, and I have only to hope that the Enemy will come out (when I join them), and give us a fair opportunity of meeting them on an element where we always wish to see them. Our Fleet is in high order. Corsica is, I hope (at least the Vice-Roy says so), in a fair way of being made quiet—that the refractory are few, and that he is now fully equal to face either outward or inward enemies.

You may be assured that no event of any moment shall take place without my writing to you, and I beg you will tell me, as soon as you think it right, the event of the Treaty going on at Paris. I always dispatched your letters, or extracts from them, to Sir John Jervis, than whom no Officer can be more zealous or able to render every service in our profession to England. With my best respects to Mr. Jackson, believe me, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Leghorn, May 18th, 1796.

Whenever you think it the proper time to withdraw the Ships from the Gulf of Genoa, I beg you will not hesitate one moment in directing my Pendant to be struck. I assure you, much as I felt flattered by your kind notice in directing me to hoist it, yet I shall as cheerfully serve without, as with it; and for many reasons, you may not wish to have a Distinguishing Pendant in the Fleet, especially as mine must fly without arrangements, which may be troublesome in a sixty-four worn out.

Fame says a promotion is certainly very nearly taking place. If so, the Admiralty will either direct my Flag to be hoisted here, or I shall have a land voyage. I must now take the liberty of saying a word of my health. It certainly is not bad: on the contrary, I believe better than medical people say it is; but I believe a little rest, and the baths of Pisa, the same nearly as Bath, would do me great service. If I could, without any great impediment to the Service, take twenty days to fit me for another winter, I should not dislike it: but perhaps I shall do without it, and do not much like what I have written. Believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful servant, HORATIO NELSON.

I had a letter from our friend Locker, of April 12th. He desires his particular respects to you.

MEMORANDUM DELIVERED TO MR. BRAME, BRITISH CONSUL AT GENOA.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B., and Letter-Book. An imperfect copy of this Memorandum is in vol. i. p. 170.]

[About 15th May, 1796.]

The Papers from the Secretary of State, I am astonished at; and before I answer a word of it, if it is proper for you to communicate officially with the Genoese Government, which I think you told me *it was not*, I wish to know officially and no more than a plain answer, 'Yes,' or 'No,' are all the Batteries on the Coast manned and belonging to the Genoese? Should the answer be 'Yes;' then I have a most heavy complaint to make, and doubt not but England is fully equal to repel the insult every day offered to her Flag. Should the answer be 'No, they are in possession of the French;' then of course I shall consider it as an Enemy's Coast. It may be said, and truly, that 'The French have erected Batteries from one end of the Coast to the other, within shot of each other; but we have some Fortresses which remain still in our possession, and we know that the Batteries fire on the approach of any English Ship, nor have we the means or power of preventing it. If an English Ship comes into any of our Ports or Roads to the Westward, we know that she will be fired at and destroyed, unless she is able to batter down the fortifications: we must acknowledge our Ports to the Westward are not neutral for the English.' As this must be the language of the Secretary of State, how can he for a moment fancy, that I can receive shot and shells from every part of the Coast, and not consider it as hostile? This, he may be assured of, that I never have, nor ever will fire the first shot; but if shot are fired, I will do my utmost to destroy the Battery firing at the English flag: in doing this I shall guard as much as possible against injuring any individual Genoese, a Nation I respect on many accounts. But the Secretary must be sensible, that a fire of cannon, once opened, is terrible to a Town; therefore the Town's-people should not suffer a gun to be fired at the English flag, when they will remain perfectly safe. Believe me, dear Sir, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"16th May. Joined company H.M. Ship Comet; came on board, Lieutenant Edward Berry, P.M. anchored in Leghorn Roads."—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, Leghorn Roads, May 18th, 1796.

I have requested Admiral Linzee to allow the Surgeon of the Agamemnon, Mr. Cornwall Reynolds, to exchange with the Surgeon of the Nemesis, in order the more easily to effect a change into the Blenheim, with his friend, Captain Frederick. This will be advantageous to Mr. Reynolds, and therefore, from his conduct since under my command, I feel much interested that you should allow of the exchange from Nemesis to Blenheim, and, in doing this, an additional obligation will be conferred upon, dear Sir, your most faithful servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

I shall write fully by Comet a public letter.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. i. p. 174.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Leghorn Roads, 23rd May, 1796.

As I suspected, the Neapolitan Flotilla has not yet arrived, nor yet left Naples. The Flotilla which I wrote you was at Longona, is only to attend Convoys, and protect the Coast.

I believe there is a struggle between the Courts of Vienna and Spain, which shall dictate to that of Naples. The advance of the French has been certainly much facilitated by the defection of our Allies, brought on, in this part, by their fears. Report says, the *Pope* has accommodated matters with the French; however, that will not stop them, if the Austrian Army is not able. I am anxious for the arrival of the Genoese post, which ought to have come in this morning, as I desired Mr. Brame to write me here, as well as to the sea. The Consul, I take for granted, will send you a copy of Mr. Drake's letter from Verona. General Beaulieu is certainly getting reinforcements, and the French have not for one week advanced. The castle of Milan has twice repulsed the French, who now only blockade it. Poor Gibson is in quarantine, and I cannot get him out, which I wished to do. I hope to sail at daylight in the morning, and if I have any interesting letters from Mr. Drake, or Mr. Trevor, I shall send a Ship to you. I beg, Sir, if you think I can be any very useful by coming to you, without the Pendant, that

you will order it to be struck without hesitation. I do not believe my health is such as to require Pisa at present, at least I am willing to believe so. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Two extracts from this Letter are in vol. i. p. 175.

"25th May. Weighed and sailed from Leghorn."—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Dear Sir, 30th May, 1796.

I send Captain Cockburn, as I believe his anxiety to get into La Minerve is great. Your cruise off Toulon is tedious no doubt, but not uninteresting in its consequences; for if any plan, which the Directory have laid, is defeated for three or four months, there is no calculating what benefit may arise to our Country from it: I think they are bound Westward, I cannot bring myself to believe they will venture Eastward; if they do, I have no doubt but we shall get at them. I know not what opinion to give about my Squadron; I have wrote to Mr. Drake on the subject, and much will depend on his account of what the Austrian Army is likely to do. If it can again make head, and this insurrection of the peasantry be encouraged, we may again be of some use; but the Austrians have now no object to bring them on the sea-coast.

Mr. Berry joined me in the Comet, and I have, as far as I have seen, every reason to be satisfied with him, both as a gentleman and an officer. I had a few days ago laid a plan for taking the French Brig of War out of Vado, and intrusted the execution of it to him: it miscarried from an unforeseen and improbable event, but I was well pleased by Mr. Berry's strict attention to my instructions.

I here beg leave to mention a circumstance which I dare say you hear of in the Fleet—the badness of the lemons. I ordered lemons on board at Leghorn in the chests. There ought to have been 5000 and upwards, but not 2000 were sound. It is distressing to fancy we have the means of keeping scurvy from our Ships, when such numbers are rotten. The chests sent certainly ought to be good; therefore should be repacked before they are sent to the Fleet, at Genoa. I have bought them in numbers fresh from the trees, and any quantity might be got there, I fancy, in one day's notice. I know, Sir, you must be interested in what-

ever concerns the health of the Seamen, which is my reason for mentioning this circumstance; for believe me, dear Sir, with the highest esteem, your most obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. A fragment of this Letter is printed in vol. i. p. 175, from Clarke and M'Arthur, as if it were a part of the preceding Letter.]

Sir, Agamemnon, Gulf of Genoa, May 30th, 1796.

The Meleager joined me yesterday from Genoa; and I send you all the letters and information received by her. It would appear that Mr. Trevor's postscript is very much later than his first letter. Its complexion is very different from the letter: the letter being all despair, the postscript all hope. Why we are to look towards Porto Conté is not expressed. Is it that French principles are imported there? That seems already done. Can it be that if Troops or Ships are sent from France, they will go there? That appears by the Treaty to be needless. Or is it that an embarkation from Sardinia may take place to assist the rebels in Corsica? From its being mentioned with Corsica affairs, I am led to believe this is meant; but I know not how we can get at the knowledge, unless a Ship is sent there, or the Vice-Roy sends spies to look out. The latter, perhaps, is the most eligible. Mr. Trevor seems to think a Spanish war is almost unavoidable, and that the French, after all their protestations, will take possession of Leghorn. My mind is clear, if they have force to penetrate further into Italy, they will possess themselves of Leghorn. The Toulon information is, as I always thought it, pleasant to know, but never to be depended upon; all is guess, they may go east, west, north, or south. These Commissioners know nothing, they write a history to get money; in this, I fancy, they succeed wonderfully well. I hope to hear soon from Mr. Drake of the actual situation of the Armies, and if he has hopes: if Mr. Drake has none, (for he will have them, if within probability, however distant,) I shall have not the smallest.

Mr. Brame's letter gives an account of insurrections: this must embarrass the French General. The Speedy has joined me, and from her rowing, if anything is to be done close in shore, she is more likely to effect it than any of us. The Surgeon of the Blanche being dead, and Captain Sawyer having applied to me for the Surgeon of the Speedy to act till your pleasure is known, I have directed Mr. Robert

Smith, Surgeon of the Speedy, to act in the Blanche. I shall beg leave to refer you to Captain Cockburn for any little occurrences which have taken place; and am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. i. p. 179.

"31st *May*. P.M. at 2 saw a Convoy of small Vessels in shore steering to the Eastward. Made the Signal for a general chase. The Boats of the Squadron proceeded to cut out the French Vessels at St. Stefano—let go the best bower anchor, in 5 fathoms water—the Speedy anchored—the Enemy opened their fire from a Bombard and 3 Ketches—employed carrying out hawsers, &c., to get the Vessels off—came out one Brig, one Bombard, and three Ketches—the Prizes all out at sea. *June* 1st. A.M.—At 7, up anchor and made sail."—*Agamemnon's Log*.]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, off Nice, June 2nd, 1795.

I have sent the Diadem, with all the prizes, (except the armed Ketch,) first to San Fiorenzo, where the Brig, and, if not too leaky, the Ketch, loaded with ordnance stores, are to be left; and I have wrote the Viceroy, if he wants any of them for the Island, I shall direct them to be landed. The mortars are wonderfully fine, thirteen and a half inch: but the number of either cannon or mortars we know not. Everything seems put on board in confusion. The Vessel with brandy, and the Gun-boat, if not wanted in Corsica, I have desired Captain Towry to carry to Leghorn, where, having completed his provisions, to join me off Cape Noli. I have kept the Ketch with me, and put a Mate and a few men into her, and occasionally shall send her in-shore, where she may be of great use; she sails and rows exceedingly well, and just hove down, and completely refitted. By papers found, sixteen sail of Transports are destined for Vado, with ordnance stores for the siege, and cannoniers. I wish we may get any of the others, but the chance is much against us: I can only promise, that I will not miss an opportunity. I have an account of the exact force of the Enemy the 6th of February, sent to General Buonaparte: it consists, including the garrisons of Toulon and the whole Coast, 65,000 men. The Army, when Buonaparte took the command, was effective 30,875. Probably many of the 65,000 are gone forward; but still, on the whole, the force is not so great as I believed; and if the report is true, of the peasantry having taken arms, it yet gives hopes that the Army of the Enemy may repent of their advance into Italy, especially if the Emperor sends reinforcements to General Beaulieu. I have got the charts of Italy sent by the Direc-

tory to Buonaparte, also Maillebois' Wars in Italy, Vauban's Attack and Defence of Places, Prince Eugene's History; all sent for the General. If Buona Parti is ignorant, the Directory, it would appear, wish to instruct him: pray God he may remain ignorant.

In my public letter it is impossible to enumerate every individual; but next to Captain Cockburn stands Captain Stuart of the Peterel: Spicer commanded the Boats which first boarded the Ketch, under the heavy fire, and had a little skirmish when on board, and to whom the Commander surrendered.

I have found the list of all the cargoes of the sixteen Vessels we have taken. The ¼ of the brass Cannon, which I am sorry to say is only two; ½ of the large mortars; ¼ of the 24-pound shot; ¼ of the shells; of other articles it is impossible to express. Believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful humble servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Part of this Letter is in vol. i. p. 180.]

Dear Sir, June 3rd, 1796.

The Southampton has this moment joined me, and I shall directly proceed to St. Fiorenzo, and effect the exchange as soon as possible. I feel obligations to you on every occasion, since I have had the pleasure to serve under your command; and I endeavour, by an assiduous attention to my duty, to merit the continuance of your good opinion. I shall not go to Pisa at present, we may be useful here; and, to say the truth, when I am actively employed I am not so bad. My complaint is as if a girth was buckled taut over my breast, and my endeavours, in the night, is to get it loose. If the Service will admit of it, perhaps I shall at a future day take your leave. I have manned and put a Lieutenant into the Ketch: she will be of the greatest service. I will not keep the Southampton a moment: therefore shall conclude by assuring you how much I am your faithful humble servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

I wish, Sir, Captain Cockburn had the Minerve; he is worthy of her, or a better Ship. My poor Soldier-officer wishes much to go with me, and his Regiment is by far in greater numbers than the 25th, which, I think, is on board the Egmont; if it is possible, pray Sir, indulge me.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Some extracts from this Letter are in vol. i. p. 181.

"June 4th. Anchored in St. Fiorenzo Bay."—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, San Fiorenzo, June 4th, 1796.

I never was more surprised than on my arrival here to find Sutton does not wish to go to England, except in the Egmont. I feel full of gratitude for your good wishes towards me, and highly flattered by your desire to have me continue to serve under your command, which I own would afford me infinite satisfaction. I therefore beg leave to propose some measures which may still give me that pleasure.

The first is, the Agamemnon can certainly remain in this Country for the next three months, but she must be in England before the winter. Another is, that if a Sixty-four is ordered to go, that although Diadem is certainly in better plight than Agamemnon, yet in point of sailing she is much inferior. The third is, if you really think that the Admiralty will order my flag to be hoisted in this Country, that you direct me to hoist my Pendant on board any Ship you judge proper. Captain Miller, or any other Post Captain, put into Agamemnon, and a Master and Commander acting into the Post Ship, which the Admiralty may confirm, or not, as they please; and I have no doubt but if you are pleased to represent that from my local knowledge of this Country, that you think it necessary to keep me in the Country, although Agamemnon goes home, but the Admiralty will approve. You will easily perceive, that my wishes to stay are sincere; were they not, after your kindness to me, I should be an ingrate. But I hope Sir Charles Knowles, or some other Captain, will wish to go home; for I am assured the promotion is to take place the 1st June. I still think I shall stay with you, which will be real satisfaction to, dear Sir, your most obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

The Diadem is, I fancy, blown into Leghorn; but I have sent an order for Captain Towry to join me here directly. Since writing I find Captain Miller is appointed to a better Ship than Mignonne. I only mentioned him as I fancied he would be glad to leave his present command.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. i. p. 182.]

Sir, 5th June, 1796.

Two days after we took the Vessel with Austrian troops on board, who had been made prisoners by the French, a Boat came off to Captain Cockburn, with a Genoese Master and crew of the Vessel, and papers, to say they were chartered by the Spanish Consul at Savona, to carry these Troops to Barcelona for the Swiss regiment. I have examined some of the Austrians, who say, that they were marched by a guard to the Vessel, and, when on board, a person gave them thirty sous each, and told them they were going to Spain, where they would find many of their comrades. The men say it was against their inclination, and that they wish to return to their own service, or to serve with the English till there is an opportunity. Knowing, as I do, that the French absolutely sell them to the Spaniards, I have no difficulty in keeping them, to be returned to their own Sovereign whenever opportunities offer; and, if you approve, I shall discharge the Genoese Vessel, and put the men, with Admiral Linzee's permission, into the Mignonne. They want a change of apparel, which, if we get no work for it, the German Government ought to pay, and a bed each: they are, Sir, as fine healthy-looking men as I ever saw, the oldest of one hundred and fifty-two is thirty-four years of age. I think, till we have an opportunity of sending them to General Beaulieu, they would add to the strength of our Ships, five Ships thirty each: this is submitted with deference to your better judgment. I am, Sir, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, San Fiorenzo, June 5th, 1796.

I am not the less anxious than yesterday for having slept since my last letter. Indeed, Sir, I cannot bear the thoughts of leaving your Command. You have placed an unbounded confidence in me, and I own I feel that no exertion of mine has been for a moment wanting to merit so great an honour.

I have yet another mode to propose, if you approve: the promotion then will be of no advantage to you, and very trifling expense—which is, that if you really think I shall have the happiness to hoist my Flag under your command,

that Captain Pater, who will go home passenger in the Agamemnon, may be Captain of her, and my Pendant can be hoisted in any thing. It is true, this way I shall lose the Officers, which I shall regret; but that cannot be helped; for a better, and I know of none so equally good, in this Fleet. I will not take many Mids. and men out of the Ship, should this meet with your approbation. Believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

Lieutenant Suckling wishes to go home.

Lieutenant	Berry . . .	1st
,,	Spicer . . .	2nd
		3rd (Suckling was third.)
,,	Summers . .	4th
,,	Noble . . .	5th
,,	Compton . .	6th

Except that it is considered as proper for an additional one for the Pendant, since Mr. Berry's coming on board, we have one too many.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, June 5th, Evening, [1796.]

As the Speedy is come in with one of our Prizes, I take the liberty of sending her to receive your final directions about me. I have wrote so fully by the Egmont, who I hope will be with you to-morrow, that I shall not venture to urge my request—viz., that you will contrive that I may still serve with you. I may have been impertinent in suggesting so many ways, in which I may still remain: but do not believe I meant my propositions in any other way than an anxious disposition pointed out. I send Speedy, as you may not have any Vessel you may wish to spare from the Fleet. Believe me, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Agamemnon, San Fiorenzo, June 9th, 1796.

The Comet is just arrived, and I rejoice more than a little at the certainty of remaining under your command. Four hours will change all my matters, and I am very anxious to resume my station.

The Diadem is just arrived from Leghorn, and so soon as she is victualled, I shall order her to join Captain Cockburn. Captain Towry tells me the Ketch laden with the mortars, and innumerable ordnance stores, foundered at Sea, in the Western gale. The Brig he carried into Leghorn with the Gun-Boat. I have sent a list of the cargo to the Vice-Roy, that he may take what he pleases. The Provision Vessel is here, and I shall order her to be sold, as I have recommended the Peterel's Prize, laden with wine, to be the same. Believe me, dear Sir, your obliged and faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO [MR. TREVOR.]

[Letter Book.]

"June 11. Left the AGAMEMNON and came on board the CAPTAIN. Came on board from the Agamemnon, Lieutenants Berry, Spicer, Saunders, and Noble.—13th. Weighed.—17th. Off Cape Sicie joined the Fleet.—18th. Parted from the Fleet."—*Agamemnon's Log.*

Dear Sir, Captain, Gulf of Genoa, June 19th, 1796.

You will, I fear, have conceived me guilty of great neglect, not having wrote you so long a time, or answered your letters of May 21st, 23rd, and 25th; but the same day as received I forwarded them to the Admiral, and proceeded myself to San Fiorenzo, to exchange Ships with a particular Captain, who wished to go to England; but the Captain having changed his mind, the Agamemnon remained a full week under orders for England, and had the Corn-Ship arrived from Naples during this time, I must have gone. The Admiral has induced the Captain of this Ship to go home, in old, worn-out Agamemnon, and my Pendant is flying here, in expectation that my Flag will be ordered out here. I am anxious to know as soon as possible, if the promotion has taken place on the 1st or 4th of June. The Admiral's regulations of a good Ship for me, will depend on his knowing the certainty of the thing as soon as possible: therefore I shall feel much obliged to you for information after the 4th of June. I believe your communication with England is now not only the quickest, but safest. I left Sir John Jervis yesterday. The Enemy have eleven Sail of the Line in the Outer Road, and more are fitting. Should Richery even escape Admiral Man, and get to Toulon, I have no fears in the event of a general action. Sir John is a good and gallant Officer, and will, I am sure, be supported. I wish the fate of Italy depended on us. The Admiral has honoured me with the command of the Van-Division, whenever that event is likely to take place.

You will, of course, have [heard] of the events in Corsica. Some good may, and generally does, result even from fancied misfortunes. England, by the ungrateful conduct of the Islanders, is liberated from her promises of [*sic*] with them. It will save us much money, and many valuable lives. The Vice-Roy is fixed about the proper conduct to be pursued with these people. The English Troops are all on the Sea-Coast. I shall not finish my letter till my arrival at Genoa.

TO COLONEL GRAHAM.

[Letter Book.]

Sir, Captain, at Sea, June 19th, 1796.

Having yesterday received notice from Sir John Jervis, that you are appointed to reside at the head-quarters of the Austrian Army, and directing me to correspond with you, in future, on affairs relative to the Army, instead of his Excellency, Mr. Drake; I need not, I fancy, acquaint you, Sir, that I have, since the first arrival of General de Vins last year, been the Officer appointed to co-operate with the German Army, whenever they should come on the Coast. But, alas! I fear there is scarcely a ray of hope of my seeing them again. Happy, indeed, should I be, if such a favourable change should take place.

You may depend on receiving every communication from me of the state of affairs in our Fleet, and the probability of what may happen, and I shall not fail to communicate all your letters to Sir John Jervis. We have hopes the French may advance too far. One lucky blow will ruin them. Pray God it may be soon.

On the 31st May I took exactly one quarter of the battering-cannon, mortars, shells, shot, and every ordnance store intended for the siege of Mantua; for I have an exact list of every store intended for that Siege, sent for Buona Parti, together with maps, an exact return of his Army at the opening the Campaign, and such books as the Directory think it right he should read at his leisure hours, viz., Mallebois' Wars in Italy, Memoirs of Marshal Catinat, Duke de Vendome, Vauban's Attack and Defence of Places, the Life of Prince Eugene, Mémoires Politiques, the Life of the Duke of Berwick, Hannibal's March over the Alps, Plans of Attack and Defence, in good plates. These books are sent by the Directory: a proof of their attention.

I have to request that you will acquaint General Beaulieu, that I have taken a Vessel which contained 150 Austrian

prisoners, who had been sold by the French Commissaries at Savona, to the Spaniards, to the disgrace of the French, and still much more disgrace of the Spaniards. The Admiral has directed them to be clothed—for they were naked; and distributed them to the different Ships in the Fleet, until there is an opportunity of returning them to General Beaulieu. I send you a paper of the Spanish Consul. They cannot plead ignorant that the Recruits were Prisoners of War, and belonging to the Emperor. More than two thousand, these people say, have already been sold. They were marched by a French guard in the night, on board the Vessel.

I hope Mr. Drake has left you a small Cypher, which he established with me. If he has not, he will, I am sure, order one to be made. The Enemy have eleven Sail in the Outer Road, and more fitting. Our Fleet is close off the Port, and in most exceeding good order. Believe, me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO GEORGE GRAVES, ESQ., BRITISH AGENT, ROME.

[Letter Book.]

Sir, Captain, at Sea, June 20th, 1796.

Admiral Sir John Jervis having directed me to open a confidential correspondence with you, on such affairs as come within the limits of my Command, (which is between Toulon and Genoa), I beg leave to assure you that no interesting event shall take place without my writing to you.

I left the Admiral yesterday, off Toulon, twelve Sail of the Line. The Enemy have eleven in the outer road, one other nearly ready, and four or five slowly fitting. Our Fleet is in such high health and good order, that we desire nothing else than to see the Enemy at sea, even with all their Ships. I will assure you, that under such an Officer as Sir John Jervis, we shall not fail of success. Letters directed for me, either to our Consul at Leghorn, or Genoa, will always reach me.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Captain, off St. Remo, June 20th, 1796.

By Britannia I send you a few French books, and some regulations for their Marine. I have not sent you Vauban's

Attack and Defence of Places, as I believe you will not at present wish to study that science.—Believe me ever, dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

[Letter Book. "June 21st, anchored at Genoa."—*Captain's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Captain, Genoa Mole, June 22nd, 1796.

Yesterday I was favoured with your letter from Padua, of May 24th; and it is with real concern I hear you are removed from the head-quarters of the Austrian Army; for without attempting to detract from the merit of Colonel Graham, I will venture to say your loss will be felt. I shall always remember, with the most lively gratitude, your kind expressions about me, and shall always be proud to merit your good opinion.

Upon the Admiral's idea that my Flag will be ordered to be hoisted in this Country, I have hoisted my Pendant here, and poor Agamemnon is sailed for England. I have the Officers, and many of the Agamemnon's crew with me; and I believe we can raise as good a name for the Captain as the Agamemnon possessed.

You will have heard that we took a French Convoy at L'Ariena, on May 31st; and in it exactly one quarter of the guns, mortars, shells, shot, and innumerable quantity of other stores, ordered from France, for the siege of Mantua. I have a list of the Vessels intended, and all the cargoes. We miscarried taking the Man-of-War and Convoy out of Vado Bay, by an accident which human foresight could not prevent. The detail is useless; but the impression of fear is so great, that the Brig, Gun Boats, &c., &c., are hauled into the Mole of Savona, and not a French Vessel is moving on the Coast. The Southampton, Captain Macnamara, took a Corvette out of Hieres Bay a short time since, in a very handsome manner. Sir John Jervis is close off Toulon, and we sincerely hope the Enemy will come out even with all their Ships, which in time they say will be seventeen Sail of the Line. Eleven are now in the outer Road, the others slowly fitting.

I must now call your attention for a moment to affairs at Genoa. Mr. Brame no sooner receives a complaint from the Secretary of State, than he sends it to Lord Grenville. I recollect you, Sir, had always the goodness to send to me, or the party concerned, for our account, and both

met, to see either, which enabled his Lordship to form an opinion; but this conduct leaves my character liable to suspicion for four or five months. I wish, my dear Sir, you would direct Mr. Brame to send the complaint to you, and not to be quite so precipitate. I believe he means to do right, but I cannot be exactly pleased. I have at his request wrote something on a paper, which he may talk over with the Secretary of State; and to say that our not complaining of being fired at from every Town and point between Savona and Ventimiglia, and his Majesty's Subjects killed and wounded almost every day, arose from a belief that it was the French who had the batteries, and were masters of the whole Coast: therefore I did not wish in the present critical situation of Genoa, to make any complaint; but that if the Genoese Government wished a regular complaint from us, that we could make a very heavy one. The paper I scribbled in Mr. Brame's room he will send you; but I have charged him to give nothing that will come with more propriety through your *orders*. I pray God General Beaulieu may yet make head against these miscreants. I sincerely wish I could assist him.—Ever believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

I shall not fail to constantly write you.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR FAIRPOULT.

[Letter Book. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 188.]

Sir, Captain, Genoa Mole, 22nd June, 1796.

Generous Nations are above rendering any other damage to individuals than such as the known Laws of War prescribe. In a Vessel lately taken by my Squadron is an *imperiale* full of clothes belonging to a General Officer, Commanding Officer of Artillery. I therefore send you the clothes as taken and some papers which may be useful to the Officer, but can be of none to us, and have to request you will have the goodness to forward them to that Officer. The direction is unfortunately torn off, but to the best of my recollection it was directed to Vado. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 189.]

Sir, Captain, Genoa Mole, 23rd June, 1796.

I came in here on Tuesday, and having completed my water, and received such letters as were here for me, I shall get to sea this day, and shall lose no time in proceeding with the Meleager to Leghorn, the situation of which place is very critical. You may rest assured I shall afford every protection in my power to preserve the property of the English Merchants, and others, our allies; and act in other matters to the best of my judgment, and as circumstances may point out to me to be proper. Reports are all we have at Genoa. Nothing official from the Armies; indeed, it is said that a Courier of Mr. Drake's is intercepted. An additional Treaty is made between the King of Sardinia and the French, signed at the head-quarters of the French at Tortona, on the 17th June. Oneglia and Loano are absolutely to be given up to the King of Sardinia, as is the other fortresses. The King has taken care, by constant guards, to prevent any pillage of the baggage, or stores for the French Armies; indeed, it would appear that the French want every man in Italy, and have therefore made exactly the same terms with the Genoese, and say they will evacuate the whole Riviera of Genoa. Report says Beaulieu has given the French a check, and that the peasantry have killed full 15,000 men; pray God it may be true. The Russian Minister and the Imperial believe the fact; but they have no accounts. The French are supposed to enter Bologna as this day.

The complaints of the Genoese Government are so ridiculous, that I hardly know what to say. If we are to allow the free passage of the Enemy coastways, we are useless. The Genoese Government wish us, it seems, to make our complaint, [of] which I shall send you particulars at some future time, but the best mode, in my opinion, is to speak openly—that so long as the French are in possession of batteries on the Coast, which fire on our Ships, so long we shall consider it as an Enemy's Coast. I have the pleasure to say that our conduct has so completely alarmed the French, that all their Coasting trade is at an end; even the Corvette, Gun-boats, &c. which were moored under the fortress of Vado, have not thought themselves in security, but are all gone into Savona Mole, and unbent their sails. I shall at a future time send you the complaints of the Genoese, and what I have to say on the other side, that such a representa-

tion may be drawn up as will be judged proper by you, Sir, and Mr. Drake. But I still think that the only answer proper for us to give is the one I have before stated.

Believe me, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

June 24th.

P.S.—I have nearly finished my answer to the Notes of the Secretary of State of Genoa, which I shall send you from Leghorn.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. "June 24th. Weighed (from Genoa) and made sail."—*Captain's Log.*]

Sir, Captain, Gulf of Genoa, June 24th, [1796.]

I have ordered the National Ketch to join me at Leghorn; and, if you do not choose to purchase her for His Majesty's Service, shall direct her to be sold. She is by far the most useful Vessel for preventing the Enemy passing coastways, of any in these seas. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

The Vessel is two years old: a list of stores Mr. Purvis has.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Captain, at Sea, 25th June, 1796.

I send you a full answer to the three complaints of the Genoese Secretary of State; a copy of which I have also enclosed for Mr. Drake, that he may answer the Government of Genoa, if he thinks it right. The Genoese can only make these complaints to please the French; but I cannnot think it right, that we are to be traduced to please any Nation on earth. As to Mr. Brame's conduct, I am very angry. I have wrote to Mr. Drake to desire he will order Mr. Brame not to send home complaints against Officers in such a hurry; but he is a poor creature, and more of a Genoese than an Englishman. Since writing my answer, I have found the Greeks' protest, which states the act of cruelty to have been committed on April 16th, when Agamemnon was in Genoa, and the whole Fleet in sight from the Town.

I have my letter ready, in case I should fall in with any Vessel going to the Fleet before my arrival at Leghorn. If

not, I shall add a postscript. Believe me, dear Sir, with the truest esteem and respect, your most faithful and obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

I have wrote to Colonel Graham, and also a civil letter to Mr. Graves, at Rome: Mr. Trevor and Mr. Drake, of course.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Fragments of this Letter are in vol. ii. pp. 194, 195.]

"26th *June*.—Anchored at Leghorn—found at anchor His Majesty's Ship Inconstant, the Gorgon, and Sincere, with a Convoy in the offing, with the English Merchants, &c., from Leghorn—saw a French Row-boat towing one of the Convoy in shore—made the Meleager's signal to chase in that quarter—the garrison fired many shot at the Inconstant, and a Danish Vessel (Prize) which she brought out—saw the French Troops march into Leghorn. 30th.—Weighed. *July* 1st.—Anchored in Martello Bay. 6th.—Weighed. 9th.—Sent our Boats to assist landing the Troops. 10th.—Anchored in Porto Ferrajo. 11th.—Weighed and came to sea. 12th.—Anchored in Port Especia. 14th.—Weighed. 15th.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads."—*Captain's Log.*

Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, June 28th, 1796.

As I wrote you from Genoa was my intention, I made the best of my way to this place; but from calms, and contrary winds, it was yesterday morning before I anchored in the northern road of Leghorn. The Convoy of, I suppose, near forty Sail, under the protection of Gorgon, Comet, and Vanneau, was under sail by orders from Captain Fremantle, and I directly ordered the Meleager to join them, as not less than ten or twelve Privateers went out of Leghorn Mole after them. One, I am certain (and fear two) is taken. The Inconstant joined also the Convoy, about two o'clock. The French took possession of the Town about one o'clock, and immediately fired on the Inconstant, and a Prize loaded with timber, of Captain Hood's, but without doing them any damage. The exertions of Captain Fremantle must have been very great, for the Consul and Mr. Fonnereau tell me that except bad debts, and the loss of furniture, nothing of any great consequence is left in the Town. The boom, I take for granted, was shut the moment the Enemy entered; for not a Boat or Vessel has left the place since that time. Of course, I know nothing of what is going on. By sight, I suppose at least six or seven thousand men are entered the place. I intend remaining here for a day or two, in order to prevent any English Ship from entering till the news may spread about. It is then my intention to proceed to San Fiorenzo, to get wine, wood, &c., &c., and from thence to Genoa, to get some necessaries, as candles, &c., when my

Ship will be, excepting her foremast, perfectly ready for any service, for I find her well manned, although not active. I hear the Governor behaved with all the attention in his power to the English, by doubling the guards on the Mole, to prevent the English being molested in getting out their Vessels; and, when it was represented to him that 200 bullocks and some bread were shipping for the English, his answer was, Leghorn is a free Port, and shall remain so, until I receive contrary orders from the Grand Duke; whose palace was opened for the reception of the French general Buona Parti. I send this by Tarleton, who is just come in. It was reported yesterday the Pope was dead. He would not sign the terms sent to him by the French.—I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

I have just got hold of a Fishing-Boat from the Town. The Troops entered at Porta Pisa, marched through Via Grande to the Mole Battery. General Buona Parti went to the Palace of the Grand Duke, from thence made a visit to the Governor, and then took possession of the English Consul's house. A French sentinel is mounted at the gates, with a Tuscan. Except the French Troops for the batteries, the rest lay outside the Town, (for not one has a *tent*) on the Glacis. The Governor set off directly for Florence. I have wrote to say that whatever may be their policy, in withholding a few vegetables and fruit from me, yet that the Fishing-Boats might safely go out as usual; for that we never wished to distress innocent inhabitants.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Some passages of this Letter are in vol. ii. p. 216.]

Dear Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, 18th July, 1796.

At seven o'clock yesterday evening Captain Hamilton joined me, and before eight Peterel and Sardine had sailed. The Rose Cutter also joined with your secret instructions to Captain Kelwick. I sincerely hope circumstances will allow of the Sloops proceeding to their place of destination. To say the truth, Captain Kelwick gave me his letter from Mr. North, and the instructions, to read. I recommended him not to show them to any one else. The Vice-Roy will, of course know, if the orders are yet to be executed if they may. I hope his Holiness may yet wage war against the French. I have never heard he has been in actual hostility against them. I have desired the Vice-Roy, in case the Sloops are

not wanted, to recommend the Captains to return to me unless they have other orders.

There are orders at Genoa for Diadem to join you, and for the Speedy to come to me. At present I have only Blanche and Meleager, besides the two Gun-Vessels. Blanche says he is in distress for this, that, and the other. He must first water at Porto Ferraio, and then I shall think of Ajaccio. Meleager is my only stand-by, and every week I must send something to Genoa for news. This week I shall go myself, and will know what supplies we may assure ourselves of from that place, with the prices for the conveyance of it to San Fiorenzo; but I suppose they will want Convoy, after the late declaration of the French Minister.

The blockade of Leghorn is complete, not a Vessel can go in or come out without my permission. Yesterday a Dane came out, loaded with oil and wine for Genoa: I told him he must return, or I should send him to Corsica. His answer was, 'I am a Neutral, and you may take me, but I will not return.' However, I took possession, and intended giving him to a Corsican privateer; in about two hours, he begged I would allow him to return. This, I am satisfied, was a trial of what I intended; for he said all the Neutrals were determined to come out. If we are firm the Grand Duke will sorely repent his admission of the French. His repeated proclamations for the people to be quiet, has given time to the French to lay powder under all the works; and in case of disturbance, they say, up shall go the works. Cannon are pointed from the wall to every street, and all the cannon and mortars are mounted: the famous long brass gun is on the Mole-head, and also a mortar. The Grand Duke says he yet hopes the Directory will order Buona Parti to leave Leghorn; but I believe the French now wish to get into fortified Towns, to prolong the campaign. I verily believe this will be the most glorious on the Continent of any this War. They cannot again make head on the Rhine, nor, I hope, can they face General Wurmser in Italy.

The Captain has wants, but I intend she shall last till the autumn: for I know, when once we begin, our wants are innumerable. I hope the Admiralty will send out fresh Ships, when I can accommodate some of my brother-officers with the Captain. I thank you for the news. I am not very sorry to hold the Marines a little longer, as I fear, whenever the promotion takes place, I shall go home, by Sir Hyde's return: have you heard how he has arranged with her Ladyship? The French are fitting out here four to six Tartans, with thirty-six pounders, to drive me out of the

Roads; but I am prepared against Fire Vessels, and all other plans, as well as I am able. I have only now to beg, that whenever you think the Enemy will face you on the water, that you will send for me; for my heart would break to be absent at such a glorious time. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

The Tartans it is said will be out to-night. Two thousand French arrived yesterday; more expected. A Camp is forming at Monte Nero.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. "*July* 19th.—Weighed and made sail. 22nd.—Anchored at Genoa."—*Captain's Log.*

Captain, Genoa Road, July 23rd, 1796; where, I am sorry to date my letter, riding nearly fore-castle in.

Dear Sir,

I send you letters from Mr. Drake to me, and also one for you from Turin. I have answered Mr. Drake, and told him that two Sloops had sailed for the Adriatic; and, if it was really necessary, you would send another. I also fully asked why the Austrians did not fit out Gun-boats at Trieste; that they must have far better means of doing it than the French at a Foreign Port: but I fear the Austrians are too inactive. They look to us for impossibilities. This day the Russian Minister tells me there is in the Port of Vado such things, and nobody to defend them, 250 men would take them; then that several Vessels are arrived at Vado with warlike stores, which they send to St. Pierre d'Arena: what a good thing if I would take them! However, I made him sensible that, although the taking a Tartan was desirable, yet that the things of greatest importance must first be attended to. I told Mr. Drake that our attempt to possess Port Especia would, in the present situation of affairs, be of disservice, and give the French a fair opportunity of shutting Genoa against us. Now sometimes, Sir, we are to cultivate the good-will of the Genoese, which may be interrupted by stopping a Tartan. Now Port Especia to be taken—a thing beyond our power to keep, if taken, and totally useless to us at present. I am sure our close Blockade of Leghorn for another month will have its desired effect. I verily believe if the French do not go off, the King of Naples will act hostilely, and perhaps Tuscany. This morning the French Minister sent to the Government that he had received an express from Leghorn that Capraja was summoned to surrender in six days by the English; that a

French Privateer got out by chance, but that it was surrounded by English Vessels. These tricks are done to endeavour to induce the Genoese to give up their batteries to the French. I send you the Vice-Roy's letter; therefore I can only open my mouth to a parcel of old women. The Consul is very ill; and if he ever had any sense, it is all gone. Beef, lemons, and onions may be had here in abundance, but proper people must be sent to provide: the Consul is incapable. To-morrow morning I am to receive a paper on the subject. We have a report that the Dian is taken by five of our Frigates. I hope it is true, but I much doubt it. Does Diadem return to me? if so, I will endeavour now and then to have two Vessels on this Coast. I will do my best to please these gentlemen, but you will, I rest sure—which I prize more than them all—give me credit for exertions. The Gun-Boats are most essentially necessary, and it is impossible we can send them to Ajaccio to be valued. I shall heave the Ketch down at Leghorn so soon as I return. I send the valuation of the Ketch, to which I am sure there can be no reasonable objection, except form. We could certainly have had more for her, from either French at Leghorn, or at Bastia.—Believe me, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

The Archduke Charles has crossed the Rhine with 60,000 men, and is marching towards Strasburg—the French retreating on every point.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Captain, Genoa Road, July 24th, 1796.

Inclosed I send you Messrs. Caffarena's letter of what they can supply, and the prices: I have made notes of candles, &c. If the Agent-Victualler cannot do better, these people may be tried. However, I thought it right to know where we can get a supply in case of need. A courier is arrived from Paris, but the news is not yet got abroad. The French Minister this day presented a Note, naming certain emigrés that have been permitted to remain in Genoa, and also that certain Genoese had spoken disrespectfully of the French Republic, and demanding the instant dismission of the emigrés and punishment of the Genoese, with threats in case of refusal. The lie of the day is, that the Archduke Charles has requested an Armistice, which the French General positively refused.

I have had an application, through Mr. Brame, for some

Swedish Ships without cargoes to be permitted to leave Leghorn. I have given no other answer but that I shall consult you and the Vice-Roy on the subject; but gave very little hopes that it could be done. Much may be said in favour of letting them go, but very much more against it. I hope all Nations who have shipping at Leghorn will present the Grand Duke with remonstrances, and for damages, in his permitting the French to enter Leghorn; our conduct they will represent as the natural consequence. This will make the Tuscan Ministry use every endeavour to remove the French; and in the event of not succeeding, I hope, if Napoli comes forward, that the Tuscans will join them in driving out the French.

I shall write fully to the Vice-Roy, whose advice I shall beg, and I believe you will wish me to follow it. Indeed, if you wished me to allow light Neutrals to pass, the Corsican Privateers, without orders from the Vice-Roy, would seize them. Pray excuse this scrawl and paper, for Diadem is getting under sail.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. One passage of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 222.

"26th July.—Weighed and made sail" (from Genoa).—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Captain, at Sea, July 27th, 1796.

I send you the French Minister's Note, the substance of which I told you by Diadem; and also a letter to Mr. Brame from the Swedish Consul. I am entirely against letting out one Vessel from Leghorn; but I have sent a copy of the letter to the Vice-Roy, and requested his advice, which I shall follow, at the same time offering my reasons fully why, in my opinion, it should not be complied with. You will also observe a part of the Minister's letter about the damage a Swedish Vessel's cable sustained by the Peterel's overlaying her. The fact is true, and reparation should, I suppose, be made to the owner. I wish for your directions, whether the Consul should make good the damage, on proper proofs being given of the exact amount of the damage. It appears to me but just, if we do an injury, however unintentional, we ought to make reparation.

I have assured the Merchants at Genoa who came to speak to me on the subject of affairs at Genoa, that whenever they send to me I shall immediately come to their assistance with

such force as I have. I have recommended them, whenever they are alarmed, to ship their goods in time on board Neutral Vessels they may find in the Port; for that it would be impossible, however inclined you are, to send Transports to receive their effects, which, in Heath's house, is 160,000*l.* sterling. They wished I could myself be oftener in sight of Genoa; for they believe that my presence has a great weight in encouraging our friends in the Government. It is certain, notwithstanding all which I have done, that I am popular in the lower order; therefore, as I find opportunities, I shall take a Ship now and then and be off and in the Port of Genoa. Things are fast approaching a crisis, and will probably be determined before you receive this letter.

July 28th.—This morning anchored in Leghorn Roads; will send Speedy to the Vice-Roy, and do everything in my power for the good of us all. Many thanks for your letters. Ever your most faithful and obedient,

HORATIO NELSON.

I do not mention Leghorn news, as Captain Cockburn will tell it you. Probably you will send an Officer to command the Ketch. Captain, Blanche, Speedy, l'Eclair, Sardine, with the Vice-Roy, Peterel, San Fiorenzo.

TO THE SWEDISH MINISTER, GENOA.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. "28th July.—Anchored in Leghorn Roads."—*Agamemnon's Log.*]

Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, August 1st, 1796.

I have communicated your desire relative to five Swedish Vessels at Leghorn bound to Cagliari, in Sardinia, for salt, and your assurance that they shall bring out neither cargo or public letters, to the Vice-Roy of Corsica, and to my Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B.; and you may rest assured of their good disposition to alleviate the misfortune attending Neutral Vessels, by the flagrant breach of all National honour and faith in the French, and the free admission of the French into the Neutral Town of Leghorn—a thing absolutely impossible, unless permitted by the Tuscan Government. The blockade, your and all other Neutral Powers will, I am sure, consider as the natural consequence of such a conduct. I can say, that both the Vice-Roy and Admiral will consider your desire, and, if possible, permit the departure of the Vessels you mentioned. Their orders shall be communicated as expeditiously as possible; and when I hoist an English Red Ensign at the mizen top-mast

head, if the Vessels will send a Boat to me, I will acquaint them of the determination.

I have wrote to the Admiral concerning the damage done to a Swedish Vessel's cable by the Peterel, and will communicate his answer so soon as received, which will, I am sure, be favourable to the Swede. On every occasion, Sir, it is my duty, and very much my inclination, to cement the harmony and perfect good understanding which so happily subsists between our Sovereigns; and I shall be proud in opportunities of assuring you with what respect I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Part of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 225.]

Sir, Leghorn Roads, 1st August, 1796.

I feel the highest degree of pleasure which an Officer is capable of feeling, by the full approbation of his Commander-in-Chief; and it must not be a little increased by the knowledge that his Commander-in-Chief is such a character as Sir John Jervis, without disparagement or flattery allowed to be one of the first in our Service.

All goes well here, nothing gets in or comes out, except a Privateer, which our Boats cannot come up with. I do not say but in a Westerly gale Vessels will get in, notwithstanding all our endeavours; but I will answer for my exertions to prevent them. I send you, as I have the Vice-Roy, the list and disposition of my Squadron. Blanche I intend, or the first English Ship, to be the convoy for Naples. I have recommended the Vice-Roy to spare Rose or Vanneau, or to induce two Privateers to see them in sight of Naples. They are valuable Vessels, and should be taken all the care of in our power. Rowing Vessels are the most useful against the French Privateers. I send you a copy of my letter to the Swedish Minister, at Genoa (perhaps the Vice-Roy is right), and I hope you will approve my letter. It is certainly most desirable to keep those Neutral gentry in good humour. However much we all must respect the good King of Naples, cargoes must not be allowed to pass. To what applications, and ill-will, in refusing others, shall we bring ourselves! The Neapolitan small Vessels I will liberate the moment they come to me, so I have wrote the Vice-Roy, *without cargoes*. The lower order at Leghorn are miserable; several have been on board, wishing to serve for provisions: they have a plan for rising, (but the Grand Duke almost every day tells

them the French will go away, and to be quiet.) The fishermen are to take the Mole batteries; the Venetians the Fortress where the colours are hoisted. The shoemakers, bricklayers, &c., have all their different stations. I have told them they may be sure of my assistance. I hope Speedy will bring us good news, which I will send to Bastia for you directly. What pleasure it will give me!—Ever your most obliged and most faithful HORATIO NELSON[1].

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Leghorn Roads, August 4th, 1796.

I wrote you yesterday, and the day before. Nothing gets in, or comes out. All are tired of the French, and the tables are turned on them; for they are the cause that no supplies go from Leghorn to France. We want for nothing. No. 12 is not fit for a Lieutenant: therefore I shall say nothing till I hear further from you. La Genie is just hove down, and I expect her this night from Port Ferrajo. I have sent off the Petœrel for the Naples' Convoy, and after seeing them into Naples, she can go on. I will not keep Comet a moment: therefore have only to say that I am ever your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

Plenty of Danes and Swedes come for Leghorn, but not a Vessel has got in since the blockade.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"August 10th.—Lieutenant Edward Berry took command of the Ship as acting Captain."—*Captain's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, August 10th, 1796.

By the first opportunity I shall send this letter, and if great news come to me, I shall send a Ship direct to you. I have this moment received, by way of Bastia, your letters of July 25th, 30th, and 31st July, which require answers to some parts. I took the liberty of saying that the small Gunboat is really unfit for an Officer. I have lent to her a Mid and sixteen men, and she is the thing for guard in Leghorn Roads, but unfit for sea; her value is only £40, therefore much cannot be expected. (The Venom, ci-devant La Genie,

[1] Upon this Letter Sir John Jervis wrote, "Approve entirely; pay for the damage done to the Swedes' cable, and I will repay."

is, of her kind, the very finest Vessel I ever saw, and is in most exceeding good order, fit for a gale of wind, or any sea). I therefore have not opened my mouth about Lieutenant Dutton's commission for her. I know the Vice-Roy's worth and wisdom; and you will, and he does, give me credit for having only one point in view, faithfully to serve my King and Country; and as both you and him have the same consideration, I shall not, as far as my abilities will allow me, think very differently from you.

You are, Sir, ever adding to my obligations, and I can only endeavour to repay you, by the way most agreeable to yourself—by a most assiduous attention to my duty. You surprise me about Sir Hyde, as I see by an Italian paper, with London news, July 5th, that Sir H. P.'s Flag was hoisted on board the Queen, on the 30th June. As to Admiral Man, from what I have seen under his hand to you, I expected this step would follow.

Answer to July 30th.

Commissioner Coffin shall be forwarded to Naples. When he comes, perhaps it will be in Diadem, or he may possibly have gone in the Peterel. The Transports I hope Captain Craven has sent with the Convoy. If not, and he must have had the orders in time, he has done very wrong. I will take an early opportunity of sending to Fiorenzo for the Transports for Genoa.

July 31st is a duplicate. I have wrote to Mr. Drake, and also to Mr. Jackson: sent your letter, and made your apologies, as desired.

I have given permission to some Neapolitan Vessels to leave the Mole, for Naples, but without cargoes. The worth and good faith of the King of Naples demands of us everything we can grant; and it was pleasure for me, the day after I had granted the permission, to find the Vice-Roy had wrote a very similar letter to the Marquis de Silva. I have also permitted, by desire of Mr. North, some goods, and the American tribute to the Dey of Algiers. A Venetian Vessel is to come here, and load under my guns. *The Lord of the Bedchamber,* or some such great man, has been on board me. He was highly pleased with my entertainment of him, and declared he would supply us with bullocks of 600lbs. each, for ten Spanish dollars. He was never tired of looking about him. I must relate an anecdote, although you may be troubled to read it. I asked him why he would not make Peace with the Genoese and Neapolitans; for they would pay the Dey. His answer was, *If we make peace with every*

one, what is the Dey to do with his Ships? What a reason for carrying on a Naval war! Mr. Pitt has not a better for this war.

I have sent great news to Bastia, *but* (this word, I wish it was out of our language!) I am not fully contented. We beat the 29th, 30th, 31st, 1st, 2nd; and, because I do not know we beat the third, am not satisfied. Such is human nature. Guns are sounding from the ramparts, and I am wicked enough to wish all those fellows' throats may be cut before night.

August 11th.—Yesterday the French had their *fête*; but they seemed fearful of a riot. By Proclamation, all Tuscans were ordered to remain in their houses, and every possible precaution taken. The French say they have no orders from their Government to quit Leghorn: therefore, they shall remain.

August 15th, at Sea.—I shall reply to your letters by Lord Garlies, who joined me this morning, by a separate letter. Ever your most obedient and faithful Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"*August* 11th.—At 3 P.M. weighed and stood farther in to the Eastward. At 4 came-to—sent the Venom and Vixen gun-boats in-shore after a French Privateer, which they took after some resistance—the people got on shore—she had one brass 4-pounder and two brass swivels. 15th.—Weighed."—*Captain's Log.*]

Sir, Captain, at Sea, August 15th, 1796.

I am this morning honoured with your letters by Lord Garlies: the Diadem joined me at the same time, having been eight days from Ajaccio, and I dispatch her instantly to Genoa. I am on my way to Bastia, to talk with the Vice-Roy on the subject of the Leghorn expedition. As to our success, and making all the French in Leghorn our prisoners, I entertain no doubt. All the lower order are our sincere friends. I verily believe the French would be glad to get clear off; but the Austrians, who are at Bologna, will prevent them. But the French are preparing a bridge, to throw over the rivers by the coast, and hope to escape that way. Buona Part, all the Tuscans believe, died of his wounds at Florence, on the 10th August, and said to have been received on the 3rd. L'Eclair is gone to Genoa for news; but she is so slow that my expectation cannot be gratified; but I have no fears that Wurmser is beating these fellows. After

we possess Leghorn, if the Service will allow it, I hope when the Dons are expected, to be with you. All your favours are not thrown away on an ungrateful soil; for I will endeavour to prove myself your most faithful Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

The Captain shall not be a great while before she joins you; but till I have seen the Vice-Roy I cannot say exactly. I have wrote you about Lieutenant Dutton: I have not yet given him his commission. Lieutenant Noble I wish to have as my Lieutenant: therefore Mr. Davies, if you please, will belong to the Captain.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An extract from this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 241.

"16th August. Anchored at Bastia."—*Captain's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Captain, Bastia Roads, August [17th], 1796.

From Mr. Wyndham's letter, fancying the Spanish Frigate was to carry D'Aubert from Venice to Constantinople with his riches, it is possible that the Spanish Frigate bound to Civitâ Vecchia may be intended to carry money from his Holiness, with the famous Apollo, &c., for the French. It is allowable to seize the property of Enemies, even on board Neutral Ships of War. Mr. North tells me, that in the late War two or three Danish Ships of War were seized by the *Spaniards*, carrying stores to Gibraltar; and, on the remonstrance of the Danish Minister at Madrid, the answer he received was, that it was not Men of War which were stopped, but Vessels which had made themselves Merchantmen for the time. This hint may be useful, but if I should learn that money, &c., is shipping on board him, what is your opinion, as to at least making him submit to be examined? The times are critical, therefore, I should like your idea on this subject.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS SWEDISH MAJESTY'S CONSUL, AT LEGHORN.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.—Four lines of this Letter are in vol. ii. p. 247.

"August 18th. Sailed from Bastia in company with the Lively.—20th. Anchored in Leghorn Roads."—*Captain's Log.*]

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Captain, Leghorn Roads,

Sir, August 20th, 1796.

The Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., wishing to

alleviate the calamities which the French have brought on the Swedish Nation, by their possessing themselves of the Neutral Port of Leghorn, has in consideration of the near approach of winter, when the Baltic Sea will be frozen over, authorized me to permit the departure of Swedish vessels, *without cargoes*. You will, therefore, direct such Swedish Vessels as may wish to quit the Port of Leghorn, to come out of the Mole and anchor near me, when I will furnish them with passports to prevent their being molested on their voyage. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

Captain, Leghorn Roads, 20th August, 1796.

My Lord,

Taking your Lordship's permission in writing to you, I think it of importance to acquaint you that Rear-Admiral Man came off Calvi on the 11th, and immediately proceeded to join Sir John Jervis off Toulon. The Diadem is gone from me to the Fleet, and this Ship is under orders so soon as La Minerve arrives, in which Ship I am directed to hoist my Pendant; for the Admiral is pleased to think that my services here, and in the protection of Corsica, are too important to be taken away. Our Fleet will then be twenty-two Sail of the Line, and in such order and health, that I do not believe England ever boasted a better Fleet—(I mean as to Men and Officers); and the condition of the Ships is not bad. I am just come from meeting the Vice-Roy at Bastia. The French party are, although not numerous, yet I fear sufficient to give much trouble; and it is certain the French at Leghorn are endeavouring to get over from different parts of the Coast, by ten and twelve at a time, and are now in the mountains of Corsica. I hope General Wurmser may recover his check; but I fear the blow has been too hard. Our Troops in Corsica are more than usually healthy, and prepared for service. A Spanish Frigate is gone to Civita Vecchia, or the Mouth of the Tiber, to carry off, we suppose, the fine things from Rome. I have wrote to the Admiral on the subject. Last war the Spaniards stopped three Danish Ships of War, going into Gibraltar with stores; and the answer of the Spanish Court to the remonstrances of the Danes, who complained of their Men-of-War being stopped, was,—"We do not stop Men-of-War; it is you who have made your Men-of-War

merchantmen." This I had from Mr. North, who is likely to know the circumstance.

Gentili is arrived at Leghorn, for the purpose of going over to Corsica: it looks like it. There is nothing new here. All is quiet. A Ship is just come in sight from the Fleet. I shall therefore keep this letter open till her arrival. Nothing new from the Fleet. Admiral Man had not joined when the Comet left them.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect extract from this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 249.]

Dear Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, August 22nd, 1796.

On Thursday last, 1225 French left Leghorn with General Vaubois, and almost all the Officers; the French Major de Place commands the remains, which is not more than eight or nine hundred men, this is the utmost. Seventy or eighty sailors are gone with the Army, as they say, to manage some flat Boats which are prepared for crossing the inundations about Mantua, which place they are determined to storm. Diadem will carry you late news from Genoa; therefore I shall confine myself very much to this place. Another very extraordinary thing has taken place: all the cannon which had been mounted on the works, except on the Mole, has been dismounted, and put into the same stores from which it was taken. What does this mean? an evacuation, I should rather think; yes, and that they are ordered to replace the things as they found them. Mr. Wyndham, my reports say, is gone to Rome, and from thence to the King of Naples at Monte Casino, to endeavour to induce His Majesty to commence hostilities. The Blanche is expected to-morrow morning. Lively is gone to examine the coast to the Southward, to see if any number of Boats are collected to carry over troops to Corsica. Lord Garlies is active, and I feel a pleasure in having him with me; I only hope for an opportunity of giving him some real service.

Lieutenant Dutton is in the Vixen. Lieutenant Ravencroft not yet joined the Venom. Sardine I know nothing of. L'Eclair goes to-morrow for Bastia for a Ship of great value, for Genoa; and the two Transports to be repaired there, as also to convey the bullocks, &c., which Mr. Heatly has provided.

August 23rd.—The Ragusa and Danish Consuls have sent

off letters, which you will receive through the Vice-Roy; if his Excellency think it more proper to permit their departure without cargoes, I shall allow them to sail, and not wait for your answer. This is what I conceive you would wish. Gentili and two other Corsican Officers are here, but without any commands. They can only have been intended for Corsica; but I *again* hope the defeat of the French is at hand. They are surrounded at Verona.—Ever believe me, Sir, your most faithful servant, HORATIO NELSON.

The Austrians on the 15th got a reinforcement of, they say, 20,000 men. Buonaparte is most certainly wounded, and many think he is dead. As I do not keep copies of those letters which I send you to read, I shall be obliged to you for them when convenient.

TO JOSEPH BRANCA, ESQ., RAGUSA CONSUL AT LEGHORN.

[Letter Book.]

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Captain, Leghorn Roads, August 23rd, 1796.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 22nd August, respecting the departure of Ragusa Vessels *without cargoes*, and have to inform you that I shall immediately transmit it to the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., and it will be the greatest pleasure to me to have to inform you of the Admiral's compliance with your request; and when I know his answer, I will hoist an English red Ensign at the fore-top-gallant mast head. You will then send a Boat on board me for his answer accordingly.—I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

CERTIFICATE.

[Letter Book.]

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Captain, Leghorn Roads, August 24th, 1796.

Commodore Nelson gives his word of honour that all his Squadron are in liberal pratique, and also that every Ship has the most positive orders to board no vessel which in any manner can be subject to quarantine; and the Officers at Leghorn, as they know Commodore Nelson, will not doubt what he has stated. The Commodore grants this Certificate, hoping it may be useful to a number of poor Fishermen, and other innocent inhabitants of Leghorn, for whom the Commodore has a sincere regard. HORATIO NELSON.

N.B.—To prove how scrupulous I am, La Sardine boarded a Vessel which was subject to quarantine, for which I put her in forty days' quarantine, and sent her off the station.

TO .....

[Letter Book.]

Sir, Captain, August 26th, 1796.

You will take the command of the Ships blockading the Port of Leghorn, and endeavour, by every means in your power, to prevent the passage of Boats to Corsica—a thing very difficult, if not impossible, but I rest assured nothing will be wanting on your part. Such public letters as may come from anywhere directed for me you will open, and as far as possible, execute. The Vice-Roy has wrote me there are two Privateers at Genoa, Corsicans. Our Consul has the directions about them. If you send any Vessel to Genoa, desire the Captain to see these Vessels safe to this Road. The Spanish Consul at this place having acquainted me that there is a Vessel here loaded with construction-timber for Carthagena, I have to desire you will take an opportunity of sending my letter to him, and if he sends out the Spanish Vessels—particularly the one with construction-timber—you will detain her, or them, which may be worth detention, and send them to St. Fiorenzo or Bastia, as may be most convenient. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

TO [MR. WYNDHAM?]

[Letter Book.

"August 27th.—Weighed and made sail from Leghorn. 30th.—Joined the Fleet off Toulon. 31st.—Made sail from the Fleet."—*Captain's Log.*]

My dear Sir, Captain, at Sea, September 1st, 1796.

The same day I received your kind favours of August 17th and 20th, I sailed to join the Fleet off Toulon, in hopes the Dons would have been hardy enough to have come up the Mediterranean; but on my joining the Fleet, I found the Spanish *War* over, at least for the present. But it must remain to be seen, how England takes it, although I believe, if we are not particularly inclined to it, they have so acted as to have avoided an insult to our Flag. Perhaps you do not know the part they acted. They first, by report, so alarmed Admiral Man, and General O'Hara, and do not let me omit

[2] Though the copy of this Letter commences "*Sir*," it was probably addressed to Captain Lord Garlies of H. M. Ship Lively. Vide vol. ii. p. 256.

my Lord Bute, that they thought a Spanish War inevitable. Man unluckily came up the Mediterranean. He is an Officer of so much honour and integrity, that we all know he acted the part he thought most beneficial to our Country. On the 4th or 5th Solano first, then Langara, making in the whole twenty Sail of the Line, went out of Cadiz, then came out Mons. Richery. On the 28th I have seen a letter from Mr. Duff to General O'Hara, saying, Richery was seen so many days ago to the Northward of Cape St. Vincent's steering to the Northward, and that on the 17th our Squadron returned to Cadiz, when all the people who have served two years have leave of absence. The Marines are landed, and the Ships going up to the Caraccas. Whether Don Langara would have protected Richery, (or whether the Spaniards will say our Fleet went out on a cruize,) we cannot say, although I believe they would—at least they would have carried the matter so far that our Admiral Man would have thought it very hazardous to put it to the trial. I am told England is threatened with an invasion, as is Ireland. Richery is gone to Brest, or Rochefort, to assist in whatever may be the intentions of the Directory. I myself believe Portugal is their object, and if the Spaniards allow the French to march an Army through Spain to attack Portugal, we must in honour declare against her. Then an alliance with America will wrest for ever from Spain the Kingdom of Mexico, &c.

What shall I say of Corsica? It is in the interior, and I fear in many places on the Coast, in rebellion, and every day receiving fresh Troops, or rather Corsicans in the French service, by ten and twelve, in any Boat or Greek Vessel, which carries them over. It is true we have a large party who wish us well, and hope we shall stay on the Island, but like America, this party will do nothing for us, whilst the other is all activity. They are a most ungrateful set; and whatever is the event of this, I hope whenever a Peace comes, we shall have done with them. The conduct of the Austrians must surprise me, and every one. Is it bribery, or is it panic? both I fear. They are beat by boys, without Cavalry, without Artillery. Only six hundred French remain at Leghorn; but the Tuscans will sooner endure every misery than dismiss them. Manfridina ought to be hanged, and the people deserve to suffer, for not having spirit to rebel. We are now allowing all Ships without cargoes to leave the Port of Leghorn. It will, perhaps, strike the lower order more forcibly when they see not a Vessel in the Mole, a thing never before seen at Leghorn. We had a plan for

assisting the Austrians, and taking all these people prisoners; but the Germans being beat, must alter our plans. Four Corsican Generals are come to Leghorn to cross the water, which they may do from the Coast in a Boat any day they please. It is out of our power to hinder them.—I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO [MR. DRAKE?]

[Letter Book.]

My dear Sir, Captain, at Sea, September 1st, 1796.

I thank you for your letter of August 12th, which I received the moment I was getting under weigh to join Sir John Jervis off Toulon, in hopes to have assisted in beating Don Langara, and his scurvy companions. You will probably have heard how he sailed, and how he returned into Port; but if not I will tell you. On the 3rd, 4th, or 5th of August, Solano went out of Cadiz, then Langara, then Mons. Richery. How far it was their intention to fight in his defence, Ministers by money may get out the secret: we Navy people cannot. However, on the 17th the Dons all returned to Cadiz, where the Marines are landed, the seamen getting leave of absence, and the Ships going up *slowly*, Mr. Duff's expression, to the Carraccas. Richery has been seen to the Northward of Cape St. Vincent's, steering to the Northward—probably bound to Brest or Rochefort. Three of his Ships are so bad, it is said that they can never be repaired. Poor Man has been frightened up the Mediterranean by false alarms, so Richery has escaped for the present. But I do not think it impossible but Sir Hyde may fall in with him, when, as Sir Roger Curtis with five or six Sail is with him, I have no doubt but they will give a good account of Monsieur. Man has leave to go home, by his own request, and Sir Hyde was to command the Squadron at Gibraltar; but now the French are gone, he will, I suppose, come up here. The former Gibraltar Squadron is ordered instantly to return to Gibraltar. Your letter is distressing about the Austrians. For them to be beat in the way they have, is beyond belief. I communicated your letter (as indeed I do all which you are so good as to favour me with, which he is in the least interested in) to the Admiral. I would write to Colonel Graham, but, in the first place, I do not know how to direct to him; but I trust you will communicate such intelligence as he may wish to receive, and tell him the reason I do not write. Pray tell me, if you intend to come to Genoa. The Admiral says Captain Miller would order a Sloop of War to bring you.

If the Spanish Frigate carries goods belonging to our Enemies, they are certainly as liable to be stopped as any other Vessel. They are Merchant Ships for the time. Upon this principle I shall act, if the Monsieurs embark the statues in any neutral Ship of War from Civita Vecchia, or the Mouth of the Tiber.

What shall I say of Corsica? The Vice-Roy will write you. Am I to say it is in rebellion? or are they tired of being free, and taking so much of our good money? What a plague they are. I hope in a Peace we shall not be troubled with them. Nothing can content them. I sent a copy of your letter to the Vice-Roy, and if the Troops are for Corsica, I suppose he will apply for Convoy. The Admiral knows nothing about them. At Leghorn are very few French, but as Manfridini rules in Tuscany, the French are in no danger. There never was a time that people had a more just cause for rebellion than in Tuscany, where they are, from the infamous conduct of the Government, reduced to great distress. As hundreds have told me, 'if the Great Duke would say go on, we should very soon get rid of the French; but he is betrayed, as well as ourselves.' This is their language of truth.

I have just given leave for all Vessels without cargoes to quit the Port. It has had its full effect, and will, to the lower class of people, make the place seem desolate. Not a Ship in Leghorn Mole will be a rare sight. Some Corsican Generals are at Leghorn, Gentili, Cervoni, Gallazzina, &c. Corsicans who have been in France are passing from Genoa, Port Especia, Vado, near Piombino, &c., by 8, 10, or 12 in a Boat. This is what we cannot stop. If all the Island will receive these people, the sooner we give it up the better; the Kingdom must be rotten at heart. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GARLIES, CAPTAIN OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP LIVELY.

[Letter Book.

"September 2nd, anchored in Leghorn Roads."—*Captain's Log.*]

My Lord, Captain, Leghorn Roads, September 2nd, 1796.

I have to desire that you will proceed to Bastia as soon as possible, and concert with his Excellency the Vice-Roy how you can be most useful on the East side of Corsica, in preventing an invasion, which is meditated by the French. You will also concert with his Excellency on the means most

likely to gain information from the Roman Coast, and in what Ships, or Vessels, the effects which the French have plundered and obtained in the Roman States are shipped, which you will use your utmost endeavours to intercept. You will as soon as possible give me information of your proceedings, and also what particular information you may gain, which you may judge necessary for me to be acquainted with.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

N.B.—You will every week hold a communication with Bastia, to which place I shall send your orders; and should you find that no French property is shipping in the Roman States, or that you can be useful in the defence of Corsica, you will join me in these Roads as soon as possible.

H. N.

TO THE VENETIAN CONSUL.

[Letter Book.

"September 3rd. Weighed."—*Captain's Log.*]

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Captain, off Leghorn Roads,
Sir, September 3rd, 1796.

I have a real pleasure in relieving the distresses of my fellow-creatures, and particularly such a respectable Nation as the Venetians; therefore I have no difficulty in permitting Venetian Vessels without cargoes to leave the Port of Leghorn; and if you will direct them to come to me, I will give them passports to prevent their being molested on their present voyage. I expect, as do nearly all the world, that the Republic of Venice will not much longer submit to have the head of the Roman Catholic Church insulted, as his Holiness has been, by the invaders of the peaceful and fruitful plains of Italy. In hopes of soon seeing the downfall of the wicked, I have the honour to remain, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM F. WYNDHAM.

[Letter Book.]

Dear Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, September 3rd, 1796.

Yesterday afternoon, on my arrival from Sir John Jervis off Toulon, I received your first and second letters,—the first dated the 31st, the second August the 30th, which I conceive is a mistake, as it appears by its contents to be the second letter of August 31st. Perhaps you do not know that on the

4th or 5th of August, Solano went out of Cadiz, then Langara, then Mons. Richery, but could not be said to belong to the Fleet, which was twenty Sail of the Line. By Mr. Duff's letter of August 18th, it appears that the Spanish Fleet had returned to Cadiz, the Marines landed, and the Seamen who had served two years, have leave of absence, and the Ships going *slowly* up to the Caraccas. I give you my information exactly as I have it, without comment.

Admiral Man returns instantly to Gibraltar, and carries down the 100th Regiment, the best and strongest Regiment in Corsica. I am perfectly aware that Boats get out from the environs of Leghorn every night or day, and carry small numbers of men, as you observe, nor can our Ships or Boats prevent it. If we watch off the Lazaretto, the Boats go off a few miles further.

I have wrote fully to the Vice-Roy, that the landing of Boats can only be prevented by Boats of a similar kind; but I take for granted his Excellency knows of every additional scoundrel that sets foot in that Island. If the inhabitants wish us to remain, it does not matter what Mr. Cervoni, Gentili, &c. send; and if the Islanders are unanimously against us, we must retire to the Ports, and go off when it best suits our convenience.

I hope your information from France and Germany is true, and also that Wurmser will once more meet these French in the field, which may give us room to hope that this horde of Goths may yet repent their Italian campaign. It will always give me pleasure to pay attention to your passports, but Sir John Jervis refused permission to Mr. Lundi, a Tuscan, who had been at Martinico, and gave great satisfaction to Sir Charles Grey and himself, for coming out with two Ships, loaded, one for the Cape of Good Hope, and one for Martinico, as he considered it would be a dangerous precedent. But I am assured you will consider this matter before you grant any pass.

I have given permission to Vessels without cargoes to quit the Port of Leghorn. The ruin that must fall on that miserable Town can only be attributed to the conduct of the Ministers of the Great Duke: the people are ready to rise, but the Government will not allow them.

I am glad Harryman has so good a berth. He is a very civil good man, and I, among many others, feel much obliged to him. Pray, if you write, present my compliments.

I omitted to mention that Richery has been seen to the Northward of Cape St. Vincent, steering to the Northward, I suppose bound to Brest or Rochefort. Our Fleet is re-

markably healthy, and the Admiral, having only been at sea twenty-two weeks, has no thought of returning to port. The Admiral has shut the door of Toulon, and put the key in his pocket. I hope yet Naples and Rome will rouse themselves into action.—Ever believe me, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

TO [MR. BRAME?]

[Letter Book.

"4th September, anchored at Genoa. 11th.—At a quarter past 12 deserted from the Ship, with a small boat, 2 seamen and 1 soldier. At half past 3 A.M. got under weigh, and stood out of the Mole—L'Eclair in company. Sent the barge and pinnace, with Lieutenants Berry and Noble, to endeavour to find the deserters, who, after searching the Mole, proceeded towards St. Pierre d'Arena, at which place French colours were hoisted, and a battery of two guns opened their fire upon the boats and people. Our boats in shore then brought out a French Bombard laden with shot and shells, and 2 brass 24-pounders: the Genoese batteries opened their fire upon us at half-past 5, and continued till 1 P.M. Sent the jolly-boat, with Lieutenant Compton, on shore, who was detained with the boat and crew. At noon the light-house N.W. b. W. ½ W., about 2 miles. P.M.—Light airs. The guns of Genoa continued firing over us, and on all sides, till 1 P.M. None struck the Ship. Sent the pinnace, with Lieutenant Pierson of the 69th Regiment, on shore with a Flag of Truce, who returned at 5. Hoisted in the boats, and made sail—the prize in company—heard several guns fired in the E.N.E. quarter."—*Captain's Log.*]

My dear Sir, Captain, off Genoa, September 11th, 1796.

I send you facts which you will lay before the Government, and make them known to all the world: not a tittle can be contradicted. If you wish for further information, if Mr. Bird, and any Genoese Officer with him, will come on board, I am ready, if necessary, to answer any question. Ever truly, HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—You will of course exert yourself to have the declaration of the inhabitants of St. Pierre d'Arena, and of the soldiers at the Batteries, taken on oath. All will prove that the French are the aggressors, and, I am sorry to say, supported by the Genoese, who, I fully expected, would have fired on the French for their conduct. H. N.

At 11 o'clock the Fortresses of Genoa renewed their fire on His Majesty's Ships, having, on my standing in, fired a gun without shot, which I answered in the same way.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, September 11th, 1796.

Should the Genoese seize the property of the English, or allow the French, which Mr. Drake seems to think very

likely, I believe it is perfectly consonant to the laws of Nations to make reprisals for the value of the property, and also to detain persons till the English may be liberated. You will, I hope, forgive this private letter on an occasion of such importance: and ever believe me, your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

What a sad thing that our Minister is not at Genoa.

I send you a packet which a Spanish Vessel brought to me in Genoa; and one from Mrs. Caffarena. I find Mr. Wilson, purser of the Meleager, is her very old *friend*. He has been eighteen years in a Frigate, and she wishes he had a larger Ship.

I have made particular inquiries into the circumstances of the report to you of Mr. Brame, or some one about him, making the people rise the price of provisions, which was to go into their pocket. One Poulterer near the Palace, which I deal with, told me they did rise the price, because there was a great demand. I am satisfied Mr. Brame was in a state of inability for any business, and I cannot see any just grounds for charging the Vice-Consul with the fact. He says that he has lost money; for one gentleman about some hay that was sent, put him off. I am not to pay it, by which he lost 12 livres, and has had much trouble.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Imperfect extracts from this Letter are in vol. ii. p. 269.

"September 14th. Anchored at Bastia—employed embarking troops and bringing off ordnance stores."—*Captain's Log.*]

Captain, between Cape Corse and Bastia,
September 14th, 1796.

Dear Sir,

Having many letters for the Vice-Roy, and wishing much to see him, I am on my way to Bastia. I send you my letter to Mr. Drake, which I shall endeavour to send off express. It is, perhaps, more full than my letter to you. I assure you, Sir, on the most mature reflection, I feel nothing in this affair to reproach myself with; and it will much rejoice me to find you think the same. Some steps must necessarily be taken. You have formerly said you would pardon my writing opinions to you; therefore, should not a Squadron demand of the Government of Genoa the free admission into their Ports? (the insult and cruelty in firing on our Boats, I suppose, is more a Ministerial affair;) and in case of refusal, then comes the consideration, what is next to be done? Are

the French to be attacked at St. Pierre d'Arena? is the trade of Genoa to be stopped? I mean, are all Genoese vessels to be sent into St. Fiorenzo, and there ordered to remain with the masters and crews on board, in full possession of their Vessels, till the Government of Genoa open their Ports and give satisfaction for what has happened? This last, to be sure, may be easily got over: I have in some measure taken on myself to chastise the French, although supported by Genoa. I shall close this letter with the conversation I may have with the Vice-Roy.

September 15th.

It is no small degree of pleasure for me to tell you, that the Vice-Roy most fully approves of every measure I have taken; and his Excellency is on every occasion so full of his praise of my conduct, that it would almost lead one to believe it is more partiality than strict justice. The Vice-Roy also fully wishes the mode of taking and securing Genoese Ships to be adopted, as a pledge for the safety of the English property at Genoa in the first place, and as a measure of reprisal for the conduct of the Government of Genoa, in the second place. As the Vice-Roy will write you fully, I shall not touch on our intended Expedition. I shall only assure you that I am, with the most perfect respect, your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"September 15. P.M. Weighed; the Gorgon and Vanneau in company with troops on board. 17th.—P.M. Standing off and on Capraja. At 2 P.M. made the signal to prepare to land the troops (under the command of Major Logan)—out boats and embarked the troops with their ammunition, &c., to land. At 6 the Major returned to the Ship, having met with some opposition in landing. At 7 the Commodore left the Ship, who returned at 11, having landed the troops, artillery, &c, 18th.—At half-past 4 A.M. the Commodore went on shore with a party of seamen and some troops—at 8 saw two privateers burning in the harbour. At noon the town of Capraja west one mile. P.M. Moderate breezes and fair. At half-past 4 saw the Genoese colours hauled down and the English colours hoisted at the citadel—the Commodore made the signal (from the shore) for the Ship to stand in and anchor. At half-past 5 came-to in 20 fathoms water."—*Captain's Log.*]

My dear Sir, September 19th, 1796.

Captain Cockburn, on his joining me the other day, gave me the papers I now send you. How melancholy! Indignation and sorrow are so mixed in my mind, that I know not which predominates. You will form a judgment of what is proper to be done. The Officers are in arrest; the Captain[3]

[3] Vide vol. ii. p. 281, note 4.

very unfit to command: something must be done, and speedily. Ever yours most faithfully,

HORATIO NELSON.

Pray, Sir, send your orders as soon as possible.

TO JOHN UDNEY, ESQ., HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL FOR TUSCANY.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

"September 20th.—Weighed. At 9 saw a Spanish Frigate—beat to quarters. Sent a boat on board. Elba S.S.W. 3 leagues. P.M. Wore Ship—secured the guns. Parted from the Spanish Frigate La Vengeance. 23rd.—P.M. Anchored under Cape Teagi. Boarded several Neapolitan Vessels in shore, who informed us that the French took possession of Castiglione on Wednesday last. 24th.—Weighed. Noon.—Hoisted the barge out—the Commodore went on shore at Porto Ferraio—the Ship standing off and on."—*Captain's Log.*

Captain, at Sea, September 21st, 1796.

In the present situation of affairs with the Republic of Genoa, I have thought it necessary, in concert with his Excellency the Vice-Roy of Corsica, to detain all Genoese Vessels until satisfaction be given for the insults offered His Majesty's Flag by firing on it, and also for the seizure of the British shipping and property in Genoa, and shall, therefore, send them into the Mole of Porto Ferrajo, there to wait the directions of Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean. You will take care that the Master remains on board, and in charge of the cargo, with which the Petty-Officer put on board has nothing to do, except preventing any part of the cargo being carried on shore.

I have directed the sails to be unbent, and the Vessel safe moored in the Mole, and Colonel Montresor will give directions that her departure may be prevented, unless by proper authority. And, Sir, as the detention of these Vessels is a great National concern, you will use every endeavour for the good and humane treatment of the crews, who are in no way to be pillaged, or evil entreated. Should the corn be liable to damage before you can hear from the Vice-Roy, Admiral, or myself, it must, if wanted, be taken by Government, the Commissioner or Vice-Roy giving proper bills, or other security; or other proper ways disposed of. The hatches to be sealed down. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO THE CAPTAINS OF THE SQUADRON.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"September 25th.—Noon, joined company the Diadem and Lively. Captain Stuart joined the Ship. Anchored in Leghorn Roads."—*Captain's Log.*]

Captain, off Leghorn, September 25th, 1796.

In the present situation of affairs with the Republic of Genoa, I think it necessary, in concert with his Excellency the Vice-Roy of Corsica, to detain all Genoese Vessels, until satisfaction be given for the insult offered His Majesty's Flag by firing on it, and also for the seizure of British Shipping and property in Genoa: You are, therefore, hereby required and directed to stop and detain all Genoese Vessels, and send them into Port, there to wait the direction of Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean.

You will take care that the Master remains on board, and in charge of the cargo, and that the persons sent on board by you do not interfere, except for the preventing any part of the cargoes being carried on shore. HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"September 26th.—Hoisted the Broad Pendant on board the Diadem."—*Diadem's Log.*]

Sir, Captain, Leghorn Roads, September 26th, 1796.

I send you a copy of my order to detain Genoese Vessels, and also my letter to Mr. Udney for the care of them. I congratulate you most sincerely on the great success of Wurmser on the 17th and to the 21st. Letters which I have seen say the Affair is decisive. In Germany, the Archduke is in possession of Frankfort and Mayence: head-quarters at Mullendorf. The contributions levied by the French at Frankfort taken—thirty millions florins. Great reinforcements still joining Wurmser. This night go into Diadem, and Captain sails. Ever your obedient HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. A very inaccurate copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. pp. 283—286.]

Sir, Diadem, at Sea, 28th September, 1796.

Yesterday morning the Captain sailed from Leghorn, according to your orders, as did L'Eclair, the day before, from necessity—both for Ajaccio. During the course of yesterday,

I received repeated information of the movements of the Privateers which are to carry the Corsicans; their whole number is nine hundred, including Officers; six brass twelve-pounders, thirty-five cases of muskets, with other articles, are embarked in from fifteen to twenty Privateers, and I am certain they mean to sail the first favourable moment. On the 25th, each Corsican was paid 100 livres, and they behave so ill at Leghorn, that the French are determined to send them off, upon their general principle of acting, viz., "If these fellows succeed, so much the better for us: and if they do not, we get rid of a set of scoundrels."

Now, Sir, the point for me to consider is, where will the French land in Corsica? the twelve-pounders can only be to possess a post. This you will say, the Vice-Roy, from his information and means of knowledge, must guess at better than any of us. I am on my way to concert with his Excellency how I can best use my small force to his advantage, considering the other services I have to look to.

My idea runs strong that Porto Vecchio, which is reported to be neglected by us, and in which is a fort, is the object the Enemy mean to possess, and if their friends in the Island support them, is sure refuge for their Vessels, and an opening for the introduction of more troops and supplies. If the Viceroy will order some proper men into the fort, and I find Sardine, I will, with Venom, (which I have ordered from Leghorn for that purpose,) place [them] as Guard-ships in the harbour; and I will endeavour to have a Frigate off that part of the Coast. If the Enemy land nearer Bastia, these Vessels, with those which may be at Bastia, will be sure to destroy them, although it is possible the men may get on shore; but I hope from the small Craft which may be sent about the Islands between Corsica and the main, we may get accounts of their approach. If their intention is to land on the Western coast of Corsica, I take for granted they will never attempt the route by Cape Corse, which would every hour expose them to the sight of some of our Ships, which of course would be fatal to them. Be they to land on the East or West side, I shall act on the idea that they will proceed to the Southward, passing Piombino to Castiglione, the last place in their possession: but if I can get at them on that Coast, I believe it will be in my power to spoil their Expedition. If they are to pass the Straits of Bonafaccio, this must be a work of time, and we shall have many chances for their destruction; no opportunity for which shall be omitted, by, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—The French are very angry at our taking Capraja: the Commissioner was heard to say to Gentili, 'I told you we should have sent 300 men, and taken Capraja; you now see the consequences.'

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. "September 27th.—Weighed and came to sail."—*Diadem's Log.*]

Dear Sir, In sight of Bastia, September 29th, 1796.

I can tell you that the Austrians under the Archduke took possession of Frankfort on the 8th, and it is expected that Wurmser will again attack the French. *Mantua* stopped him again: all hope for another and younger General. Mr. Wyndham left Florence for Rome on the 24th. The Neapolitan property is detained by the French at Leghorn.

Mr. Lundi means to send you a Vessel with sheep, ducks, &c., he says, very soon; and is very anxious to obtain your permission to leave the Port. His cargoes are certainly for the use of the English: therefore, if it is possible, we ought to show more indulgence to him than to others. We might take him, and afterwards release him; but still I see difficulties with other Nations; and if we were to say the truth, his cargoes were for the use of the English, the French would cut off his head, and take his remaining property. Ever believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

By the first Ship I can get at going to you, I will send you Prize-Money, for which I have been *agent*. I wish, Sir, you may not see any impropriety in your, or my giving Berry an Acting-order, merely to give him some prize-money. The other day I took a Genoese worth £8000. If circumstances should cause a condemnation, it would be very handsome for him.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. pp. 285, 286.]

Sir, Bastia, 30th September, 1796.

Last night, on my arrival, I received your most secret orders; but I believe many people in this Island have an idea that something like your orders is going forward. I shall not fail to arrange what Transports may be necessary for each Port, which is all that I can do till matters are brought to greater maturity.

The Vice-Roy thinks there will not be more than about 600 émigrés, Corsicans and French, and the stores I do not believe are very many; for the ordnance which we found in the different fortifications, the Vice-Roy will not, I fancy, think it right to take away. His Excellency is very much distressed by this measure, and fancies the Island is at this moment in a most perfect state of loyalty to the King, and affection for the British Nation: but what strikes me as a greater sacrifice than Corsica, which is the King of Naples. If he has been induced to keep off the Peace, and perhaps engaged in the War again by the expectation of the continuance of the Fleet in the Mediterranean, hard indeed is his fate: his Kingdom must inevitably be ruined. The Vice-Roy wishes to put off the day of retreat from hence, for reasons which he will himself communicate. On the subject of Genoa I shall write another letter. I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"September 30th.—Anchored at St. Fiorenzo."—*Diadem's Log.*]

Sir, Diadem, Bastia Roads, September 30th, 1796.

On consultation with his Excellency the Vice-Roy, to whom I have communicated your letter for Mr. Brame, I have determined on sending a Frigate off Genoa, and to direct the Captain to send in a flag of truce, with your letter, and also with a letter from myself, and the Vice-Roy, to the following purport: to demand the immediate release of all the English Shipping, on which condition all the Genoese Ships and Vessels which have been stopped by either our Ships of War, or Corsican privateers, to be given up—that the seizure of them has been made as a just reprisal for the conduct of the Genoese, in the seizure of our Vessels in the Port of Genoa. This measure we propose should be first complied with. Then to state that we are perfectly ready to treat with Genoa, for the restoring of Capraja, whenever that Republic is willing to give satisfaction for the insult offered His Majesty, and security for the perfect neutrality of Capraja, which has hitherto been a *place d'armes* for our Enemies. I think, Sir, circumstanced as things are, that you will not wish to wait for Mr. Drake, and will trust me in not committing your name to any dishonourable act.—Believe me, Sir, your most faithful Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

(Private.)

Dear Sir, Bastia, September 30th, 1796.

I hope you have determined on something about the Blanche. All the Lieutenants, and in the whole seven Officers, are in confinement; and the Captain certainly not fit, in his present state of mind, to command that Ship. He came on board me the other day. I spoke to him fully, but he never once said—"I am an innocent man."

I purpose sending Lord Garlies off Genoa, and that La Minerve and Blanche should continue the block of Leghorn. I take the liberty of sending a letter for my wife. The Vice-Roy is very low and distressed. At a Peace, I should rejoice at having given up the Island, but I feel more than all for Naples.—Ever believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

Sardine carries wood to you; and the Vice-Roy wishes a Ship off this Coast, which I cannot give him at present. The Privateers were not sailed from Leghorn yesterday morning. The Vice-Roy thinks, perhaps, the Expedition is over. If it is, they are landing the English goods for Genoa: I know that has been in contemplation.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. "October 1st.—Weighed. 3rd.—P.M. Anchored in the Bay of Ajaccio."—*Diadem's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Bastia, October 3rd, 1796.

I received this day your several letters and orders relative to two-thirds allowance, Maltese seamen, sending Blanche to the Fleet, and my opening a negotiation with Genoa, all of which shall be complied with. I have arranged upon paper (for further, whilst the affair is to be kept secret, cannot be done) the disposition and number of Transports which will be wanted at each Port. It must not be considered as exact, for the reason before stated, but it is very near the mark. No cannon or stores taken in the Island are to be touched. Corsica is to be left entirely independent, and with means of defence against any Power: therefore the weight of stores is very small. All the Troop Ships are victualled, except in the article of bread, for three months, and Mr. Heatly has the necessary orders for managing the victualling the others,

so as to avoid suspicion. God knows what turn the minds of the Corsicans may take when the measure comes to be known. The love of plunder, and a desire to make themselves peace, with, I suppose, their former tyrants, the French, may induce them to disturb us; and in that event, an embarkation of stores, especially from hence, is by no means easy.

But this is a digression. I send you the account of Ships necessary, made out from returns of stores to the General, and by communication with the Vice-Roy. It will at least show you that my mind has not been idle, however my abilities, without a soul to speak to in the different departments, may fall short of my wishes.—Ever believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

This letter will of course be followed by others to the time of my departure.

TO JOSEPH BRAME, ESQ., GENOA.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Diadem, off Genoa, October [9th], 1796.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I am charged by his Excellency the Vice-Roy of Corsica, and Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., to come to Genoa, to endeavour to restore that harmony which the late conduct of the Government of Genoa has interrupted. I have therefore to desire that you will, as speedily as possible, know from the Ministers of the Serene Republic, whether His Majesty's Ship may with safety enter the Port of Genoa, and to sail from thence when I please to order her, and whether my person will be held sacred in the Town and Port of Genoa?—I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO MR. BRAME, GENOA.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

[About 9th October, 1796.]

Captain Towry has a Paper to deliver to the Government from me, and you will not omit to acquaint them, that I am empowered to treat for the restitution of Capraja, whenever the Government of Genoa shall revert to its former neutrality, and give satisfaction for the late insults offered His Majesty, and for the injury done his Subjects. I need not remind you of the consequences of sending me away without an answer.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO MR. BIRD, GENOA.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

October 9th, 1796.

I must rely upon you for managing matters expeditiously, and with becoming dignity. You may assure the Merchants there is no sacrifice consistent with His Majesty's honour, that I am not authorized to make for the security of their property. The refusal of the Government of Genoa to treat, on pretence of having made reclamations to the Court of London, will not stop the hands of His Majesty's Servants in these seas, and the consequences to Genoa must be dreadful. We have taken numbers of Genoese Ships, and if the Government of Genoa refuse the proffered Peace, their sins be on their own head. You will not fail to urge this forcibly.

TO THE GENOESE GOVERNMENT.

[From an Autograph Draught in the Nelson Papers, and a Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.—This Paper is printed, but with many errors, and with an uncertain date, in vol. ii. pp. 294—296.]

October 9th, 1796.

Commodore Nelson has the honour to acquaint the Serene Government of Genoa, that he is charged by their Excellencies the Vice-Roy of Corsica, and Sir John Jervis, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, to come to Genoa, and to demand from the Serene Government the immediate restitution of the British Shipping and Property sequestered in the Port of Genoa; satisfaction for the insult offered His Majesty's flag, by the firing of cannon on it on the 11th day of September last, and also for the subsequent conduct of the Government on that day, by shutting the Ports of the Republic to the British flag, at the instigation of His Majesty's enemies; and that this conduct is considered as the more insulting, as it was entirely unprovoked by any improper conduct on the part of His Majesty's Officers and Men, who were employed on a legal service near the shore of St. Pierre d'Arena, which was in possession of the French, and on which a French battery was erected.

These open hostilities has left no choice with the Servants of His Majesty in these seas, but that of vindicating His honour by immediate reprisals. The consequences have been that Capraja is at present occupied by British Troops, and that a great number of Genoese Vessels have been seized at sea and in our harbours, (which will every day increase), and are sequestered.

I am also instructed by his Excellency the Vice-Roy to state to the Government of the Serene Republic that Capraja had offered many provocations to His Majesty's Government in Corsica anterior to the late events in Genoa. That Island had been, for the last two years, the constant haunt of Vessels calling themselves French Privateers, fitted out in the harbour of Capraja, under the eye of the Genoese Government, by a French Agent, received and acknowledged as such.

These Vessels lay in wait at Capraja, for the Trade of His Majesty's Subjects, and exercised a piratical warfare against the English and Corsicans, under the protection of a Genoese fort and harbour in a manner entirely contrary to the laws of Neutrality: that no redress has been obtained from the Serene Republic by any representations which were made on the subject by His Majesty's Minister at Genoa; that although a French Agent was not only received at Capraja, but was avowedly the instrument of these hostilities, the Serene Republic declined the reasonable and just request that was made to them on our part, to admit an English Vice-Consul at the same place.

I am also directed by the Vice-Roy and Admiral to inform the Serene Republic, that they would still have persevered in the same system of moderation and forbearance, from a sincere regard for the Serene Republic, and from an ardent desire to maintain, even with great sacrifices, the harmony which has so long been preserved, through difficult and delicate times, between the two Governments, if the violent and insulting transactions of the 11th of September had not committed the honour of His Majesty, as well as the interest and just claims of his Subjects, too deeply to admit of further forbearance.

At the same time I am further instructed to inform the Serene Republic, that neither desire of conquest nor avidity of gain, by a War against the extensive commerce of Genoa, have influenced their councils on this occasion; and that the only objects they have in view are to obtain reparation for the late insults committed at Genoa, and a security against a repetition of those injuries which have been experienced from the conduct of the Genoese Government at Capraja.

When these objects are accomplished, it is their Excellencies' desire, and they will think it their duty, to restore everything to its former footing, and to revert to that friendly intercourse with Genoa which it has been so much the wish

of His Majesty, and the study of all his Servants to maintain, notwithstanding many provocations which perhaps the nature of the times and circumstances have rendered unavoidable.

The Commodore flatters himself that these, their Excellencies' sentiments, will sufficiently evince to the Government of Genoa, and to the whole world, their amicable and pacific disposition, and will render the Serene Republic alone responsible for the evils which have ensued from the present differences, or for those measures which their Excellencies may justly be called upon to employ for the vindication of His Majesty's honour and the protection of his Subjects. To these declarations of their Excellencies, the Commodore has only to add, that it is the ardent wish of his heart to be instrumental in restoring harmony between the two Nations, in a manner compatible with the dignity of his Sovereign, which is inseparable from the true interest of the Republic of Genoa.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"October 11th.—Hove up the anchor and made sail. 13th.—Anchored in Martello Bay—found Sir John Jervis and the Fleet at anchor. P.M. Weighed." —*Diadem's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Bastia, October 14th, 1796.

I am this moment arrived, and it was my intention to have come over to you; but the Vice-Roy and others think it by no means safe; therefore I shall remain, and act with the Vice-Roy. The state of the Town is very bad, and I suspect we shall lose the Citadel before night. Ever your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

Cockburn, Lord Garlies and, I suppose, Blanche are at Leghorn. The latter has been long ordered to join the Fleet. Not being present when the complaint was made, I did not choose to put Captain Sawyer under arrest, as indeed I hope he would take himself off. Pray tell me what I shall do about Leghorn. I send all the Genoa papers.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.
* Part of this Letter is incorrectly printed in vol. ii. pp. 288, 289.

"October 15th.—Anchored at Bastia—Commodore Nelson shifted his broad pendant from the Diadem, and hoisted it on board the Captain—Boats employed in bringing off stores."—*Captain's Log.*]

Dear Sir, Bastia, October 15th, 1796.

As far as my powers and abilities go, you may rely on me that nothing shall be left undone which ought to be done, even should it be necessary to knock down Bastia. Last night I took the Vice-Roy and Secretary of State afloat; and at daylight this morning came to the General, and told him, that from the embarkation of the Vice-Roy, &c., the evacuation and regulation of this Town became entirely military, and of course devolved on us. I hope the General will join me cordially, but, as you well know, great exertions belong exclusively to the Navy. The Army is, as usual, well dressed and powdered. I have been to the magazines, and the quantity of provisions is as follows:—2800 bags of flour, 130 pounds each; 668 barrels of flour; 1100 bags of biscuit; whole barrels of beef, 217; half barrels, 71; quarter barrels, 311; 217 pipes of wine, 83 of brandy. I have arranged, as far as I have the means, the embarkation, and the General says he will have proper guards to keep off the populace. I have recommended to the General to send for the Municipality, and to tell them that the direction of affairs was in our hands, and that [it would be] at their peril were they to interfere in the embarkation of any property belonging to us. Had not the Ships arrived when they did, yesterday would have lost Bastia: the Ships are laid opposite the Town, with springs. I am sorry to say the Convoy with Southampton is not in sight, and it is calm: Captain not at anchor: it is by the terror of the Ships which will keep order here. If you could send a Ship round and two Transports, it would be very useful. I have sent a Felucca to prepare Capraja: the Rose goes to Elba to direct the stores to be put on board a Transport I left for that purpose. Southampton I shall send to attend at Elba, but that evacuation not to take place till we are finished here, which, according to the present appearances, will be some time. Had not Elba been ours, our Smyrna Convoy and Transports, I believe, would have been lost. The Commissioner arrived safe before six o'clock. All the French prisoners are gone.—Ever yours most faithfully,

HORATIO NELSON.

I purpose taking the Ships from Leghorn, when we are absolutely all afloat, or we shall have swarms of Privateers to torment us.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Fragments of this Letter are in vol. ii. p. 292.]

Dear Sir, Bastia, October 19th, 1796.

The greatest part of the flour and all the salt provisions are on board. Powder is now getting off, and we shall attend chiefly to this most important article, *ordnance stores:* all English guns, mortars, and stores should most assuredly be embarked at every place. The Vice-Roy writes to Calvi this day on the same subject. My present intention is to embark the Troops on the morning of the 21st; and I am sorry to take the Line-of-Battle Ships to Elba, as I am so anxious to have them with you; but they are so full of stores, and will perhaps be of Troops, that I can only say, twelve hours shall be the outside for Egmont and Excellent, and I shall bring the Vice-Roy probably in a few hours afterwards to talk with you. Sardine is under sail for Naples, and only waits to make sail till the Vice-Roy's letter is finished. Dido is gone to Elba to tell Colonel Montresor, the Commandant, the great change. As to Sawyer, you astonish me; yet why? a person who is impudent enough to do what has been proved on him, may fairly be supposed to have impudence enough for anything. Our water is getting smooth, and we are all well and quiet.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

Everything may be done at Porto Ferrajo. I shall give Port-orders that no Transport, or Merchant Ship, or Frigate, shall take the anchorage of a Ship of the Line. You will be delighted with the Port. Coffin is quite enraptured.

Noon.—We have just [received] accounts from the Municipality, that a number of French have landed near Cape Corse, and have sent to demand of the Municipality what part they mean to take. The Vice-Roy has sent to the Municipality, that we wish to quit them amicably, and in the state we promised; but if they permitted the French to enter the Town, or in any way embarrassed our embarkation, that it would end in the destruction of the batteries, and would be highly detrimental to the Town. I am not clear in my own mind as to the fact, at least as to numbers, but we shall act, I see, with *prudence,* and retreat in time. The garrison of Capraja is arrived. H. N.

May I beg your care of the enclosed, which is truly only to say I am well.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"October 20.—All the Troops embarked. At 11 weighed and made sail. P.M.—Anchored in Port Ferrajo, and the Convoy came in, and anchored. 21st.—The launch employed landing baggage and stores belonging to the Troops. P.M.—Saluted the Vice-Roy on his quitting the Ship with 19 guns—the Vanneau sailed with dispatches for England to the Roman coast—heard several guns fired outside the harbour—found that the Vanneau was on shore—sent the boats with anchors, cables, and hawsers to her assistance—dispatched the Speedy with the dispatches. 22nd.—A.M. The Dido sailed, the Vanneau much damaged, and not likely to get off."—*Captain's Log.*

Dear Sir, Captain, Port Ferrajo, October 21st, 1796.

The Romulus and her Convoy being blown in here, in order that the Ships of War should join you as soon as possible, I have ordered each Ship of War to take twenty live oxen for the Fleet, therefore not more than forty will remain, which is not an object to stop such a Ship as Romulus. Tarleton goes to you, that Lord Proby may shift into the Téméraire, which I understand you intend. Dido sails directly for Leghorn, to relieve Lively, who wants many things, and will be ordered to join you. I inclose you a list of the Force, and how employed, which remains.

I shall detail to you our proceedings in another letter, if I have time, by Romulus; but I can say, in a word, that all was conducted to my satisfaction, as far as relates to the Navy, and all who I care about are satisfied with us.

The Garrison of Capraja arriving at Bastia the day before our embarkation, although orders had been sent, and miscarried, for them to remain, Egmont, Excellent, and Southampton were ordered to call off Capraja, and to land the garrison. The Line-of-Battle Ships were not to anchor, and they will be here to-day, and sail with me to-morrow to join you. The Vice-Roy intends at present to come with me: therefore I shall reserve myself for further particulars till I have the pleasure of seeing you.—Ever believe me your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.

"October 23rd.—Weighed. 24th.—Saw the Fleet coming from St. Fiorenzo Bay to anchor in Martello. P.M.—Anchored in Martello Bay. *November* 2nd.—The French and Corsicans came round from St. Fiorenzo to annoy the watering parties. Several of the Ships in shore firing at them. P.M.—Weighed—all the Fleet under weigh. 16th—Saw the land about Algiers. 21st.—Ivica N.W. b. N. Formentara W.N.W. 10 or 12 leagues—the Commodore went on board the

Admiral. December 1st.—Anchored at Gibraltar, as did the Admiral and Fleet."—*Captain's Log.* [The Captain was still at Gibraltar on the 7th, when the Logs in the Editor's possession end.]

Sir, December 29th, 1796.

I arrived here the night before last, where I found Captain Fremantle, who returned me the state of the Squadron, as by the inclosed paper. The Minerve's main and mizen mast are so badly wounded, that the builder has reported them unfit for service. The foremast he hopes to be able to secure. I shall be able, I believe, to sell the Mignonne advantageously, as also the Tarleton; and if the Commissioner does not come from Naples by the Dido, I shall direct them to be sold, and the Mignonne's people to carry down the Spanish Brig. I send you copies of letters which have passed between General de Burgh and myself. It will be near a fortnight before the measure directed can be executed, and if the General should determine to remain here, I shall join you with such Ships as are not absolutely wanted here.—I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—A cargo of timber is landed from a Swede. I am getting on board one of the Transports.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, La Minerve, December 29th, 1796.

Herewith I send you the sentence of a Court-Martial held yesterday, on Captain Harrison, of His Majesty's Ship Dromedary, and will forward the Minutes as soon as the Deputy Judge-Advocate has them copied fair. I have directed Captain James to command the Dromedary till his own Ship arrives, or he falls in with her. Captain Temple takes his passage in the Transfer.—I am, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

December 29th, 1796.

How the Squadron under my command is employed:—

Inconstant . .	going to Naples for Sir Gilbert Elliot.
Peterel . . .	do. to Castiglione.
Sardine . . .	do. to Piombino.
Speedy . . .	do. in search of the Pallas and Romulus.

Southampton	.	Cruizing off Cape Corse.
Dido, L'Utile	.	with a Convoy expected from Naples.
Dolphin, Camel, Mignonne	.	in this Port.
La Minerve	.	refitting.

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My Lord, La Minerve, Port Ferrajo, 4th January, 1797.

As Mr. Wyndham is over here to confer with General de Burgh on the subject of withdrawing our Troops from the Continent of Italy, I take the opportunity of his return to inform your Lordship of my arrival here to execute the very important mission with which I am charged, and which, in due time, I hope to accomplish. I rest sure of your Lordship's opinion that nothing will be wanting on my part for its success. The General is without orders, and the Army are not so often called upon to exercise their judgment in political measures as we are; therefore the General feels a certain diffidence. But let me be clearly understood, as not intending to convey the slightest criticism on the General's conduct: for an Officer more anxious, or more able, to execute the King's commands, or with whom it is easier to carry on united operations, I never met with.

Our Convoy arrived last night from Naples. In short we want for nothing here of any kind or sort, from a bag of dollars to a cabbage. I shall not trouble you with any account of my Action; it will come before you through its proper channel, Sir John Jervis, having sent Captain Maitland express to the Admiral with an account of it, my arrival, &c., &c.; but I cannot omit most earnestly recommending Lieutenant Culverhouse, First of La Minerve, to your Lordship's notice. Lieutenant James Noble, who left the Captain to serve with me, and who is grievously wounded; —I presume to press his repeated wounds and merits on your Lordship's notice. I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My Lord, La Minerve, Port Ferrajo, 16th January, 1797.

I did myself the honour of writing your Lordship, when Mr. Wyndham returned to Florence from hence. The General was then in a state of uncertainty whether he should stay or go. The same uncertainty still prevails; but the General will, I fancy, be guided in a great measure by Sir Gilbert Elliot, whose arrival is momentarily expected. The Troops were placed here by orders, and there are no orders for their departure. I have stated most fully to the General the Admiral's intentions, and my instructions. However, should the General's determination be to stay, I have every Naval store, and all the establishment embarked, and shall take them down the Mediterranean, leaving a very small Naval force here under Captain Fremantle. The Minerve is nearly refitted; but as every rope, and almost every spar has been new, it has taken a longer time than I wished. Except the Pallas and Inconstant, every Ship has joined me, and I expect them very soon. The Romulus is fitted with a new bowsprit and head, having been run foul of by the Pallas, one week after her departure from Naples. In Corsica, we hear by a gentleman who left Bastia yesterday, that the Republican party daily loses their influence; and what is extraordinary, the part of the Island which was in rebellion against us is now in the same state against the French, but they are Paolists. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

SHIPS IN PORT FERRAJO.

La Minerve.
Romulus.
* Blanche.
Southampton.
Dido.
* Sardine.
* L'Utile.
* Peterel.
Dolphin.
Dromedary.
All the Transports ready for sailing.

* Inconstant.
Pallas.
* Speedy.
momentarily.

* Ships intended to be left.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, La Minerve, Port Ferrajo, January 25th, 1797.

Although I hope to be with you before Southampton, yet it is possible that may not be the case, as I mean to look into Toulon, Mahon, and Carthagena, that I may be able to tell you the apparent state of the Combined Fleet. The General having declined to evacuate Porto Ferrajo, as you will observe by the copy of the letter transmitted herewith, I have, notwithstanding, withdrawn all our Naval establishment from this place, having first completed every Ship to as much stores as their Captains pleased to take. Every Transport is completely victualled, and arranged that every Soldier and store can be embarked in three days. The way in which I have sent down the Store-Ship and Dolphin, as also the Convoy, eight or nine Sail, with my intention of looking into the Enemy's Ports, I hope you will approve. I shall not enter into further particulars till I have the honour of seeing you; but believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—I have sent orders for Pallas to join you by Dido-Southampton, and have left similar orders at this place.

Ships left at Porto Ferrajo:—Inconstant, Blanche, Peterel, Speedy, L'Utile, Rose, Venom, Mignonne.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Irresistible, 14 leagues South of Cape St. Mary's,

My dear Sir, March 14th, 1797.

My route has been from the Tagus forty leagues West of Cape St. Vincent to 35° N., making the Coast of Barbary to this place, speaking not only every Vessel seen, but every one we have heard of; but as yet not a Don to be met with, although I am sure the Spanish Fleet are in Cadiz, as we spoke a Vessel on the 12th, which left Gibraltar on the 9th. The Officers and Seamen are pelted and hooted by the mob. The Terpsichore was at Gibraltar and the Mahonese, the latter not venturing to sail, as two Spanish Line-of-Battle Ships are at the Orange Grove. I have sent Cockburn to look into Cadiz, and when he joins, I shall send Raven to tell you what he sees. We saw L'Aigle, and I should have been glad to have heard from Captain Tyler, or one of his Squadron, what he had seen or knew, but I did

not succeed in my signal of recall. Caroline is the only Ship which has joined me, Captain Luke never having seen Captain Oakes: indeed I fancy our Frigates are to the Westward. I shall now stand to the Rendezvous, and towards Cape St. Vincent. At the latter place I shall be on the 21st, and not quit sight of it till Raven joins with your further orders.

I intend, if you approve, sending Cockburn, Southampton, and Bonne Citoyenne to the Southward, towards the Canary Islands; Hope, Andromache, and Raven, West of Cape St. Vincent, towards the Western Islands: Caroline will be at your disposal, if the two-decked Ships are ordered into the Tagus. If you do not give any directions about her, I shall place her off Cape St. Mary's or St. Vincent's. Respecting the Orion, Leander, and Irresistible, if you anchor at Gibraltar, these Ships can be watered in a few hours: they want not to go into Port; therefore, if you approve, I will answer for either being off the Tagus, or Cape St. Vincent, on the day you may intend to sail from Lisbon. It is almost a pity to give the Vice-Roy a chance of eluding our vigilance. As yet we have never covered a less space than from 12 to 28 leagues. Respecting myself, I wish to stay at sea, and as I have directed Captain Miller to provide me with everything necessary, whether in the Captain or any other Ship, I beg, if Line-of-Battle Ships are left out, either on this side the Gut, or to the Eastward of Gibraltar, that I may be the man. This brings forward a subject which I own is uppermost in my mind,—that of the safety of our Troops, should they embark from Elba. The French have a number of Ships at Toulon. They may get two, three, or four ready, with a number of Frigates, and make a push for our Convoy. I am ready, you know, to go Eastward to cover them, even to Porto Ferrajo, or off Toulon, or Minorca, as you may judge proper, and if they are on their passage, you will not, I presume, go to the Northward till they arrive at Gibraltar. I have said much, but you have spoiled me, by allowing me to speak and write freely; but believe I do not mean further than my wish to undertake this service, if you approve of it; for believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged and faithful servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Irresistible, off Lagos Bay, March 16th, 1797.

Having sent the Minerve to look into Cadiz, it was not my intention to have sent the Raven to you till Captain Cockburn joined me; but being perfectly assured that the Spanish Fleet are in Port, and seeing no appearance of Minerve, I send the Raven for your further orders. Our cruize as yet has been unfortunate, but I believe no Vessels have passed near, which have not been examined. The Squadron wants nothing, and are remarkably healthy. I shall remain off Cape St. Vincent's till I receive your further orders. I am, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, Irresistible, off Cape St. Vincent, March 22nd, 1797.

The Seahorse, Emerald, and Dido having joined, as also the Zealous and La Minerve, I am waiting for your further orders before I dispose of the Frigates. The Seahorse wants two topmasts, and Captain Berkeley is very anxious to have an inquiry into his conduct, respecting the large Ship which I find Captain Bowen fell in with, and did not find her so much disabled as he expected. I send you Captain Cockburn's account of the Spanish Fleet, and also one we got yesterday from an American. Believe me, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My Lord, Captain, off Cape St. Vincent, 28th March, 1797.

I have to thank you for your very flattering letters of February 27th and March 8th[1]. I feel sensibly your Lord-

[1] These Letters have not been found, but on the 8th of November, 1796, Earl Spencer signified his approbation of Commodore Nelson's conduct in the following Letter:—

"Sir, "8th November, 1796.

"I have only time barely to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 20th August last, which the very great uncertainty of the communication overland prevented me from doing before. I cannot, however, allow a line to reach you from me, without repeating the assurance of the great satisfaction which has been derived here, from the very spirited, and at the same time dignified and temperate manner, in which your conduct has been marked both at Leghorn and Genoa. I am, &c., SPENCER.—*Copy* in the Spencer Papers.

ship's approbation of my conduct in the Action with the Sabrina, by promoting Lieutenants Culverhouse and Noble to the rank of Masters and Commanders. I wish also you to be impressed with a favourable opinion of Captain George Cockburn of La Minerve, than whom a more able, gallant young Captain does not serve His Majesty. I was happy in having brought down the Naval stores and establishment, and most fortunate in my joining the Fleet, as it afforded me a most glorious opportunity whilst my gallant and .... [*a word illegible*] Admiral was too much involved in smoke to perceive of facilitating the Victory which ensued. The unbounded praises Sir John Jervis has ever heaped and continues to heap on me, are a noble reward for any services which an Officer under his command could perform. Nor is your Lordship less profuse in them, and it shall be my pride to merit your Lordship's future attentions; for believe me, with the most real respect, your most faithful and obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. This Letter is correctly printed in vol. ii. pp. 381, 382, from a Copy in the Admiralty, but as two passages occur in the autograph, which are omitted in the copy, the whole Letter is reprinted here.

Captain, 20 Leagues W. by S. of the Southern end of Corsica,
April 21st, 1797.

My dear Sir,

You will rejoice to hear I am with the Convoy, all safe and well. I shall now trouble you with a detail of my proceedings, which you may read or not, as you like. The day after I left you in the evening, Seahorse, Caroline, and Southampton, joined me off Cabrita Point. I sent Gibson with the Gibraltar letters, and wrote a line to General O'Hara, to say, that if he could dispense with the Emperor of Morocco's present for a little while, I should like to have the Meleager. His answer was, he did not care if the Emperor did not get his present this month; and, therefore, Meleager joined me, with Gibson, at noon, on Saturday the 15th. I lost no time, speaking everything to get information in getting to the eastward. Repeated Vessels confirmed to me that a French Squadron of four Sail of the Line, one Frigate, and a Brig, were off the south end of Minorca. The Southampton parted company, in chase, I fancy, of a Spaniard; but I hope we shall either pick him up, or he will get to Gibraltar in time to execute your orders relative to his Convoy. On the 18th

and 19th, I passed Ivica, Majorca, and within gun-shot of Port Mahon, with a strong wind at N.W., which I fancy blew the French Ships under St. Peter's, in the Island of Sardinia; and this morning, at 7 A.M., with inexpressible pleasure, I saw the Convoy, which I shall hope to see safe in Gibraltar; and I detach Gibson to tell you this good news. I hope you will press General O'Hara about Teneriffe. What a Strike it would be! By what I learn, all is lost in Italy. The whole state of Venice is actually French. Trieste is said to be also in their possession, and Buonaparte is within 150 miles of Vienna, with 150,000 men. The Archduke Charles is fortifying some pass to make a stand; but there seems no prospect of stopping these extraordinary people. I will not take up more of your time than to say, I have wrote to Gibraltar for the Agent of Transports and the Agent-Victualler to be prepared to expedite my departure, that I may join you, and be ready for other service. Believe me ever, dear Sir, your most faithful servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

I have sent Seahorse and Meleager to go on the north side of the Islands, to endeavour to get hold of some Spanish Frigates which are thereabout. I must take the liberty of saying, I believe the weather was the entire cause of Oakes' long delay at Gibraltar: it was worse than when we were there in December. However that may be, the Seahorse is one of the very best ordered Ships I have ever met with. Captain Oakes intends to speak to you about going on shore to Lisbon for his health, or quitting and going home. He is most exceedingly ill. The Gunner of the Seahorse having cut his throat, and the Gunner of the Peterell not having joined, I shall put John Brady acting into the Peterell, and beg leave to recommend him to you for confirmation to her, or a small Frigate, should you remove the Gunner of the Dido into the Seahorse. I understand Captain Preston speaks highly of him, as does Captain Hotham. May I beg my letter to be forwarded to England?

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Part of this Letter is printed in vol. ii. p. 384.]

Dear Sir, Captain, off Cape Pallas, 1st May, 1797.

As I shall send away the Rose Cutter the moment I see the Rock, you will know from her arrival that we are in a fair way for arriving safe at Gibraltar. It is possible, if

Portugal has made its Peace, you may have other orders for the destination of the Convoy, which may get to Gibraltar before General O'Hara has made his arrangements; but whether there are other orders or not, I am sure you will like to hear of our arrival. The Southampton has not yet joined, but as my orders were positive, in the Secret Rendezvous, to chase nothing out of the direct course, I hope she will arrive in time to execute your orders. Seahorse and Meleager are ordered to be at Gibraltar on the 4th. They with Caroline shall join you immediately (Meleager landing the Emperor of Morocco's clock in her way). Captain and Colossus shall be watered in preference to any other Vessel, and no time shall be lost in joining you with them. I spoke a Danish Frigate on the 27th of April, from Malaga four days. He says the Spanish Fleet has most positive orders to come to sea and fight you. This makes me doubly anxious to join. I have not interfered with Captain Fremantle's charge and arrangement of the Convoy: it could not be in better hands; therefore I only overshadow them with my wings. I have the satisfaction to tell you, that all the Troops (except the Royals, who were always intended to be embarked in the Ships of War) are embarked in the Transports, with the exception of twenty, and General Horneck, who are in two Vessels loaded with wine. I offered to take one hundred men into each of my Squadron, but I found there there was not the smallest necessity for it.

I hope, Sir, you will state this fact at home, as it would have been a severe reflection on me, not to have left what was necessary for the embarkation of the Army. I rejoice in this opportunity of vindicating my conduct; and beg leave again to recommend Lieutenant Day, Agent for Transports, to your notice. I placed my reliance on his judgment (not to leave a Ship more than was necessary), and I am not deceived. A more zealous active Officer, as Agent for Transports, I never met with. General de Burgh also speaks of him in the highest terms, and I hope the Transport Board will keep their promise of recommending those Officers in their service who eminently distinguish themselves, which I take upon me to say, Lieutenant Day has not only done at Bastia, but at Porto Ferrajo. For his conduct at the former place you were so good, on my stating his services, to recommend him to the Admiralty; and I should not do justice to His Majesty's Service, was I not to urge it again. I have the pleasure to add, that every Captain under my orders have conducted themselves like zealous good Officers.—I have the honour to be, &c., HORATIO NELSON.

May 5th, off Cape de Gatte.

P.S.—Since writing my letter Lieutenant Day assures me that the Troops put on Board the hired Vessels with provisions, was entirely to accommodate them, and not from necessity. A small Polacca was hired by Lieutenant Day for three months, to receive some of Dillon's who had a contagious fever, and it was judged improper they should be with the other Troops. It certainly was not calculated that tonnage was to be given equal for an India voyage, but for a fine passage down the Mediterranean. On the 2nd, in the night, it blowing strong to the S.W., a Transport parted with part of Dillon's Regiment. As it must have been occasioned by some accident to the Vessel, Captain Fremantle has sent Peterel to look for her, or from an insurrection amongst the miscreants, who were in the greater part taken out of chains, and put on board her. The Bonne Citoyenne also going to the Eastward for a few days, if it is an accident she will certainly be found.

TO CAPTAIN FREMANTLE, HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP INCONSTANT.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Captain, in Gibraltar Bay, May 19th, 1797.

In obedience to orders from Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B., I have to desire that you will complete your Ship to three months' provisions; and the Peterel, Speedy, and Utile are to do the same; and it is the Commander-in-Chief's further direction that you take the before-mentioned Ships under your command, and land from the Inconstant, and direct Captain Lydiard to do the same from the Utile, all such stores as are not absolutely necessary for your voyage to Lisbon and England. I inclose you a copy of a letter from Lieutenant-General O'Hara to me, relative to the change of some of the Troops—the Royal Irish 18th Regiment being to be landed here, and the other Regiments completed to 600 men each. So soon as the exchanges are made, you are to proceed and join the Commander-in-Chief with the Convoy, off Cadiz, who will give you directions for your further proceedings. The Southampton being directed by the Commander-in-Chief to take under her convoy the Trade, light Victuallers, &c., from Gibraltar, bound to England, Captain Macnamara is directed to sail from hence with you, and to join the Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz. Inclosed I transmit you a copy of Captain Macnamara's orders. Should Captain Macnamara not arrive by the time

you are ready to sail, you will take the Trade, and light Victuallers under your convoy, that the Commander-in-Chief may give such directions as he shall judge proper. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

MEMORANDUM OF ORDERS GIVEN TO THE SHIPS IN GIBRALTAR BAY.

[Original in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

[Apparently 19th May, 1797.]

Southampton to victual for three months with all species of provisions; to leave what stores she could spare, to take the Trade, light Victuallers, &c., and her Convoy to sail with Captain Fremantle, and to join the Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz, where he would receive his directions for his further proceedings.

Blanche to complete her victualling to six months of all species, and coals, and to take as much wine as she can stow, and to join the Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz, as expeditiously as possible.

Meleager to complete in the same manner, and to receive from General O'Hara such dispatches as he may have to send to Tangier; and having delivered them at that place, to join the Commander-in-Chief as expeditiously as possible.

L'Utile to complete to three months of all species as expeditiously as possible, and to follow Captain Fremantle's orders for his further proceedings.

Caroline to complete her provisions of all species to six months as expeditiously as possible, and to proceed to the Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz.

Colossus to complete her provisions of all species to six months, coals, &c., and to take in as much wine as she can conveniently stow, and to join the Commander-in-Chief with all possible expedition off Cadiz.

Leander to complete her provisions of all species to six months, as expeditiously as possible, with coals, &c., and to take in as much wine as she can conveniently stow, and to join the Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz.

TO JAMES SIMPSON, ESQ., CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. The concluding paragraph of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 385.

Sir, Captain, at Gibraltar, May 20, 1797.

I am this moment honoured with your letter of yesterday's

date, acquainting me that twelve Sail of Vessels belonging to the United States of America are now, with their cargoes on board, in the Road of Malaga, from which they are unable to proceed on their respective voyages, as three French Privateers are laying ready to seize upon them the moment they are from under the guns of Malaga, and the Masters are sure the French Consul would adjudge them to be good Prizes to those Privateers, as they have seen, in the course of this month, several American Vessels and cargoes adjudged by the French Consul at Malaga good prizes to them, and you having stated the impossibility of getting protection for them, except I shall be pleased to afford them the protection of His Majesty's flag:

I shall immediately grant the protection you have requested, by sending a Frigate, to-morrow off Malaga, who shall protect them close to the Coast of Barbary, where you tell me they will consider themselves safe. In thus freely granting the protection of the British flag to the Subjects of the United States, I am sure of fulfilling the wishes of my Sovereign, and I hope of strengthening the harmony which at present so happily subsists between the two Nations. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO CAPTAIN MANSFIELD, H. M. SHIP ANDROMACHE.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Sir, Captain, in Gibraltar Bay, May 21st, 1797.

The Consul of the United States of America having represented to me, that twelve American Vessels are now with their Cargoes on board in Malaga Road, from which place they cannot proceed on their respective voyages on account of three French Privateers, by whom they are sure of being taken the moment they are from under the guns of Malaga, and as sure of being adjudged good Prizes by the French Consul, as several Vessels belonging to the United States of America have been in the course of this present month; and the Consul of the United States having requested of me the protection of His Majesty's flag for these American Vessels, I have to desire that you will, as soon as possible, proceed off Malaga, hoisting, when off the Bay, a French National Flag at your main-top gallant-mast head, when the American Vessels will come out, and place themselves under your protection. The Consul having informed me that, should the

wind be Westerly, they will think themselves perfectly safe by being seen safe over to the Barbary shore, you will therefore afford them that protection; or, if you find it necessary, as far as Gibraltar, after which you will join the Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz as expeditiously as possible. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ., HARPUR STREET, LONDON.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Theseus, May 27th, 1797—
Changed from the Captain this day.

My dear Friend,

I thank you most exceedingly for your letter, and am fully sensible of the kind method you have taken for effectually serving my dear brother, as I well know money to you is not an object. But, situated as I have been and am, it has been totally out of my power to do anything in the Agency way. As a Captain, Lord Hood's Secretary, [and] the Consul at Leghorn, have been always named by the Commander-in-Chief: then comes the Merchant who sells, and oftentimes another Merchant has been added. Already two dead Agents, how could another be added, especially as our former Prizes have been so very trifling? Since I became a Flag-Officer, I have never interfered, nor can I think it right. Purvis is sole Agent for 14th February, which will put 10,000*l.* in his pocket. This is a fair statement, which you will, I know, like better than a sheet of paper. We are at anchor, looking at the Dons, who say they will come out on the 29th or 1st of June and settle our business. They expect seven Sail of the French from Toulon, and four Spanish Ships of the Line from Carthagena, which will make their force at least forty, perhaps forty-five Sail of the Line. We are twenty-two. We hear of a Squadron laying wait within Sir John Jervis's Command for to take those rich Ships which otherwise would fall into our hands. It is impossible to conceive the ill-blood it has created in this Fleet—leave us so inferior to the Enemy, and one of our *Task-Masters* attempting to rob us of our harvest, but leaving us very *handsomely* to spend our blood in opposing so superior a force. Share with us our danger, share our honour, and share with us the wealth which may come forward. Our friend Pringle, I am told, is come home heartily tired. Next October, Peace or War I must do the same. I cannot last another winter.—Ever, believe me, your affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 392.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, 6th June, 1797.

Mr. Jackson has delivered me your confidential letter: you may depend upon me. I want nothing but what we have ourselves, but two five and a-half inch howitzers, two four or six-pounders, field-pieces, 500 shells, some cases of fixed ammunition, and two or three artillerymen (no Officer) to fix the fusees, and a devil-cart. With this stock, and what you propose, I have no doubt of doing the job as it ought to be, the moment the Ships come in sight. I want twenty ladders of the size and dimensions I will get from the Carpenter of the Blenheim, late of the Captain, who has made proper ones which one man [could] carry for escalade, for my use in former times. We will do as we like, if Government will attend to us.—Yours most truly,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. The postscript only of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 392.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 7th, 1797.

I now find that all the French Privateers, even Polacca Ships, Brigs, &c., pass in and out of the Port of Cadiz, through the Canal of San Pedro; it is therefore necessary always to have a Frigate, and, if we had it, some other small Vessels, either at anchor or under sail, off that place. A Privateer Brig went in yesterday, and is now in sight. A Ship and Schooner were also passing under the Bridge, having taken their masts out. If you have a spare Frigate, and can get soon any other small Vessel to block up that passage, Cadiz will be effectually closed. The American tells me the Town's-people are fearful of an attack, and say you must carry the place. Not one-half the guns are now mounted on the walls. I long to be at them. He also says, it is reported that the Emperor has not agreed to all the French demanded, and the Spaniards are afraid he will go on with the War.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

You must think, of giving me 200 Marines in addition to what I can land; the whole business is arranged in my mind, and I can point out to you the absolute necessity. Cap-

tain Oldfield is a very worthy man; and under General Troubridge ashore, and myself afloat, I am confident of success.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL DON MORENO, OF THE SPANISH NAVY.

[Autograph copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.—An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. ii. p. 393.]

Sir, Theseus, 8th of June, 1797.

A Spanish Officer having said, that you expressed a wish to obtain a Letter supposed to have been written from His Majesty's Ship Egmont, and inserted in an English Newspaper, relating to the Action of February 14th, every inquiry has been made to obtain the Newspaper, but hitherto without effect; and Captain Sutton of the Egmont has likewise made every inquiry, but cannot learn that any Letter from that Ship has been published. But the inquiry has produced from my Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Jervis, the most handsome testimony of the gallant conduct of a Three-decked Ship, bearing the Flag of a Vice-Admiral, who did everything which a good Officer could do, to attempt to cut through the British line, between the Victory and Egmont. I have the honour to be with great respect, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Parts of this Letter are printed, though very incorrectly, in vol. ii. pp. 393, 394.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, 9th June, 1797.

The Newspaper is gone as you desired: it will, I fear, militate against Cordova, if any weight be given to a Newspaper account. Your testimony of Moreno's conduct will no doubt be of service to him; the trials are commenced, and every day an account is sent off to Madrid. The heavy charge against Cordova is, not coming into Cadiz with his Convoy, which he could have done, they say, the day after he passed the Straits. Morales will be shot, they think; Cordova broke; Moreno acquitted. The long trial of the Officers who gave up Figueras is just finished: five are to be shot. All the Officers who composed the Council of War to be degraded in their public and private rank. They say the French have been refused a passage through Spain to Portugal; that a Minister of ours is at Paris; but that till we have made a Peace the same as the Emperor (preliminary articles), they

will not allow us to send a Minister to the Congress for settling the affairs of Germany. The King of Prussia is hostile against the Emperor. The Venetians are suffering every misery from the French. Buonaparte has denied[?], or has resigned his command. The Flag was expressly to say, that 2000 dollars would be paid to Mr. Andreoper for the corn, which is to go to San Lucar. The money cannot be brought off without an order from Madrid; therefore a Bill from Mr. A. on Lisbon will be sent us. I was in great hopes the salute was from an Admiral from England. The number of men you propose to give me, I have no doubt are all-sufficient; but I well know that a few more red coats have their use in dazzling the eyes of an Enemy. Ever your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

I pretend not to ask about the musician: he was anxious to come. I brought not one of the Captain's, but confined myself to some only of the Agamemnon's. The Swiftsure shall be with you in the morning. I had appointed to-day to muster his Ship's Company, and he has invited us to dine with him.

The Paper was found in the night on the Quarter-Deck.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 13th, 1797.

The man who usually brings greens to some of the Ships here, did not bring off any greens this day, although particularly desired to bring plenty, as we all wished to buy for our people. His reason is, that all the Spanish Men-of-War's Boats were on shore, buying up everything: that we might think as we pleased, but the Fleet was certainly coming out. I send this news as I have it, without comment, and fear to believe it true. I am sending in the three Spaniards, and have wrote to Mazzaredo about the Emerald's people. Believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 13th, 1797.

In my letter to Moreno, I stated that Captain Sutton of the Egmont had made every inquiry for the Letter which was

inserted in the Chronicle, but without effect; nor could Captain S. find that any letter from the Egmont had been published. But that you had desired me to send the newspaper, &c., &c., nearly as I sent the copy to you. I will write about the three men belonging to the Emerald, and have taken three out of the Moor, which I believe is a Spanish Vessel and Cargo; for was I to take out all the Spaniards, the Moors know not one end of the Vessel from the other.

I send the ladder: it is not so light as I wished, but we can do no better with the stuff we have. Three men can rear it with pleasure. If possible, ten men should at a time be on the ladder. In short, the actors in the *Comedy*, I hope, must not be too anxious to *mount*. I, to say the truth, made inquiries about the Frigates, and the Officer said—but he was not in the Ship—that the Frigate was ordered by the Trinidada to leave her, because he conceived she might be got hold of by our Frigates, and that the Trinidada had no idea of being taken by the Frigates. But the whole business seems such a jumble, that I know not what to say, except that Berkeley ought never to have lost sight of her, and to have tried her strength the first opportunity. I am sure Cockburn would have done so.—Ever, believe me, your most faithful and affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 18th, 1797.

As you have so fortunately got hold of the very important dispatches of La Mutine, I hope our Ministry will be able to counteract their effect. Tippoo is as much our natural enemy as the French. I hope your design about Teneriffe will not get wind, by making inquiries at the present moment. Whenever I see it, ten hours shall decide its fate. I wish these fellows would come out, and then, with the good Ships we have left, we might be a little at liberty to make dashes. I am almost tired of looking at these fellows. Many, many thanks I have to give you about William Bolton, he is a very good young man.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

I send a French paper.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 19th, 1797.

I take the liberty of sending Mr. William Bolton, and hope he will merit your good opinion. I hope Bowen will bring the Howitzers with him. If we begin, I wish to give them plenty of War, and to induce them to cut off the Prince of Peace's head.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 20th, 8 P.M.

Your order for the examination of the Alexander's casks shall be given at daylight in the morning. Captain Ball attributes it to the great weight of stores laid on the casks on his passage from England, which has pressed the bilges. If we had had tolerable weather, half a day would have cleared our Victualler, and she is not yet clear, nor can a Boat lay alongside of her. Some of our loaded launches have nearly gone towards Cadiz. Nothing shall be left undone by me to expedite your wishes in every way. The Officer who came off this afternoon gives but little hopes of Peace: he says the talk of it is gone off. He also says he has seen four private letters from Bayonne, which state that our attack on St. John's de Porto Rico has failed—that our loss of Troops has been great, but he did not hear that any Ship was lost. But all this he says is Merchant news, and not from Government. I am afraid Mrs. Pigott will think we have always such weather. I feel it very unfortunate, as I fear it may deter her from visiting again the advanced Squadron, which would be in the highest degree mortifying to us. I live by the hopes of the Thunder and the two howitzers playing on Cadiz. If any stout Boats or Settees are stopped, they are fitter for the howitzers than our launches; for the shock is great. I hope it will bring out the Fleet, or raise a rebellion.—With best respects to Mrs. Pigott and the General, believe me your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, June 23rd, 1797.

A very large demand will either this day or to-morrow be sent to the First Captain for stores for the Theseus, of which she is absolutely destitute. When Captain Miller came to her, she had not one coil of rope of any kind or sort, and no remnant beyond four fathoms, except about thirty fathoms of four-inch. Of everything else in the Boatswain's charge, she is equally destitute. Of carpenters' stores she is full as bad: not a nail in her. The Ship was stored in March for Foreign service, and she has yet performed no service that could have made an expense beyond keeping the Ship clean. It is for you, Sir, to judge how far an inquiry may be proper. I only shall represent the Theseus as she is, that if a brace, bowling, halyards, or any rope, even to a rattling is shot away, there is nothing to replace it; or if a Boat is knocked to pieces, no means of repairing her. Our Flag of Truce is just returned. The post from Madrid has the news that Mr. Pitt is out, and hopes of a speedy Peace. The French will not allow the Spaniards to make a separate Peace with us. With best respects to Mrs. Pigott and the General, believe me your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

I wish very much to send a letter to Cockburn if I knew how.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, July 1st, 1797.

The Officer who came off to-day says he is sure that we have a Minister at Paris. The Moniteur of June 15th gives an account of the taking of Hanover. This is rather a proof that the Republic does not keep its faith; for a firmer friend, as far as cruelty to the English Troops, was never exhibited by any Government, than by the Regency of Hanover to the English Army. I hope all the friends of the French will be served the same way. Matters at the Nore were in the same state. The Post comes in to-morrow evening, and I sent my compliments by Monk, to Mazzaredo, that if any certain news came of Mr. Pitt's being out, and who are Ministers, I should be obliged to him to let me know it. The smoaking [?] at Vigo, is as before. Yours ever faithfully,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 3rd, 1797.

The place for the Bomb-Vessel is fixed on. The Town of (and Fleet at) Cadiz is prepared—Gun-Boats advanced, &c. So much the better. If they venture from the walls, I shall give Johnny his full scope of fighting. It will serve to talk of better than mischief. Mazzaredo will be more than human if he can keep the Merchants of Cadiz in good humour. I intend, if alive, and not tired, to see you to-morrow; and ever, to the last, believe me your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

I am inclined to think Mazzaredo has been out this afternoon.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. A few lines of this Letter are printed in vol. ii. p. 403.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 3rd, 1797.

We will begin this night by ten o'clock; and I beg that all the launches of the Fleet may be with me by eight, or half-past at farthest, with their carronades, and plenty of ammunition: also all the barges or pinnaces to come to me. I wish to make it a warm night at Cadiz. The launches and pinnaces to have plenty of pikes. I will take care with pleasure of Mr. Baynes; and ever believe me your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, half-past 3 A.M., July 6th, 1797.

I was merely a spectator to-night, but as the Enemy had got the exact range of the Vessel and Boats, with both shot and shells, and the end answered of annoying the Town, forty or fifty shells being thrown into it, I took the liberty of advising Captain Bowen to tow the Vessel off, when I left her. Both her masts are badly wounded, and some shot in her hull. One man belonging to the Theseus is killed, and seven badly wounded. Six are wounded on board the Urchin. The Enemy's Gun-Boats keep close under the walls, and no opportunity was offered for Bowen to make a dash.—Yours most faithfully, HORATIO NELSON.

I refer you to Jackson for particulars.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 10th, 1797.

I begin by answering your message. I did not understand your signal; it never having been communicated to me. Captain Phillips came on board, and told it me, and Culloden sent, seeing the signal of 'not understood' flying. I thank you for your kind communication of the disposal of the several Frigates, &c. I believe my acquaintances in the West Indies are but few: indeed, I recollect none that I am in the habit of correspondence with. We shall get hold of something, if anything is moving on the face of the waters. I long for *poor* Cockburn and Hallowell to enrich themselves.

The Mortar Vessels shall be named as you direct. The Barge, as a Barge, is a fine Boat, but hardly worthy of a name: however, she shall have it. I am going to look the other side [of] Cadiz, and if opportunity offers, may throw a few shells, but it is more to examine with my own eyes than for any other purpose.

I hope the Peterel will bring us plenty of late news, which I expect will be good. The Alcmene ought to be at Lisbon; for I see by a paper of June 9th, she was under sail at Spithead with her Convoy.—With repeated thanks for your kindness, believe me your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 13th, 1797.

When I saw the red flag[g] hoisted on board an Admiral's Ship in the Harbour two days past, I had no doubt in my own mind but a *meeting* was commencing. By night four red flags were up, and yesterday they amounted to seven, amongst whom was one of the Brigs. The Boats who came from Cadiz this morning state the great discontents, and that the Fleet will not come to sea. Several men were killed the other day in their Gun-Boats, and one of their Mortars much damaged. The Merchants at Cadiz have offered a high bounty to volunteers who will board the Bomb-Vessel. The intention of bombing us still goes on. I sent in a Flag this morning with a prisoner, who had been taken to the Diadem, and I wished for an opportunity of hearing news.

The last accounts are of the arrival of Lords Malmesbury and

[g] The signal of Mutiny.

St. Helens at Lisle, and that Peace was expected every day; and that Mazzaredo would send out the moment it was known. My Officer asked him if their Fleet was *à la Nore*. He said, 'yes; that they would be paid their wages.' What think you of this? In Spain it will never end but in a Revolution.—Ever your faithful HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 14th, 1797.

I have sent a letter for Captain Thompson, and I hope he will speedily join us. The 200 men which I intend to take from him to land, with his knowledge and activity (for he shall land with Troubridge), is a great drawback. I shall make the salvages, and nothing that ought to be attempted shall be left undone.—Ever believe me your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 15th, 1797.

When the Theseus took out water from the Medea Transport, of course I did not detain her till her casks were started, but sent her to the Zealous, who, by that means, has got 144 tons of water, and every empty cask belonging to the Transport returned to her. We have near sixty butts belonging to her on board, which could not be sent yesterday; but unless you allow me to proceed I understand by Sir Robert Calder's message to Captain Miller this moment, that I must send the empty casks. If you say so, and make my signal to bring-to, or anchor, they shall be sent directly. We will go to work, and hoist our launch out, and do the needful. Yours most faithfully, HORATIO NELSON.

If you make no signal I shall go on with her casks. We have not 140 tons of casks on board.

TO SAMUEL WORRALL, ESQ., TOWN CLERK OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL[2].

[From the City Records.]

Si London, September 22nd, 1797.

I have this day received your polite Letter, transmitting to me the Freedom of the Ancient City of Bristol. I have to

[2] "BRISTOL Ss.—At a Meeting of the Common Council of the City of Bristol,

request that you will have the goodness to present to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, my gratitude for the high honour which they have conferred upon me, and to assure them, that in whatever situation His Majesty may think it proper to employ me, this will ever act as a stimulus to my future exertions; and that I shall ever feel proud in having my name enrolled among the Freemen of the second City in England.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obliged and obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My Lord, 27th September, 1797.

I take the liberty of transmitting to your Lordship certificates of the loss of my right eye at the Siege of Calvi; and I beg also to acquaint you that I was slightly wounded during the Siege of Bastia, and most severely bruised on the 14th February last; and I likewise send herewith a general statement of my services this War, all which I have to request you will have the goodness to lay before the King, when you shall judge proper. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY.

[Autograph.]

Gentlemen, London, 6th October, 1797.

The Surgeons' Company having appointed the hour of six o'clock in the evening on the first and third Thursday in each Month for the examination of my eye, I beg leave to acquaint you that, in my present weak state, it is impossible I can attend at that hour. I am therefore to request that you will have the goodness to desire they will call a Court for that purpose, on any day between the hours of ten and four.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

HORATIO NELSON.

held in St. George's Chapel, in the Guildhall, the 15th September, 1797: On the motion of Mr. Mayor, it is unanimously agreed and ordered, that the Freedom of this City be presented to Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, in such manner as the Freedom of Bristol hath been usually presented to persons of rank and eminence, and that the same be transmitted to him by Mr. Town Clerk."

TO LADY NELSON, BATH.

[Autograph in the possession of Peter Smith, Esq.]

My dearest Fanny, April 1st, 1798.

We put to sea this morning with the Convoy, but the wind at noon came to the Westward, which obliged us to return to St. Helen's: thus have I lost the finest East wind that has blown this year, and there can be no guess when we may have another; so much for Admiralty delays: however, I shall not go out of the Ship unless upon duty, and get off as soon as possible. My place is tolerably comfortable, but do not shine in servants. A Captain Peyton, a fellow-traveller of yours, is a passenger with me, as are two Land Officers for Gibraltar. Captain P. is going to the Defence in the room of Captain Wells. The Matchams, I think, are getting to Bath sooner than they first intended; but whatever may be other people's opinions, I am clear it is right you should be in your own cottage. May God Almighty bless you, will ever be the fervent prayer of your most affectionate husband, HORATIO NELSON.

TO LADY NELSON.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor.]

My dearest Fanny, St. Helens, April 3rd, 1798.

The wind still continues as foul as it can blow, but as I am now fixed on board, it is my intention not to move out of the Ship, to which I begin to be reconciled. As to news, I cannot tell you a word beyond my own Ship. If you look at Queen Square Chapel, it will tell you to write or not, but on the sealed side of the letter write,—'If the Vanguard is sailed, to be returned to Lady Nelson, Bath.' I can only, my dear Fanny, repeat, what I hope you know, that you are uppermost in my thoughts.—With my kindest love to my father, believe me your most affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

I cannot find my black stock and buckle. I find the weights for your scales are on board this Ship. Love to Kitty, my Sister, Mr. Matcham, &c.

TO LADY NELSON, BATH.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor.]

St. Helens, April 5th, 1798.

Pray, my dear Fanny, did you put up the three Portugal pieces—*joes*? for if you did, they cannot be found. If they

are not sent, so much the better. My black stock and buckle has not yet appeared, nor are the keys of my dressing-stand sent. If they were left with the stand in London, the man has neglected to pack them up. I can do very well without these things, but it is a satisfaction to mention them. All my passengers are gone on Shore till the wind comes fair; but I shall, if possible, remain fast on board. We have had very blowing weather, and there seems no prospect of a change of wind. My barometer told me the weather would be bad. So far it answers, and I find an amusement in attending to it. A gentleman is just going on shore, who takes this letter; therefore I can only say, God bless you, my father, &c.—Your ever affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

TO LADY NELSON, BATH.

[Autograph.]

My dearest Fanny, St. Helens, April 7th, 1798, Wind S.W.

I have looked over my linen, and find it very different to your list in the articles as follows:—thirteen silk pocket handkerchiefs: only six new, five old. Thirteen cambric ditto: I have sixteen. Twelve cravats: I have only eleven. Six Genoa velvet stocks: I have only three. You have put down thirty huckaback towels: I have from 1 to 10. Eleven is missing from 11 to 22, that is, Nos. 12 and 21; therefore there is missing No. 11—22, and to 30:—Ten in all. I only hope and believe they have not been sent. I do not want them. Have you the two old pieces of gold which my father gave me, for I have them not? and yet I am pretty positive I brought them home: if you have them not, they are lost. When my print comes out, you must send one to Captain James Macnamara: if directed at Sir Peter Parker's, he will be sure to get it, and he is very anxious about it. My health never was better, and only wishing for a fair Wind. God bless you. HORATIO NELSON.

Have received only one letter: love to all.

TO THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. This Letter is imperfectly printed in vol. iii. p. 13.]

My dear Lord, Vanguard, 6th May, 1798.

This Ship is complete, as is Orion. Alexander will be ready to-morrow at noon, and the Terpsichore and Bonne

Citoyenne, who arrived this day, will be ready by to-morrow night; that is, I have ordered them to weigh with me on Tuesday morning. Thompson regrets not going with me he is an active young man. Sir John Orde will know by his eye what Ships go with me, therefore I shall show him the list. I do not believe any person guesses where I am going. It shall go hard but I will present you at least with some Frigates, and I hope something better. I shall pick up Caroline off Cape Palos, round Minorca, get in sight of the Coast towards Barcelona, and get in the straight line between Cape St. Sebastian's and Toulon; there I shall get information enough to regulate my further proceedings; and *as* I take Frigates, shall send one to have charge of each, and keeping the large Ships complete, to fight, I hope, larger ones.—God bless you. Ever your most affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, 17th May, 1798.

Be assured I will fight the French Fleet the moment I can find them: till then adieu, yours truly,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Vanguard, May 31st, 1798, continued to June 15th.

That the accidents which have happened to the Vanguard were a just punishment for my consummate vanity, I most humbly acknowledge, and kiss the rod which chastised me. I hope it has made me a better Officer, as I believe it has made me a better man. On the Sunday evening I thought myself in every respect one of the most fortunate men, to command such a Squadron in such a place, and my pride was too great for man; but I trust my friends will think that I bore my chastisement like a man; and it has pleased God to assist us with His favour, in our exertions to refit the Vanguard, and here I am again off Toulon. I hope to find the Frigates on the Rendezvous. It is extraordinary that *all* of them should have parted by *accident;* but I am afraid it is too common a trick of Officers in Frigates.

June 11th.—Mutine joined me on the 5th at daylight, having the flattering account of the honour you intended me

of commanding such a Fleet. Mutine fell in with Alcmene off Barcelona on the 2nd. Hope had taken all my Frigates off the Rendezvous, on the presumption that a Ship, which had lost her fore-mast, must return to an Arsenal. I thought Hope would have known me better. I joined dear Troubridge on the 7th, but it has been nearly calm ever since, which grieves me sorely. Captain Thompson tells me he wrote you a line by Alexander's prize, which parted from Alexander before Ball came down to me. The French have a long start, but I hope they will rendezvous in Telamon Bay; for the 12,000 men from Genoa, in 100 Sail of Vessels, escorted by a Frigate, had not sailed on the 2nd, nor were all the Troops embarked. You may be assured I will fight them the moment I can reach, be they at an anchor or under Sail. Being so close to the Enemy, I take the liberty of keeping Orion for a few days, as the Enemy are eighteen Sail of the Line. You did not give me an order to hold Courts-Martial. I shall be obliged to you to send one, dated either the day I left you, or that Troubridge did. On that presumption, if anything very extraordinary should happen, I shall order Courts to be held, but not otherwise.

June 12th.—As I see no immediate prospect of a letter, I shall continue my private one in form of a Diary, which may not be unpleasant to refer to. Therefore to begin:—Passed Cape Corse this morning at 4, a calm: the moment we passed, sent the Mutine to look into Telamon Bay. Intend to pass between Monte Christi and Gulio with the Squadron, and to keep the Continent close on board.

June 13th.—Passed between Monte Christi and Gulio. Mutine joined. Nothing in Telamon Bay.

June 14th.—Spoke a Tunisian Cruizer, who saw the French Fleet off Trepano in Sicily, on the 4th of June, steering to the Eastward. He thinks about 200 Sail.

June 15th.—Off the Ponzo Islands. Shall send Troubridge into Naples in the Mutine to talk with Sir William Hamilton and General Acton; but as it is my intention to make sail the moment Captain T. returns, therefore I must refer you to Sir William Hamilton for what I am ignorant of. I only beg that your Lordship will believe that I shall endeavour to prove myself worthy your selection of me for this highly honourable Command; and be assured that I feel myself your much obliged

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

(Private.)

My dear Lord, Vanguard, Syracuse, July 22nd, 1798.

I have very many letters and papers to send you, but as I have no Frigate to send, and at this moment cannot think it right to send Orion, you will feel for my situation. I am as completely ignorant of the French Fleet as the day I left Cape Passaro. This I am clear in, that on Monday the 18th of June, the Fleet began to come out of the harbour of Malta. By Tuesday night they were all out; and on Wednesday morning they were seen with a strong wind at W.N.W. steering before it. This has been proved to me by fourteen persons. Beyond this, all is conjecture. Had they gone to the Westward, I rest confident every Port and point of Sicily would have had information for me. I dare not say more, for I am sure we are betrayed, and it is far from impossible but this letter may never get to Naples. At least, I expect the French Minister will copy it; therefore I here assure him, that if it is possible, I will get at the French Fleet. Ours is without a sick man. I have detailed every circumstance even to my thoughts. God bless you.—Ever your faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

Our treatment in the Sicilian Ports is shameful. If they had the force, this Governor says they are bound by their orders to prevent our entry. Acton promised to send orders. *None has been sent.* What [do you] think of this?

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR HORATIO NELSON'S RENDEZVOUS.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Vanguard, Syracuse, 22nd July, 1798.

B. Alexandretta.
D. Cyprus.
f. Alexandria.
A. Rhodes.
C. Dardanelles.
Z. Smyrna.
W. Canea, in Candia.
X. Syracuse.
M. Naples.
N. Towards the Adriatic.
O. West End of Sicily.

E. S.W. end of Sardinia, probably St. Peter's.
G. Off Toulon.
H. Gibraltar.
K. Orestan's Bay in the Island of Sardinia.

HORATIO NELSON.

BATTLE OF THE NILE.

In the Third Volume several accounts of the Battle of the Nile are given; and it is with great satisfaction that the following authentic Narrative, written by Captain Miller, of the Theseus, who has been so often and so honourably mentioned, is now for the first time made public. It was contained in a letter to his wife; and the Editor is indebted for it to the kindness of that distinguished Officer's daughter Miss Miller.

"On the 28th of July, being off the Gulf of Coron in the Morea, the Culloden stood into it, and learnt from the Turkish Governor that the Enemy were at Alexandria, and brought out with her a French Brig loaded with wine. Soon after she joined the Admiral, he bore up for Alexandria with the signal flying, that he had intelligence of the Enemy, and, constantly keeping the worst sailing Ship under all sail, we arrived off that Port the 1st of August, at noon, and, seeing nothing of the French there, stood alongshore to the Eastward, when, about three-quarters past 2, the Zealous made the signal for 16 Sail of the Line at an anchor, and soon after we discovered them from this Ship. Here, let me pause, till I can make you perfectly understand the state of the Fleet at that moment. We had a fine breeze of North wind, smooth water, and fair weather, the body extending about three miles easterly and westerly without being in any order of sailing, and going about five miles an hour under topsails, generally. The Culloden under all sail about seven miles astern, with the wine Brig in tow (an article of which the Fleet was running short), the Alexander and Swiftsure being far ahead on the look out, and, chasing when we were steering S.E. by E., were thrown considerably to leeward by our change of course after making Alexandria; and at the time of the Enemy being discovered, I should think were full nine miles to the Southward of us. The Zealous and Goliath were the most advanced Ships next the Admiral, and a posse of us near him; the Majestic and Leander, I believe, the sternmost, exclusive of the Culloden: the general signal of recall having been made about 2 o'clock, the Swiftsure and Alexander standing towards us with all sail on a wind, and the Mutine within hail of the Admiral.

"The Zealous, after previous signals, announced to the Admiral, at three-quarters past 2, that 16 Sail of the Line were at an anchor E. b. S., and in a few minutes after, we all discovered them. At 3 the Admiral made the signal to prepare for Battle—at half-past 3 for the Culloden to quit the Prize. At 25 minutes past 4 to prepare for Battle, with the sheet cable out of the stern port, and springs on the bower anchor, &c., &c.—at 54 minutes past 4, that it was the Admiral's intention to attack the Van and Centre of the Enemy. At 40 minutes past 5 to form the Line of Battle as most convenient ahead and astern of the Admiral; and immediately after, for the leading Ship to steer one point more to starboard. The Goliath was leading, the Zealous next, then the Vanguard; the Theseus followed close to her stern, having the Bellerophon close on the weather quarter, and Minotaur equally so on the lee quarter: I do not recollect the order of the other Ships. We wore gradually round, preserving our order till we brought the wind on the starboard beam, when the Admiral hove-to, to speak the Mutine about three miles from the Enemy, who were making signals and heaving on their springs. I took this opportunity to pass the Admiral to leeward, and endeavour

to obtain the honour of leading the Fleet into Battle, as the Culloden, the only Ship ahead of us in the regular line, was still considerably distant; but Captain Berry hailed as we passed, and gave me the Admiral's order to become his second ahead, in consequence of which I hove-to close ahead of him, and the Orion and Audacious passed us. We had before got springs on both our bower anchors, the stream-cable passed out of the stern-port, and bent to its anchor; and were now doing the same by the sheet, being in all other respects in the most perfect order for Battle. The Enemy had 13 large Ships anchored in close order of battle, in the form of a bow, with the convex part to us, L'Orient, of 120 guns, making the centre of it, the string of the bow being N.W. & S.E., and four Frigates a little within them, with a gun and mortar battery on a small Island about three-quarters of a mile from their Van Ship, and three mortar boats placed near the Frigates. In about five minutes after bringing to, the Admiral made the signal to make sail again, the leading Ship first, when the Goliath, in a very gallant and masterly manner, led along the Enemy's line, gradually closing with their Van, which, as well as the battery on the Island, opened its fire. At 40 minutes past 6 the Admiral made the signal to engage the Enemy close, the Goliath passing round, and raking the Enemy's Van Ship (the Guerrier), brought up with her stern anchor inside of and abreast their second Ship the Conquérant. Zealous following likewise raked the Guerrier, brought down her foremast, and came-to with her stern anchor on her inner bow. The Orion, from her previous situation, described a little wider circle, passed the off side of the Zealous, and made a wider sweep in order to come-to with one of her bowers; in doing which she completely knocked up the Sérieuse Frigate, which lay in her way, having made such a wreck of her, that on her driving, presently after, on a shoal, all her masts fell, and she filled with water. I think the Orion must have touched the ground from the time between her passing the Zealous and her coming-to nearly abreast the inner side of the fifth Ship (the Peuple Souverain); for, though she passed the Zealous before us, we had completely brought up abreast the inner beam of the Spartiate, the third Ship, and had been in Action with her four or five minutes before the Orion came-to. In running along the Enemy's line in the wake of the Zealous and Goliath, I observed their shot sweep just over us, and knowing well that at such a moment Frenchmen would not have coolness enough to change their elevation, I closed them suddenly, and, running under the arch of their shot, reserved my fire, every gun being loaded with two and some with three round shot, until I had the Guerrier's masts in a line, and her jib-boom about six feet clear of our rigging; we then opened with such effect, that a second breath could not be drawn before her main and mizen mast were also gone. This was precisely at sun-set, or 44 minutes past 6; then passing between her and the Zealous, and as close as possible round the off side of the Goliath, we anchored exactly in a line with her, and, as I have before said, abreast the Spartiate, the Audacious having passed between the Guerrier and the Conquérant, came-to with her bower close upon the inner bow of the latter. We had not been many minutes in Action with the Spartiate when we observed one of our Ships (and soon after knew her to be the Vanguard) place herself so directly opposite to us on the outside of her, that I desisted firing on her, that I might not do mischief to our friends, and directed every gun before the main-mast on the Aquilon, and all abaft it on the Conquérant, and giving up my proper bird to the Admiral: the Minotaur, following the Admiral, placed herself on the outer side of the fourth Ship (Aquilon), and the Defence on the fifth, or Peuple Souverain. The Bellerophon, I *believe*, dropped her stern anchor well on the outer bow of l'Orient (seventh Ship), but it not bringing her up, she became singly opposed to the fire of that enormous Ship before her own broadside completely bore, and then sustained the greater part of her loss; she then either drifted or sailed along the French line, and came to anchor about six miles eastward of us, where we discovered her next morning (without a mast standing), with her ensign on the stump of the main-mast. Captain Darby was wounded at the beginning, and poor Daniel, 1st Lieutenant, as well as the 2nd and 4th, killed. As well as I can learn, the Majestic, whether owing to the thickness of the smoke at the shutting in of the evening, or that her stern cable did not bring her up in time, ran

her jib-boom into the main rigging of l'Heureux, ninth Ship, and remained a long time in that unfortunate position suffering greatly: poor Westcott was almost the first that fell, being killed by a musket-ball in the neck. She got disentangled, and brought her broadside to bear on the starboard bow of the Mercure, the tenth Ship, on whom she took a severe revenge; having laid that bow almost open, she also had only a foremast standing at daylight. My noble and glorious neighbour, on the 14th of February, the gallant Captain Troubridge, of the Culloden, had the misfortune to strike and stick fast, spite of all his efforts, on a shoal but little out of gun-shot of the Battle, to his inconceivable mortification, though individually it could not have happened better than to him, or publicly worse, as no Naval character for indefatigable zeal, courage, and ability stands higher than his, or is built on a broader basis; while, on the other hand, it was to us the loss of force of a Ship that is without a superior. I think it very likely she saved the three following Ships from the same mischance. My worthy friends Hallowell and Ball got among us a few minutes after 8 o'clock, the Swiftsure coming-to, with her stern anchor upon the outer quarter of the Franklin (the sixth Ship), and bow of l'Orient, so as to fire into both, and the Alexander bringing up with her stern anchor close upon the inner quarter of l'Orient. When the five headmost Ships of the Enemy were completely subdued, which might have been about 9 or half-past, the Leander came-to with her stern anchor upon the inner bow of the Franklin, being thus late by proffering assistance to the Culloden. Having now brought all our Ships into Battle, which you are to suppose raging in all magnificent, awful, and horrific grandeur, I proceed to relate the general events of it as I saw them. The Guerrier and Conquérant made a very inefficient resistance, the latter being soon stripped of her main and mizen-masts, they continued for a considerable time to fire, every now and then, a gun or two, and about 8 o'clock, I think, were totally silent. The Spartiate resisted much longer, and with serious effect, as the Vanguard's killed and wounded announces, who received her principal fire; her larboard guns were fired upon us in the beginning with great quickness, but after the Admiral anchored on his starboard side, it was slow and irregular, and before or about 9 o'clock she was silenced, and had also lost her main and mizen masts: the Aquilon was silenced a little earlier, with the loss of all her masts, having the whole fire of the Minotaur on her starboard side, and, for some time, near half ours on her larboard bow. Le Peuple Souverain was, about the same time, entirely dismasted and silenced, and drifting between the Franklin and Orion, when the Leander came into the Battle, and took her place immediately on the Franklin's larboard bow, the Swiftsure having been long on her starboard quarter, and Defence, after le Peuple Souverain drifted away, firing upon her starboard bow; while she was thus situated, scarcely returning any fire, l'Orient caught fire on the poop, when the heavy cannonade from all the Alexander's and part of the Swiftsure's guns became so furious, that she was soon in a blaze, displaying a most grand and awful spectacle, such as formerly would have drawn tears down the Victor's cheeks, but now pity was stifled as it rose by the remembrance of the numerous and horrid atrocities their unprincipled and blood-thirsty Nation had and were committing; and when she blew up, about 11 o'clock, though I endeavoured to stop the momentary cheer of the Ship's company, my heart scarce felt a single pang for their fate. Indeed, all its anxiety was in a moment called forth to a degree of terror for her, at seeing the Alexander on fire in several places; and a boat that was taking in a hawser, in order to warp the Orion further from l'Orient, I filled with fire-buckets, and sent instantly to her, and was putting the engine in another just returned from sounding, when I had the unspeakable happiness of seeing her get before the wind, and extinguish the flames: there was now no firing, except towards the French rear, and that quite a broken, disconnected one. Just after l'Orient blew up, I discovered by the moonlight a dismasted Frigate on our inner beam, and sent Lieutenant Brodie to take possession of her if, on hailing, she surrendered, and, if not, to burn false fires, that we might compel her to it; the first took place, and he sent me the Captain and three Officers of the Sérieuse Frigate, which, having been severely handled by the Orion, had got aground, and filled with water in trying to escape, and all her masts gone: her crew, except

thirty, had abandoned her. I. at this time, also perceived a group of the Enemy's Ships about a mile and a half within us, which must have moved there after the attack, and sent one of the Mates to sound between us and them (the Master being employed sounding within us, and examining the state of the Sérieuse); and being, as well as the Officers and people, greatly fatigued, I was happy to snatch half an hour's sleep, from which, in a little time, I was roused by Captain Hood of the Zealous, who came to propose that our Ships and the Goliath should go down to the group of Ships; when, finding that my boat was sounding between us and them, it was agreed to wait the report of the Officer on that service: meanwhile we prepared for it, and were lifting our bower anchor, when an Officer from the Swiftsure came to say, the Admiral wished us all to go to the assistance of the Alexander and Majestic, then exchanging an irregular fire with the Enemy's rear; and while we were lifting our stern anchor for that purpose, a Lieutenant of the Alexander came from the Admiral to us, and any other Ships that could renew the Action, to desire us to go down to these Ships, and slip our cable if necessary. All firing had now ceased about ten minutes, I therefore hove up the stern anchor, and ran down under stay-sails till I passed the Majestic, when we dropped our sheet-anchor, and, having run out a cable, let go our bower, so as to present our broadside to the Enemy in a line with the Alexander, and leave a clear opening for the Majestic (who appeared to have suffered much) to fire through. We were some time before we had our broadside to bear, our bower not at first holding; but happily the Enemy made no use of the opportunity, though three of their broadsides bore on our bow from the different distances of about 2½ to 5 cables; besides these, which were two 80 and two 74's, and one of which appeared not to have suffered anything, there were two 74's on our starboard quarter that did not appear to have been at all in action, about half gun shot from us; a 36-gun Frigate, about the same distance, whose broadside bore immediately on our stern, and two others of 40 guns, at the longest range of shot, being the group I have before mentioned. Finding myself thus situated, a principal object to all the French Ships, and the sole one to the group, I was resolved to remain quiet as long as they, and the Alexander, and Majestic, chose to be so, to give time to the Goliath, Zealous, and Leander, to join us, neither of which were yet moving; and I sent an Officer to tell Hood I waited for them. My people were also so extremely jaded, that as soon as they had hove our sheet anchor up they dropped under the capstan-bars, and were asleep in a moment in every sort of posture, having been then working at their fullest exertion, or fighting, for near twelve hours, without being able to benefit by the respite that occurred, because, while l'Orient was on fire, I had the Ship completely sluiced, as one of our precautionary measures against fire, or combustibles falling on board us, when she blew up. It was some time before daylight that we reached our new position: observing the Guillaume Tell moving, and having the Généreux and her exactly in one, as she passed under our stern, I could no longer wait, particularly as none of the other English Ships were yet in motion, but precisely at sunrise, opened my fire on these two Ships, as the Alexander and Majestic did immediately after; this was directly returned, principally by the Guillaume Tell and Tonnant. After a little time, perceiving they all increased their distance, we veered to two cables on each anchor, and soon after the Leander came down, and having anchored without the Alexander, commenced a very distant fire. These four Ships, having at length by imperceptible degrees got almost to the utmost range of shot, we turned our whole fire upon the two line-of-battle Ships that were on our quarter, and whom we had now long known to be on shore; the Majestic and Alexander firing a few shot over us at them, as the Leander may perhaps have done. In a short time we compelled l'Heureux, 74, to strike her colours, and I sent Lieutenant Brodie to take possession of her, and from her to hail the other Ship to strike immediately, or she would else soon be involved in so much smoke and fire, that we, not being able to see her colours come down, might, unintentionally, destroy all on board her. Just as the boat got there, the Goliath anchored on our outer quarter and began to fire, but desisted on my hailing her; and, presently after, Mercure, of 74 guns, hauled her colours down; also as l'Artémise, 36, after firing her guns shotted, had done

just before. I sent Lieutenant Hawkins to take possession of Mercure, and Lieutenant Hoste of Artémise; the former, on a Lieutenant of the Alexander afterwards coming, delivered her into his charge, and returned on board; and when the latter got within about a cable's length of the Artémise, perceiving she was set on fire by a train, and that her people had abandoned her on the opposite side, he also returned on board: after burning about half an hour, she blew up. This dishonourable action was not out of character for a modern Frenchman: the devil is beyond blackening. We were now thus situated in the Theseus: our mizenmast so badly wounded that it could bear no sail; our fore and main yard, so badly wounded that I almost expected them to come down about our ears, without sail; the fore-topmast and bowsprit wounded; the fore and main sail cut to pieces, and most of the other sails much torn; nine of our main, and several fore and mizen shrouds, and much of our other standing and running rigging shot away; eight guns disabled, either from the deck being ploughed up under themselves, or carriages struck by shot, or the axle-trees breaking from the heat of the fire; and four of them lower deckers. In men we were fortunate beyond anything I ever saw or heard of; for though near 80 large shot struck our hull, and some of them through both sides, we had only 6 men killed and 31 wounded: Providence, in its goodness, seemed willing to make up to us for our heavy loss at Santa Cruz. Hawkins and myself were the only Officers from whom blood was drawn, and that in a very trifling way. The Enemy were anchored again at the long range of shot, and many large boats from the shore were passing to and fro among them; and the Justice Frigate was playing about under sail, and at length stood out of the Bay, as if to make her escape. The Zealous, after being some time under weigh without the Fleet, was, at this time, standing down towards us, but stood out again as the Admiral made her signal to chace the Frigate who stood back into the bay, the Zealous remaining outside. Hearing it was the Enemy's intention to take their men out of their Line-of-Battle Ships and set them on fire, (for, from what information we had, we supposed them on shore, being ourselves in 4½ fathoms,) I caused a cool and steady fire to be opened on them from our lower deckers only, all of which being admirably pointed by Lieutenant England, who commanded that deck, they soon drove the boats entirely away from all their Ships, and doubtless hulled them frequently, particularly the Timoléon. The boats having abandoned them, the Guillaume Tell, the Généreux, the Timoléon, with the Justice and Diane Frigates, got under way, and stood out of the Bay in line of battle; the Timoléon, being under our fire all the time, cast in shore, and, after appearing to make another attempt to wear, stood directly for the shore, and, as she struck, her foremast went over the bows; the Tonnant being dismasted, remained where she was. The Admiral made the Zealous, Goliath, Audacious, and Leander signals to chace the others; the Zealous very gallantly pushed at them alone, and exchanged broadsides as she past close on the different tacks; but they had so much the start of the other Ships, and now of the Zealous, who had suffered much in her rigging, and knowing also they were remarkably fast sailers, the Admiral made the general signal of recall, and these four Ships were soon out of sight. The Ships under weigh being readier, having suffered less damage in the Action, been not half the time engaged, or done half as much as ourselves, I gave up all further thoughts of the Tonnant, except sending a boat to see if she had surrendered, which, being menaced by her guns, returned. In the evening I went on board the Admiral, who I before knew was wounded. I found him in his cot, weak but in good spirits, and, as I believe every Captain did, received his warmest thanks, which I could return from my heart, for the promptness and gallantry of the attack. I found him naturally anxious to secure the Tonnant and Timoléon, and that the Leander was ordered to go down for that purpose in the morning; I told him if there was any difficulty I would also go down in the morning, notwithstanding the state of the Ship. Seeing the Leander get under weigh we hove up to our best bower; sent our prisoners and their baggage, which lumbered our guns, on board the Goliath, and got a slip buoy on the end of the sheet cable. The Swiftsure's boat returning from having been with a flag of truce to summons the Tonnant, informed us the answer of the Captain was, that he

had 1600 men on board, and unless the Admiral would give him a Ship to convey them to Toulon, he would fight to the last man—a true French gasconade; we immediately slipped the sheet cable, and hoisted our topsails, and seeing the Admiral make the Leander's signal to engage the Enemy, which must have been the moment of his receiving this French reply, we hove up our best bower and ran down directly for the Tonnant, with the Master sounding in a boat ahead; as we cast so as to open the view of our broadside to her, she hoisted truce colours; when we got within a cable and half of her, having only 25½ feet water, we let go our anchor, veered to within half a cable of her and hauled upon our spring, which was parted. It was now, however, of no consequence, as just after we came to, she allowed the Leander's boat to come on board, and was soon after under English colours; the Leander had brought-to about two or three cables without us while we were going down. The Timoléon being abandoned by her crew, was set on fire with her colours flying, and soon blew up. There being no longer an Enemy to contend with, we beat the retreat and solemnly returned thanks to Almighty God through whose mercy we had been instrumental in obtaining so great and glorious a victory to His Majesty's Arms, and I believe from a body of men more fervent gratitude never mingled in prayer. I had desired the Chaplain to introduce a prayer for the slain, which was attended to with a degree of feeling that could not but delight every good heart. Previous to the public service I had returned my own thanks to the Officers and Ship's Company for their gallantry and good conduct; and observing to them, that our business was not finished till the Prizes were fit for sea, exhorted them to obtain by their work as much credit as by their courage. Captain Oldfield of Marines, having very handsomely volunteered going into any of the Prizes, I sent him with his whole party on board the Tonnant, and Lieut. England, to take charge of her without one seaman, and gave him orders to secure the magazines, store-rooms, &c. immediately, and having examined below to see every person and every light from them, and to have sentinels to prevent any one going on any pretence below the lower deck, and to render it unnecessary I would send provisions and water daily from the Theseus; I was thus cautious from knowing some of the other Ships had been on fire since their capture. I now again felt the benefit of the pains I had taken to get carver-built boats, and more capacious than the regular allowed ones, and of having had three out of the way of shot during the Action. Of those in, two were destroyed and the launch shot through; I turned all the carpenters to patch her up for present use, merely while the people were dining, and then turned heartily to work, and having made one strong cable fast to the Tonnant, and desired sentinels to be placed on it on board her, we warped the Theseus about a mile and three quarters till we got hold of the end of the sheet cable we had slipped, and put it on board the Tonnant to secure her; this, from the freshness of the northerly wind and the swell, was not accomplished till the evening of the 6th; meanwhile Lieut. England was getting as much of the Tonnant's wreck cleared away by the French carpenters as he could, and we repairing our own damages with ours. Before daylight on the 7th I sent the First Lieutenant, the Master, and all our best Petty officers, the boatswain, carpenter, and all his crew, two complete watches, and all the seamen of the Theseus, with everything necessary to erect shears and clear away wreck, both fore and main mast having fallen within board. I had enjoyed the pleasure of finding the Admiral much better on the 6th, and he had given into my care the fitting of the Tonnant, and told me I should not in the least be interfered with, and he hoped I should see her all the way to England; that after so many services to the public I owed it to myself to pursue my own happiness. Though I had thought this before, I was pleased to find a man of his activity think so likewise, and am infinitely obliged to him for his consideration in putting me unasked in the fair way to return to my long, long wished for home—but let me keep down the thousand emotions that rise in my soul till this narrative is finished, in which I am the more particular for a twofold purpose, it will give you the more information and be a more satisfactory account to B....., and it will remain in your hands as a record for me hereafter of the Battle, the share the Theseus had in it, and the mode of conduct I found beneficial. As most of the Ships were able to commence their

equipment and that of the Prizes under their charge on the 2nd, which I could not do till the 7th, I feared we should retard the sailing of the first batch to which we were fixed, and I determined it should be as short a period as possible. To encourage and enable all my people to do much work in little time, I ventured to make every day a meat day, and to give them an additional half allowance of wine. I sent her as many spars as we had unwounded, one spare topsail, and top-gallant sails to be courses and topsails for her, and had every man that could use a sail-needle at work to alter some of her own sails, and some we got from the Sérieuse to make up a set for her; and with the few men remaining in this Ship we got up and sent to her two French bower anchors, and one smaller one, with two cables and four or five hawsers; and also a bower anchor we have since given to the Peuple Souverain, and by that labour which no other Ship did, and which could not be at all expected from us especially, we added a £1000 value at least to the Prizes. By these means, seconded by the indefatigable exertions of the Officers and men in both Ships, I was enabled to say to the Admiral we were both ready to sail as early as he pleased on the 10th, and I had the pleasure to find Tonnant the first Prize ready—we, however, continued to have the same party on board daily till the noon of the 13th, by which we made her the more complete, and were enabled to set her new rigging up five times before she sailed. In the afternoon of that day I sent Lieut. Hawkins, 1st Lieut., Brodie the 2nd, Master, a Lieutenant and 12 Marines, and Petty officers and seamen, making up together 133 souls. On the following morning of the 14th, the following Ships sailed under the command of Sir James Saumarez to receive Lord St. Vincent's orders off Cadiz;—Orion, Bellerophon, Defence, Minotaur, Audacious, Theseus, Majestic; with the following Prizes in charge, Peuple Souverain, Franklin, Aquilon, Conquérant, Tonnant and Spartiate The three Prizes we left there were burnt by the Admiral's orders,—the Guerrier being so much cut up in the Action, the Mercure and Heureux from what they suffered in the Action and getting on shore, being found so much damaged that they could not be repaired without detaining the Squadron in Aboukir Bay longer than was consistent with the necessities of His Majesty's service: most of their stores, &c. were previously taken out. I have omitted to say the Franklin did not submit till after l'Orient had been some time on fire. I do not vouch for what I have said of the Bellerophon and Majestic, as among several disagreeing I have been unable to collect, what I could say is certainly exact history; but speaking generally, there appears to be a glorious emulation among all, to do service to their King and Country, and honour to themselves. On more particular inquiries respecting the Majestic and Bellerophon, it appears to me that the Majestic, as I have mentioned before, did not bring up on letting go her anchor till she got her bowsprit foul of the bowsprit of l'Heureux, in which position she lay one hour, able to make use of but few guns; and the Tonnant firing into her quarter with her stern chace in addition to such guns as l'Heureux could bring to bear on getting disentangled, she lay athwart the Mercure's bow, raked her with great effect. On l'Orient taking fire the Tonnant, Heureux, and Mercure cut their cables, the former dropped a little way past the Guillaume Tell and anchored again, the other two, each with a stay sail or two set, ran aground. The Timoléon, Guillaume Tell and Généreux veered I fancy to two cables, by which several means, and l'Orient blowing up, a vacancy of about a mile was left in the French line. The Bellerophon remained alongside l'Orient till near 8 o'clock, when Captain Darby who had been severely wounded in the head came on deck again, and seeing l'Orient on fire between decks, ordered the cable to be cut and drifted away as before described, without main or mizen mast, and his foremast fell soon after this fire was extinguished on board l'Orient. There cannot be much error in time for these reasons—a prisoner now on board this Ship who was a Lieutenant of the Tonnant, and speaks very good English, describes an English Ship dismasted by l'Orient and the Tonnant, and that after she cut her cable and dropped away from l'Orient, two other Ships came, one on her bow and one under her stern; these Ships were the Alexander and Swiftsure, who came in about 8 o'clock.—*Oct.* 17. We are now in sight of Gibraltar with all our prizes; we stopped at Augusta in Sicily 6 days, to get water, fresh beef, and vegetables.'

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. A few lines of this Letter, mixed up with another Letter, are in vol. iii. p. 100.]

My Lord, Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile, August 10, 1798.

I send Sir James Saumarez[4] with the Ships and Prizes named in the margin[5], the others not being yet ready. So soon as they are, I shall send Sir James Saumarez and a proper number of Ships with the others. I regret exceedingly parting with so many Ships, but I cannot, in justice to the captors, destroy all their reward of Victory. I shall remain off this Coast as long as circumstances will allow me, and endeavour to annoy the Enemy to the utmost of my power.—I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,
August 11th, 1798.

My dear Davison,

This Fleet have unanimously appointed you *sole* Agent for the capture at the Battle of the Nile. It is a great concern, and they rely on your established character and abilities for a speedy payment of their Prize-Money, which all Agents hitherto so studiously endeavour to keep from them. The French Army is in a scrape. They are up the Nile without supplies. The inhabitants will allow nothing to pass by land, nor H. N. by water. Their Army is wasting with the flux, and not a thousand men will ever return to Europe. I shall stay here as long as possible, after which you will probably see me in England. Best respects to Mrs. Davison. God bless you.

H. N.

TO MAURICE NELSON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Brother,

The Fleet have appointed Davison *sole* Agent for the Ships captured at the Battle of the Nile. Whatever assistance you

[4] Rear-Admiral Nelson wrote in this place "Captain Darby," and the name was corrected by his Secretary.

[5] Orion, Bellerophon, Majestic, Minotaur, Defence, Theseus, Audacious, Spartiate, Franklin, Aquilon, Tonnant, Conquérant, Sovereign.

may give Davison, or whatever he may wish to serve you in, I beg that you may never be considered, directly or indirectly, as having anything to do with the Agency.—Ever yours most affectionately,

HORATIO NELSON.

August 12th, 1798.—My Secretary I have recommended to be Purser of the Franklin. He has not activity for me.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, August 14th, 1798.

As Sir James is four leagues off, I have only time to say, that a Brig, hired by Captain Tyler, is just arrived, and, I suppose, has brought me all your dispatches. My head is so upset, that really I know not what to do; but by to-morrow morning I will arrange matters in my mind, and do my best.—Ever yours most sincerely and affectionately,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Parts of this Letter are in vol. iii. p. 113.]

My dear Lord, Off Candia, September 1st, 1798.

You will think me quite mad to pester you with so many letters. I now only do it to send you a copy of my letter to Mr. Jackson, at Constantinople; and if the Grand Signior will but *trot* an Army into Syria, Buonaparte's career is finished. As for Naples, she is saved in spite of herself: they have evidently broken their treaty with France, and yet are afraid to assist in finishing the vast armament of the French. Four hours, with four Bomb-vessels, would set all in a blaze, and we know what is an Army without stores. I shall try the Marquis de Niza if he will go to Egypt, but I hardly expect his compliance. I have just sent Sir James an order to send me Minotaur and Audacious, with all the salt provisions he can spare; but I have my doubts if the Ships [are] victualled to six months of that article. Culloden sails dreadfully, but we have not a sick man in the three Ships with me. As to myself, I know I ought to give up for a little while: my head is splitting[e] at this moment, but of this

[e] This letter wears evident marks of the suffering of which Nelson complained: he made three attempts at spelling this word.

hereafter; you will give me credit for serving as long as I can. My friend Ball is the polite man; he entertains the captive Admiral, and the First Captain of the Fleet, who was saved out of L'Orient: the Admiral being wounded, I shall let go, on his parole, at Naples, and all the rest in our Ships.—God bless you. Ever yours most affectionately,

HORATIO NELSON.

I am glad to think you are a little mistaken in Nisbet. He is young, but I find a great knowledge of the Service in him, and none that I see as to seamanship in any [*sic*]. He may have laid too long at Lisbon. I hope the best. Captain Bowen is gone hunting for me. I have heard of him at Cyprus. Captain Foote fortunately took the dispatches away from him, and told Captain B. that he should come to where he had seen the French Fleet; but Captain B. has *wisely* gone the round I left word at Syracuse I should go, to find the French.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor. A copy of this Letter from the Autograph draught, which materially differs from that actually sent, is in vol. iii. p. 141.]

My dear Madam, Naples, October 3rd, 1798.

The anxiety which you and Sir William have always expressed for the happiness and welfare of their Sicilian Majesties, was also planted in me five years past, and I can truly say that on every occasion which has offered (which have been numerous), I have never failed to manifest my sincere regard for the felicity of these Kingdoms. Under this attachment I cannot be an indifferent spectator to what has [been] and is passing in the Two Sicilies, nor to the misery which (without being a politician), I cannot but see plainly is ready to fall [on] those Kingdoms, now so loyal, by the worst of all policy, that of procrastination. Since my arrival in these Seas in June last, I have seen in Sicily the most loyal people to their Sovereign, with the utmost detestation of the French and their principles. Since my arrival at Naples I have found all ranks eager for War with the French, who, every one knows, are preparing an army of robbers to plunder these Kingdoms, and to destroy the Monarchy. I have seen the Minister of the insolent French pass over in silence the manifest breach of the 3rd Article of the Treaty between His Sicilian Majesty and the French Republic: ought not this extraordinary conduct to be seriously noticed? Have not the uniform conduct of the French been to lull Governments

into a fatal security, and then to destroy them? As I have before stated, is it not known to every person, that Naples is the next marked object for plunder? With this knowledge, and that His Sicilian Majesty has an Army ready (I am told) to march into a country anxious to receive them with the advantage of carrying the War from, instead of waiting for it at home, I am all astonishment that the Army has not marched a month ago. I trust that the arrival of General Mack will induce the Government not to lose any more of the favourable time which Providence has put in their power; for if they do, and wait for an attack in this country, instead of carrying the War out of it, it requires no gift of prophecy to pronounce that these Kingdoms will be ruined, and the Monarchy destroyed; but should unhappily this miserable ruinous system of procrastination be persisted in, I would recommend to your Ladyship and Sir William to have all your property, and persons, ready to embark at a very short notice. It will be my duty to provide for your safety, and with it (I am sorry to think it will be necessary) that of their Sicilian Majesties and Family. I have read with admiration the Queen's dignified and incomparable letter of September 1796. That the Councils of these Kingdoms may ever be guided by such sentiments of honour, dignity and justice, and may the words and advice of the great William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, be engraved on the heart of every Minister of this Country—viz., *the boldest measures are the safest*, is the sincere wish of your Ladyship's most obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

P.S.—Your Ladyship will, I beg, receive this letter as a preparative for Sir William Hamilton, to whom I am writing, with all respect, the firm and unalterable opinion of a British Admiral anxious to approve himself a faithful servant to his Sovereign by doing everything in his power for the happiness and security of their Sicilian Majesties and their Kingdoms.

H. N.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. Some passages of this Letter are in vol. iii. pp. 144, 145.]

My dear Lord, Naples, 4th October, 1798.

I am sorry for the capture of the Leander, as it has kept your Lordship unacquainted with my movements and success. I cannot, am not able to tell you the quantity of matter I have to communicate. This Country, by its system of procrastination, will ruin itself: the Queen sees it, and

thinks as we do. The Ministry, except Acton, are for putting the evil day off, when it will come with destruction. Now War in this moment can alone save these Kingdoms. I am decidedly in opposition to Gallo. The Queen hates him, but does not now *love* Acton.* The Porte has imprisoned the French Minister in the Seven Towers, and the populace burnt his house. When my letter gets to Constantinople all will be right, and an Army and Fleet are at this moment, I believe, in Egypt and Syria. General Mack is hourly expected here from Vienna, to command the Neapolitan Army: Acton says they are ready to march. I have scolded; anger is necessary. You will not believe I have said or done anything, without the approbation of Sir William Hamilton. His Excellency is too good to them, and the strong language of an English Admiral telling them plain truths of their miserable system may do good. The Marquis Niza is off Malta. He has just wrote that his provisions are nearly exhausted, and he must return to Naples. Ball sails, if possible to-morrow, with Terpsichore and Citoyenne. Murray, who gives us everything he has, very handsomely goes off Malta with him for a few days. Vanguard, I hope, will be next, Audacious, &c. Our wants are great, our means few. I need not to tell you we cannot get much from this small Arsenal, but they give us *all*. Culloden is getting forward, Troubridge is indefatigable: none but him could have saved poor Culloden. She is very rotten, but situated as Minotaur is, he had rather keep his Ship, trusting you may manage something for him. We all dine this day with the King on board Ship, he is very attentive; I have been with the Queen, she is truly a daughter of Maria Theresa. I know nothing of Bowen, nor Earl St. Vincent[7], who ought to have joined me so soon as Retalick was put on board the Marquis. Terpsichore will soon be down. She complains heavily. I am writing opposite Lady Hamilton, therefore you will not be surprised at the glorious jumble of this letter. Was your Lordship in my place, I much doubt if [you] could write so well; our hearts and our hands must be all in a flutter. Naples is a dangerous place, and we must keep clear of it. The plan, Acton says, is not yet determined, till General Mack arrives; neither from Rome to get into Bologna and Ferrara, and get Ancona on the Sea-Coast, or to send a part of the Army by sea to Leghorn, and secure Tuscany; but all will be decided before the 15th; for if the Army does not then march they will do little good. One

[7] A Cutter.

month is already lost. I will send you something down the moment these matters are decided. Lady Hamilton commands me to say she longs to see you, her *true* Knight, and Sir William desires every good wish to your Lordship; and believe me, my dear [Lord], ever your affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

News came yesterday from Constantinople of September 7th. The Porte's declaration of War is dated September 1st. The French Minister is put in the Seven Towers. Some field-pieces, 7000 muskets, swords, &c., being found in his house, it was burnt. All French are seized. He calls them the Enemies of God—men without faith or law. A Russian Squadron is anchored in the Dardanelles—six Ships of the Line, and five Frigates. All are going to Egypt with a vast Army. My letter arrived on September 7th, and the rejoicings were very great. The Neapolitan Minister writes that the Grand Signior has ordered a present of a rich diamond (the Neapolitans are mad to see it. What fools not to mind their own business). The policy here, I now see, is to imitate La Combe, that these Kingdoms may be attacked or [*sic*], and the Emperor forced to defend them. From this policy proceeds the great attention and outward show to me. As yet La Combe is all politeness, and will be so till his plans are ripe. I shall be patient till General Mack has been here 48 hours; then I shall see my road clear. I ought, my dear Lord, to have sent duplicates of my account of the Action by Mutine; but, to say the truth, who could have expected the accident to Leander; yet I own I am wrong. Lieutenant Duval set off for Aleppo on the 17th, and at this moment is, I hope, in India.—May God bless you, and ever believe me your affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, October 8th, 1798.

I hope it was by Captain Capel I wrote you in the very handsome way all the Fleet had named you for sole Agent (probably Mr. Purvis will be Agent for the Admiral's one-eighth). As it is not possible to get certificates and Rôle d'Equipage, I send you the certificate of Admiral Blanquet, &c., &c. This must do; for the complement of men, and the number of Ships destroyed, will not, I fancy, be disputed. Near 3000 men marched from Alexandria the moment we

came in sight: how many got on board Ship I know not, but it is reasonable to suppose some did; and many of the Ships had Troops on board above the complement. However, you must settle this. I have wrote to Lord Spencer and Nepean about paying for nine Ships burnt by my orders. They were the property of the Captors, and it will be hard if they are to lose by my desire to serve my Country more effectually. Part of my Squadron sailed yesterday. In four days myself and nine others sail. You may depend I will not be inactive. I hope and beg never to hear my brother's name mentioned in this Agency: I have the strongest reasons. God bless you. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Davison. Pringle, where is he? I love and respect him.—Ever your faithful friend,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Naples, October 13th, 1798.

As Leander is gone—but with great honour, I hear, to her Captain and Crew—you will not get my official letter till Bowen. I have acknowledged my error. I was too sure of Leander's safety. Captain Capel arrived at Vienna on the 19th of September: all are mad with joy. The Emperor and Empress desired General Mack to tell me to come to Vienna, that they might thank me in person. The King of Naples, Acton has told Sir William Hamilton, is preparing his picture for me; but you will believe, that inducing the Emperor, &c., to go to War, is my very greatest reward, and I desire no other. You, my dear Lord and friend, make great allowances for my defects. My intentions are good: I vouch for no more. I am well,—never better. Lady Hamilton is an Angel. She has honoured me by being my Ambassadress to the Queen: therefore she has my implicit confidence, and is worthy of it. Your Admirals must be mad. Parker might have right to speak; Orde could have none. If the first was not to go on the service, I had just as much right as Orde. I thank God on your account that your expectations have not been disappointed in me. I expect the Marquis every hour. He is tired of the sea: I shall not say a word to him, but all know here Portugal is making her Peace. Thank God, I want him not. If the French get thirteen more Ships into the Mediterranean, you will take care of me, and I will fight them the moment I can get at them; and I trust to the

blessing of God, who I praise and adore for all his mercies. May Heaven bless you.—Ever your affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

I cannot write a stiff formal public letter. You must make one or both so. I feel you are my friend, and my heart yearns to you.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Vanguard, off Ustica, November 3rd, 1798.

As I hope the Earl St. Vincent Cutter is ready to sail, with the account of the King of Naples having marched towards Rome, I take the opportunity of writing when I can: for, to say the truth, my cough is returned again with such violence, since being four days at sea, that it is not always I can write, and I fear I shall at last either be obliged to give up this very flattering Command, or it will give me up. I had been so well nursed by Lady Hamilton, that I fancied myself perfectly recovered, but too soon I found the reverse. However, as Captain Dixon[8] *says*, in his pleasant letter about taking the Dorothea, 'I never despair; whilst there is life,' there is hope, and so I finish tormenting you with my ills. What the Marquis de Niza would be at, is not difficult to guess. He wants an excuse to retreat to Lisbon, and he would like to have it from my inattention to him, but that he shall not. It would appear he pretends to be hurt that I did not order Captain Ball to put himself and Squadron under his command when he arrived off Malta. The plain fact is, that the Marquis's letters had repeatedly told me, I cannot stay long here; and his postscript, which I inclose, did not lead me to suppose he would stay a moment after Ball's arrival; therefore I asked Murray to accompany the Alexander off Malta for a few days, till I could get a Ship to join him, and gave the Marquis permission to return whenever he should think it necessary; at the same time submitting to him the propriety of keeping a sufficient force off the Island. Under these circumstances I thought it useless to write for orders for him to take those under his command, who, I did not expect, would find him there, which I certainly otherwise

[8] Captain Manly Dixon, of the Lion, who in his official account of the capture of the Spanish Frigate Dorothea, in July 1798, speaking of his wounded seamen, said, "but there have been several miraculous recoveries in the Lion, owing to the great ability and humane attention of the Surgeon, Mr. Young: I therefore never despair of a man while there is life."—*London Gazette*, 18th September, 1798.

should have done, and desired Colossus to go with Ball. However, my mind fully acquits me of all inattention, and tells me that all my communications have been full of respect. I have done with him. My present intention is, the moment the anchor is gone, to make the signal to prepare for sea; and those of the Portuguese which the Marquis may be able, or choose, to let me have, I shall employ. Culloden and Minotaur I intend directly to send to Egypt, and to give Troubridge the power to stay if he pleases, or leave Hood, and a proper Squadron, or take all away, if he finds the Turks and Russians will effectually do the business. Our friend will, we know, do it well, and he shall have the Flora Cutter, who I have ordered to heave down. As to myself, I am so dependent on the King of Naples, that I can at present say nothing. I send you, my dear Lord, only part of General Acton's letter; for as the other part relates to the line of march, and what posts are intended to be possessed, I dare not trust it by the Cutter, nor would it be useful to your Lordship. I am deficient in sending the state and condition of the Squadron; but as the Purser of the Alexander, who acts as my Secretary, is at present with his Ship off Malta, I fear I shall not accomplish the matter, nor be able to send an account of stores supplied, and work performed, by the Arsenal at Naples. God bless you, my dear Lord; and be I in health, or sick, I shall ever feel myself your obliged and affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

Pray give me some writing-paper, for I have scarcely a sheet.

P.S.—The Marquis will not like my getting Goza. He summoned it and Malta on the 18th, although he knew I was momentarily expected. Their answer at Malta was proper; at Goza, contemptuous. This will, I suspect, be too much for his *Major*, and will hurry him to Lisbon. When Alcmene comes from Egypt, she is ordered for Gibraltar.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, G.C.B. Part of this Letter is in vol. iii. p. 167.]

My dear Lord, Caserta, November 9th, 1798.

I believe Lady Hamilton has wrote you so fully (and I will answer, so ably) on all subjects, that but little remains for me to say. Your commands respecting the

Queen were executed with so much propriety, that if I had never before had cause for admiration, it must then have commenced. Her Ladyship's and Sir William's inexpressible goodness to me, are not to [be] told by words, and it ought to stimulate me to the noblest actions; and I feel it will. My mind I know is right, but alas! my body is weak. Yesterday we had an account that a Neapolitan Vessel which had been hired or forced as a French Transport, had escaped from Alexandria on October 16th. Many others came out about the same time, and he saw many of them in flames, (my orders to Hood were to burn all that came out, and to put the people into their Launches and order them on shore again.) Emerald is not yet come in, having (rather hastily) been sent in search of me to meet me on my passage. She has a letter from Captain Thompson. I can only say from what Sir William told me, who read it, that the Action appears to have reflected great credit on all in the Leander. She had 30 killed 67 wounded. Just going to Naples.

Naples, November 10th, 1798.

I wish Mr. Littledale could have been appointed Mr. Heatly's Deputy: it would have saved my friend Troubridge some trouble for bread, &c., which was ordered by me before I knew of the Transports coming up, and the price is charged at nine shillings more than the present price. The weather has been so bad that Boats cannot pass, but is mending. I send you a note just received from Troubridge; it is as I suspect; these people *will* get down the Mediterranean, but never mind.—Ever yours, faithfully,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, January 17th, 1799.

The Earl St. Vincent Cutter arrived yesterday, and immediately, by desire of the King, sails with his dispatches for you; and General Acton writes to beg you will forward them to England. In short, my dear Lord, our Country is looked to as a recourse for all the difficulties of this. As Sir William Hamilton sends his letter to Lord Grenville under a flying seal, I shall not enter into the situation of *this* Country. I am in no particular hurry about the Foudroyant; for if I can with propriety leave this Royal Family, I shall with your per-

mission go down; and I hope home, in the Vanguard.—May God bless you, and ever believe me your most affectionate

NELSON.

Many thanks for the paper. The packet for Lord Spencer under a flying seal.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My Lord, Palermo, January 18th, 1799.

I send a packet of papers sent me last night by General Acton. It will inform you more of the state of affairs here than anything I could say. I am indeed exceedingly unwell; but ever believe me, your most obliged and faithful servant,

NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 24th January, 1799.

I have just received, and with the greatest pain, a postscript of a letter from my gallant friend Troubridge, dated Syracuse, January 14th, viz.—'I am truly miserable. Do, pray, my Lord, explain to Lord Spencer, that my accident at Aboukir was not intentional, or through fear of my *head*; for I assure you it preys so much on me, that it would be a charitable act to *shoot me*.' Such a postscript, and from such a man, it makes my heart [bleed] indeed, my Lord. Captain Troubridge's merit is equal to any Officer in that Fleet. I would say it as an Admiral, to the Board of Admiralty, that Captain Troubridge performed the most important service, and was highly instrumental in making the Victory what it was. Could Ball or Hallowell have been in the Action, but for Troubridge? They will tell you, *No*. We know of no distinction of merit, and yet, unfortunately, it has been found out so many hundred leagues distant—not found out from Public dispatches, but from some private information. The stab has been given by the Board in not promoting the First Lieutenant. Lord St. Vincent, it is true, by the same conveyance, sent a Commission for Captain Harwood. I trust, I believe, that your Lordship's goodness of heart, and regard to justice, will recommend Captain Troubridge to His Majesty as equal in merit to any one, on the 1st of August; and I am sure you will add as one of the bravest and very best Sea-Officers in his Service. With every sentiment of respect, believe me your most obliged

NELSON.

We have news from Naples the 19th: the French expected daily in the City. Although I was with the Queen last night, in hopes to administer a little comfort, yet some person has this morning told her that I mean to abandon her. *No; that I will not, while God spares my life, and she requires my feeble assistance.*

NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Original in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My Lord, Bellerophon, Palermo, 1st February, 1799.

I have received your Lordship's letter of the 28th December with the several inclosures, viz., Mr. Walpole's letter of the 26th of December respecting the French Directory declaring War against Naples and Sardinia; General Fraser's letter, and copy of De Souza's to General Fraser, respecting the sending the Regiment of Roll from Lisbon to Minorca; and your Lordship wishing me to send any Line-of-Battle Ships that may want repairs, to Minorca, as fast as possible.

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship that the Bellerophon is the only Ship I have here at present; but the moment I can get the Minotaur and Terpsichore from Leghorn, I shall order them down, with directions to call at Minorca in their way. With respect to the Merchant-Ships bound to Venice, their cargoes being mostly perishable articles, and not the least possibility of selling them here, I have appointed the San Leon to convoy them up to Venice; and from thence to proceed immediately to Trieste; and at the desire of their Sicilian Majesties, to take under her convoy two Neapolitan Vessels, laden with small arms, and bring them to Messina, or this place.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison. Part of this Letter is in vol. iii. p. 272.]

My dear Davison, Palermo, February 2nd, 1799.

I thank you most heartily for your most affectionate letter. The high compliments you are paying me are far, very far beyond my deserts. Believe me, my dear friend, my only wish is to sink with honour into my grave, and when that shall please God, I shall meet death with a smile—not that I am insensible of the honours and riches my King and Country have heaped upon me, so much more than any Officer can

deserve, yet I am ready to quit this world of trouble; and envy none, but those of the estate six feet by two. God knows when I may see England. I cannot quit my post with honour. My health is very indifferent. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Davison; and believe me, my dear friend, your faithful and affectionate NELSON.

The East India Company are doing much more than I expected.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, February 3rd, 1799.

The French, it is said, entered Naples the 23rd, and some blood was shed by the mob. I have shown your kind letter about Goliah to Sir William and Lady Hamilton, but I do not [think] they will quit their posts at the present critical moment.—God bless you, and send us better times, and ever believe me, ever your affectionate NELSON.

Pray forward the enclosed.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 7th February, 1799.

The Queen tells Sir William Hamilton a Courier goes off to-morrow morning for Vienna and London: therefore I think it right to send you a line. Bellerophon, who came with the Minerva and Convoy, who are all here, except those bound to Venice, which are sent directly, as they had perishable cargoes on board; and as the Bellerophon wanted a little putting in order, I hoisted my Flag in her and sent the Vanguard and Minerve to assist my friend Ball in the blockade of Malta—a service he has performed most arduously through a long and terrible winter. The Enemy have only succeeded in getting two small Vessels into the Port, the others being all taken. An *attempt* at assault has been made, but failed, not from the Enemy but from the *fear* of the Maltese. 200 had got over the wall, and did not take possession of the gate to let in their comrades, but Captain Ball yet hopes to be more successful another time. I am sure nothing will be wanting on his part, or that of the English Officers under him; but I own I build my hopes of success more on the closeness of the blockade than on the *valour* of the Maltese. I have not heard from Captain Troubridge

since he sailed from Syracuse; but I am sure, if the destroying the Ships can be done by the Bomb-Ships, he will do it. Minotaur and a Frigate are at Leghorn; and whenever the Great Duke can part with them, they return here, as both of them are ordered down the Mediterranean. I have four Sail of the Line I could give up with much pleasure, but one of my friends I cannot so readily part with. Goliah is ordered to carry Sir William and Lady Hamilton to England, whenever they choose to quit this Country. As for me, I expect either to take root and vegetate here, or be dried as a mummy before July is past; for I have promised that my Flag shall not go out of the Mole of Palermo, without the approbation of the Court, and that I never expect to get. But who can say how long this will be a Monarchy.

February 8th.—The Calabrese are as yet loyal; but as the Vesuvian Republic is formed, it cannot, unless the Emperor moves, be long in that state. As to my health it is very indifferent, but whilst I can do good, I am content.—Ever believe me, with the greatest respect, &c.,

NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, February 13th, 1799.

Our news from Calabria is very bad, as most of the Towns have erected the Tree of Liberty, and it approaches the Coast towards Sicily, and in this Island are many discontented people, who have shown themselves in various places, in a manner contrary to law, and nearly approaching rebellion. Thus situated, who can say that the chance is not that the Royal Family will not be obliged to once more take refuge under the British Flag? I have letters from Mr. Wyndham at Florence, of February 7th. He represents the situation of Tuscany as very critical. The French make no scruple of declaring their intention of revolutionising the Grand Duchy. His Excellency has requested Captain Louis to remain at Leghorn until it is seen whether the Emperor moves forward. The scoundrels of French, not content with turning the King of Sardinia out of Piedmont, intended seizing his person after he left Leghorn, by some of their Privateers, and to carry him to Corsica; for if they can help it, His Majesty will never get to Sardinia. Captain Louis has been applied to for to permit the Terpsichore to go, as if by accident, in

company with the Vessel; for to such a state of degradation is this Monarch reduced, that he dare not publicly accept of the offered protection of the British Flag. The moment Terpsichore arrives, she shall go off for Gibraltar. His Holiness the Pope is dead. The French ordered him, although living in Tuscany, to quit that Country, and repair to Sardinia, and when he represented his ill state of health, Salicetti was present when the old man's blisters were taken off, to see he did not sham. However, he is at rest from all his cares and troubles, and in truth he is to be envied. As to myself I see but gloomy prospects, look which way I will. We have accounts that 60,000 Russians are arrived at Salzburg (the German side of the Tyrol), but as the Russians have been *marching* the whole war, so they will, I fear, arrive too late in Italy. At present *I see* but little prospect of the fall of Malta. Several Vessels with provisions are got in. Ball is indefatigable, and has great hopes. In short, my dear Lord, everything makes me sick—to see things go to the devil, and not to have the means of prevention. El Corso is just going to Corfu to try and get some Turks and Russians to come to Messina. Mutine was to have gone, but she is found in want of many repairs, that I must send her to Coffin at Minorca. I hope very soon to hear of Troubridge. I shall rejoice to see him back again.—God bless you, my dear Lord, and believe me, ever your faithful and obliged

NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 17th February, 1799.

Things are fast approaching to a crisis in this Country. As I have before said, they hate the French, but they are many of them discontented; and the near approach of the Enemy in Calabria, makes me fear for Messina, which is the key of Sicily. Ten thousand men are required for the defence of the Town, and three thousand for the Citadel, and this good King has no persons that he can trust. When Troubridge comes from Egypt I shall order him to Messina, and try if I cannot reinforce that important garrison with three or four hundred Marines. They may give an example of discipline which will be useful to their Soldiers and Militia. It was my intention, could the Citadel have been defended by 1000 or 1200 men, to have offered my friend Troubridge to the King, and to have formed that number of British from the

Squadron, for its defence, but at present it is beyond my power. 3000 British Troops, I affirm, would save this Kingdom, and without them it is indeed in great jeopardy; but what can be done, your Lordship may depend shall be done for the preservation of this very important Island. I fear during the late hard gales some Vessels with provisions have got into Malta, which will of course prolong its defence; and the Maltese, although I have no doubt but they would follow, do not like in an assault to take the lead; but my friend Ball has sanguine hopes of the fall of La Valette very soon, and I will say that if it can be done, by judgment, gallantry, and the most conciliating manner that ever man was blessed with, my dear friend Ball is the person.—Believe me, my dear Lord, your most faithful servant,

NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B,]

My dear Lord, Palermo, March 10th, 1799.

The Terpsichore came in yesterday from Leghorn and Cagliari, to the last of which places she had safely conveyed the unfortunate King of Sardinia. By letters from Leghorn —not from Mr. Wyndham, I find the Russian Army was at Inspruck, in the Tyrol, on February 6th. This is only one week's march from Verona: therefore, if the Emperor moves forward with them, I see a gleam of well-founded hope, that Italy may yet be recovered. There are insurrections against the French almost in every part: Civita Vecchia 2,500 French and Cisalpines have been defeated. Genoa is also very riotous against the new system of War with England. Europe may yet be happy, if Austria and Prussia will exert itself. In this Island we are improving daily in loyalty, and attachment to the good King and Queen. The poor King of Sardinia has wrote me a letter, requesting my looking on him. I shall answer His Majesty with respect, and do everything in my power to serve him. At 9 o'clock I was most agreeably surprised at the appearance of General Stuart, who has brought with him 1000 English Troops. This conduct of the General most assuredly demands the warmest gratitude from His Sicilian Majesty, and I have no doubt but he will experience it. This goodness of General Stuart reflects upon him the highest honour. He has probably, by his quick decision, not only saved this Kingdom, but may be the instrument of driving the French out of the Kingdom of

Naples. It will be an electrical shock to the good and the bad.—God bless you, my dear Lord, and believe me ever, your affectionate NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, March 20th, 1799.

Captain Drummond says he is very anxious to serve up the Mediterranean, and as Bomb-Ships are very much wanted, I have to request that your Lordship will have the goodness to direct that the Bull-Dog may be speedily repaired, and as many Sea-Mortars (say four) put on board her as possible, with any number of Shells General O'Hara will give us, and Captain Drummond returned under my command.—Ever my dear Lord, your affectionate NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers. An imperfect copy of this Letter is in vol. iii. p. 316.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 6th April, 1799.

I have to thank you for your letters of December 24th and 25th, duplicates of which also arrived by sea the same day. I am happy that everything which I have done respecting Malta, has been exactly what has been wished at home. To say the truth, the possession of Malta by England, would be a useless and enormous expense; yet any expense should be incurred, rather than suffer it to remain in the hands of the French. Therefore, as I did not trouble myself about the establishing again the Order of St. John at Malta, Sir William Hamilton has a written assurance from His Sicilian Majesty that he will never cede the Sovereignty of the Island to any Power, without the consent of His Britannic Majesty. The poor Islanders have been so grievously oppressed by the Order, that many times have we been pressed to accept of the Island for Great Britain; and I know if we had, His Sicilian Majesty would have been contented. But, as I have said before, I attach no value to it for us; but it is a place of such consequence to the French, that any expense ought to be incurred to drive them out.

I have this moment letters from Captain Ball, stating the distress of the Island, and his fears that when the harvest comes, which will be in three weeks, they may make their peace with the French, in the belief that Sicily will fall into

their hands before winter; on the other hand, the garrison is in great distress, and eat up with the scurvy. The Bashaw of Tripoli, having made a treaty with Buonaparte, on February 24th, and received a present of diamonds, I wrote him a letter on the subject, and sent it by the Vanguard; Captain Hardy brought me back a letter of promise of future good conduct.

I can now get to more interesting subjects. Being sensible that by a close blockade of Naples with the largest force I could collect, must prevent any French Troops from being sent against the Christian Armies (as they are named) in the Provinces, I sent my friend Troubridge, with five Sail of the Line, on this service, and directed him to use every means in his power to take Procida, in order to secure the anchorage: he sailed on the 31st ultimo. Yesterday I had the most satisfactory letters from him, of his complete possession of all the Islands in the Bay of Naples, and of his getting possession of all Jacobin municipality, officers, &c. Some well-timed and speedy punishments will have the happiest effects. The French are not more than 2000 Troops in Naples, and about 20,000 Civic troops; the last are weather-cocks, and will always be on the side of the conqueror. We are anxious for the promised succours of Russian troops; 10,000 would possess Naples in twenty-four hours. It is natural, my dear Lord, that I should be anxious for the rise of a beloved brother, after thirty years' service, to something beyond a Clerk. A Commissioner's situation was my desire for him, but I submit, that it is not right at present for my wishes on this point being complied with. I observe what your Lordship is pleased to say about the worst Ships being destroyed. I do not enter on the subject, lest it might so happen that a new Ship might be most battered. But I thank you sincerely for all your attentions to me, and with my very kindest respects to Lady Spencer, believe me ever your obliged and faithful

NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 12th April, 1799.

Since I wrote my former letter, Captain Troubridge has informed me that he has taken possession of the Island of Capri and the Ponzo Islands, the inhabitants of which are as loyal as heart can wish. Captain T. has opened a com-

munication with Salerno, where the Cardinal is nearly arrived. Two of the Lazarà of Naples have also been on board the Culloden, and are ready to rise against the French whenever the King shall direct them. Pray God the Russians were arrived. In the present moment I see no reason why His Sicilian Majesty should not be on his throne in twenty-four hours. Their Majesties, I believe, are determined the moment of the Russians arriving on this Coast, to embark in the Vanguard for the Bay of Naples. The Envoy of their Sicilian Majesties, a few days past, wrote to the Court that his situation at the Court of Spain was miserable, and requested to be recalled; for that Sicily, by a new arrangement, was to be given to the Duke of Parma, and Naples united to the new division of Republics in Italy. As to this Island, you may be assured that if the present Monarch cannot hold it (which God forbid) that every creature of all ranks and ages wish it to belong to England, and we have nothing to do but express our wish, and the English flag would fly all over the Island.

Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON.

TO EARL SPENCER.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 17th April, 1799.

But little has occurred since I wrote you last by way of Vienna, except the certainty of Porto Ferrajo being in possession of the French; and that Longona will soon be the same I have great fears. The people have very properly executed the Officer of Artillery for loading the guns with charcoal; and have told the Governor they will serve him the same if he mentions again a desire to give it up to the French. A new Governor, provisions, &c., goes off this day under English protection, for no one but ourselves have any exertion or do the least thing. In short, my dear Lord, I am almost blind, and so fagged by all things not going on as I wish, that I often think that no consideration ought to keep me here. God bless you. I am out of spirits and with great reason.—Adieu, and believe me your obliged and affectionate

NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, Palermo, April 21st, 1799.

All my friends may scold, and say I never answer their letters: I plead guilty, but I write from morn till night, and sometimes all night. I have received your several letters this day, *viâ* Venice, and those sent by sea from Gibraltar. I know you will make all fair allowance for my situation. I am here the mainspring which keeps all things in proper train, and cannot at this moment quit my post. Sir William and Lady Hamilton are in a similar situation—all desirous of going, but determined for no private considerations to quit our post, which would in my opinion be betraying the trust reposed in us. Your observation respecting the Prizes destroyed in Egypt is most just; for so far from being the worst, two of them were amongst the best. I had a great mind to have destroyed both Conquérant and Sovereign, being the very worst, but not so much beat to pieces as the others, whose sides a carriage might have been driven in. Lord Spencer's plan is not fair to the captors. Suppose I had kept the Squadron to have fitted out those Ships: it would, on my honour, have cost the Nation 40,000*l.*, besides the services of the Ships. I shall know better another time, and will, from this very hard conduct, fit out at any expense all my Prizes. I well know, my dear Davison, the value to be put on your friendship, and I rejoice in having such a friend. I am fancied rich: you may now know the contrary. A mind like mine is not formed to take the road of wealth. I wish you had sent me your Medal: I long to wear it. You do everything for me: therefore, I have nothing to desire, except that you will remember me kindly to Mrs. Davison, and also to my old friend Pringle, who I love, respect, and honour.—And ever believe me, your obliged and affectionate NELSON.

Poor Maurice seems forgot by both Mr. Pitt and Lord Spencer, or worse than forgot. I feel it all.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS, &c.

[Copy in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

General Memorandum.

Vanguard, Palermo, 29th April, 1799.

The French Directory having formally declared War against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and having overrun his

Dominions, it is my directions that all Ships and Vessels belonging to the State of Tuscany be seized, and sent to this place, or Minorca. NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Palermo, May 8th to 9th, 1799. Sir S. Smith's dispatches go in his own Vessel.

My dear Lord,

L'Entreprenante Cutter is so full of complaints, that I send her to Mahon to get refitted, and by her I send Sir S. Smith's letters to your Lordship. They were neither inclosed to me, nor had I a scrap of a pen, although he must have received my orders by the 20th of April, at farthest. As I understand from the report of the Midshipman at Messina, who is going with French prisoners to Toulon, that he met the Turkish Flotilla and Troops between Rhodes and St. Jean d'Acre, I have hopes therefore that Buonaparte may not succeed in his present enterprise; and if he does not, I believe we shall hear no more of him. I changed into the Foudroyant yesterday, and although she is a magnificent Ship, yet my cabin is a truly uncomfortable one. I have this day received a list of the French Fleet, and have again sent for Captain Ball to join me.—Ever yours faithfully, NELSON.

TO LADY NELSON, ROUNDWOOD, IPSWICH.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor.]

My dear Fanny, Palermo, May 10th, 1799.

If I do not write to you so often, nor such long letters as I have formerly done, pray attribute it to the true cause—viz., that in truth my poor hand cannot execute what my head tells me I ought to do. As to writing a line to any one else, they may take it ill or well, as they please. We now live in some hopes that the French will be drove entirely out of Italy. If so, I shall seriously think of going home. Both Lord Spencer, Earl St. Vincent, and their Sicilian Majesties at present prevent me, by their opinion that I am of some use here. How does our Father? It is very odd, but very true, that I have not received a scrap of a pen for him since he knew of the Battle of the Nile. You must remember me kindly to all our family, and my Father, who I love dearly; and believe me ever your most affectionate

NELSON.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor.]

May 21st [1799], near Ustica; foul wind.

My dear Lady Hamilton,

The Sparanaro's leaving me last night prevents my sending you Hood's information from Naples. He is sure, if this event had not happened (of the French Fleet's arrival) that we should at this moment have been in Naples. How unlucky this foul wind, and half calm. I am very anxious about the Ships off Malta; for should my friend Ball have stopped to settle any arrangement for the Island, he may be too late to effect his escape. I am not well pleased at the Minorca Squadron not joining me. With them I could and would have fought the French Fleet. They should not have relieved Malta, but I must submit—*not patiently;* for that is not in my disposition. I have sent Cockburn off Maritimo: others to Pantelaria, to get me information. Oh, God! how I regret Duckworth's decision. The Earl cannot, I am sure, leave Gibraltar before the 12th, and then, if the Spanish Fleet comes out of Cadiz, he cannot come to me: therefore why D. should have not made haste to join I cannot conceive. If he shelters himself under *nice punctilios* of orders, I do not approve of an Officer's care of himself. No: conscious of my upright intentions, I would risk my life, much less my commission, to serve my Country.

I have just been to visit Niza. He is very much better, and of course, made many kind inquiries after you. What shall I say, for what you tell me of the missing me out of your charming house? Indeed, I will endeavour to deserve all your good opinions. With kindest regards to Sir William, Mrs. Cadogan, the Greffers, little Mary, Noble, Gibbs, Nudi, &c., and believe me ever, with the sincerest esteem, your faithful and affectionate friend, NELSON.

Hardy and the whole Squadron desire to be remembered.

I have been fighting, with the Marquis, Troubridge, Louis, and Hood, my new plan of attack. They all agree it must succeed. Say everything proper for me to the King or Queen for the butter.

Two Sparanaroes returned[9].

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[9] Upon this Letter, Lady Hamilton wrote—"This letter I got at Palermo, as dear glorious Nelson was gone out with his Fleet to save Sicily, when they expected the Combined Fleet the second time in the Mediterranean. EMMA HAMILTON." Endorsed, by Lady Hamilton, May 1799, Palermo.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor.]

My dear Lady Hamilton, May 22nd, 1799.

The wind is as bad as bad can be. I am not nearer Maritimo than if I had been all this time at Palermo. How unlucky, in every sense of the word! Ball has not joined: I am under the greatest apprehension that he has not quitted Malta on the first report of the French, and has either been surprised, or taken the route by way of Messina. Although the first would be unpleasant for England, yet the last is equally distressing to me. Altogether I am not pleasantly situated. If Malta, Toulon, or Minorca is the object of the French, I can do nothing. I almost hope it is the first, when no Battle will yet have taken place. It is difficult to know what to wish. I am sea-sick, and uncomfortable. I send you some of the Queen's letters. How anxious I am to hear of these French! Should Sicily be their object, if I have not force enough to fight them, you may depend I shall return to Palermo, and take care of all my friends, amongst the first of which, I need scarcely say, stand you and good Sir William. I shall dispatch this Sparanaro the moment one of the others join, or that I get off Maritimo, which I still hope will be to-morrow morning.

May 24th, 8 o'clock.—Neither of the two Sparanaroes sent to Palermo having joined, I cannot send this for Palermo, till her return from Maritimo, which I am now five miles from. No sight of Ball's Squadron. There is but two guesses to be made about him—viz., that he is either gone round by Messina, or he is taken. Whichever is the case, Nelson is abandoned to his fate; for Mr. Duckworth will not come near me. But on this you may depend, that if my little Squadron obeys my signal, not a Ship shall fall into the hands of the Enemy; and I will so cut them up, that they will not be fit for even a summer's cruise; and one of them at least shall have the Fire-ship laid on board. In short, I am, my dear Lady, so cursedly out of humour with our friends below us (not even a Brig with information), that a Frenchman had better be at the devil than come near. I have five English Ships which are not to be matched in this world. God bless you. I shall write a line to Sir William, when the Boat returns from Maritimo. With kind regards to all in the house, believe me ever your faithful and affectionate friend, NELSON.

I send you some letters from Niza. Pray forward them.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, June 5th, 1799.

As the Haerlem sails to-morrow I shall only say that she is going with three Bullock-Vessels for the Garrison, and a Transport with wood for the Squadron of Duckworth. Our dear Lady Hamilton is very unwell.—God bless you, and ever believe me your affectionate NELSON.

The Pallas sails with the Convoy for England the moment I know the sea is open for them.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, June 6th, 10 P.M.

Rear-Admiral Duckworth arrived at six o'clock. Our dear Lady Hamilton immediately took him into a *Nunnery*, and presented him to the Queen, who charmed him, as she does every one who comes near her. Of you she spoke as she felt, gratitude and admiration. It is not yet decided, but it is probable that in forty-eight hours we may sail for the Bay of Naples, in order to replace His Sicilian Majesty on his throne. All has the most favourable appearance. Every Ship here fit for any service.—May God bless you, and give you health and happiness; and in these wishes Lady Hamilton and Sir William most cordially join with your affectionate

NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, June 7th, 1799.

As Marquis Niza is going to send Commodore Campbell's Captain to Lisbon, with an account of the Peace between Portugal and Tripoli, I beg leave to say that Don Jose Marco de Almudo, has on several occasions conducted himself with spirit, and always with much zeal for the services in which we are jointly engaged, and I therefore beg leave to mention him to your Lordship as an Officer meriting your kind notice. Ever; my dear Lord, your affectionate humble servant,

NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, June 12th, 1799.

To-morrow morning I receive on board the Prince Royal, &c., &c., with 1700 Troops, and sail for the Bay of Naples, the Court being in expectation that the *appearance* of the Squadron will enable the Royalists to take possession of the City. They are 50,000 well regulated Royalists, and next Sunday is the day appointed. You may be assured that I will not risk a *mast* of any one of the Squadron. God send us good luck, and may he bless us, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, June 13th, 1799.

The Boatswain of the Alcmene was put into the Swiftsure, and I gave an acting-order to a very good seaman, who had passed from the Agamemnon to the Theseus. Now it so turns out, that he is a very indifferent Boatswain, therefore I must beg you to take him from the Frigate, and if you are good enough to try him in a Sloop, I can ask no more.—In doing this you will much oblige your faithful

NELSON.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of the Editor.]

(Most Secret.)

My dear Sir William, June 20th, 1799.

I am agitated, but my resolution is fixed. For Heaven's sake suffer not any one to oppose it. I shall not be gone eight days. No harm can come to Sicily. I send my Lady and you Lord St. Vincent's letter. I am full of grief and anxiety. I must go. It will finish the War. It will give a sprig of laurel to your affectionate friend NELSON.

The Ship for Tunis is gone.

TO EARL SPENCER, K.G.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers. An imperfect copy of this Letter, and erroneously dated on the 13th instead of the 19th of July, 1799, is printed in vol. iii. pp. 408, 409, from the "Letter Book."]

My dear Lord, Foudroyant, Naples, 19th July, 1799.

You will easily conceive my feelings at the order this day received from Lord Keith; but my mind, your Lord-

ship will know by my letter sent by Lieutenant Parkinson and Mr. Silvester, was fully prepared for this order; and more than ever is my mind made up, that, at this moment, I will not part with a single Ship, as I cannot do that without drawing a hundred and twenty men from each Ship now at the Siege of Capua, where our Army is gone this day. I am fully aware of the act I have committed; but, sensible of my loyal intentions, I am prepared for any fate which may await my disobedience. Capua and Gaeta will soon fall; and the moment the scoundrels of French are out of the Kingdom, I shall send eight or nine Ships of the Line to Minorca. I have done what I have thought right; others may think differently; but it will be my consolation that I have gained a Kingdom, seated a faithful Ally of His Majesty firmly on his throne, and restored happiness to millions. Do not think, my dear Lord, that my opinion is formed from the arguments of any one. *No;* be it good, or be it bad, it is all my own. It is natural I should wish the decision of the Admiralty and my Commander-in-Chief as speedily as possible. To obtain the former, I beg your Lordship's interest with the Board; and, in all events, I shall consider myself your obliged

NELSON.

You know me enough, my dear Lord, to be convinced I want no screen to my conduct. I send you a letter of mine to Troubridge, which will give you an idea that it is we who in reality manage all the Military affairs. The Duke Salandre nominally commands, but he does nothing without consulting Troubridge, who *really* commands the Army[1].

[1] The following very important Letter from Sir John Acton to Lord Nelson, written on board the Foudroyant, in Naples Bay, fully proves that His Sicilian Majesty invested Nelson with absolute power when he went to Naples in June 1799:—

"My Lord, "On board the Foudroyant, in the Road of Naples, 1st August, 1799.

"By the two inclosed papers relative to the Government of Naples and this Kingdom, while His Sicilian Majesty continues to reside at Palermo, your Lordship will see that your example of a prudent moderation in regard to Cardinal Ruffo has been followed by His Majesty. The conduct of his Eminence was highly to be commended in Calabria: his approaches to Naples, his behaviour in the first days when entered in this Capital, his unaccountable, and, I may say, shameful capitulation, intended for the Castles *Ovo* and *Nuovo*, did with reason promote a prevention against his way of thinking and principles at the moment.

"Your Lordship's and Sir William Hamilton's observations on these events at your arrival in Naples Bay, rose His Majesty's suspicions, which have been, I must say, rather confirmed than abated with the reports received in this Road. It was in your Lordship's power to arrest the Cardinal, and send him to Palermo, as the orders to him, and the principal persons in Naples charged with that execution, when you had thought proper, directed by delivering those letters to their destination. As the Cardinal yielded to your wise and steady declarations,

TO EARL SPENCER, K.G.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Naples, 23rd July, 1799.

Rear-Admiral Duckworth sails this evening with four Ships of the Line for Minorca, leaving behind all their Marines. When Capua is taken, they shall be sent directly with one or two Ships of the Line English, but what shall I do with the Portuguese? They are almost useless to me, and Duckworth begs he may not have them. In short we are fancied to have so many Ships, when in reality we have NOTHING. In having kept back the Ships ordered by my Commander-in-Chief, I know I risk my commission, but as I have on many occasions risked my life for the safety of Europe, so I cheerfully risk my commission for the same cause. I can assure you, my dear Lord, that I value not what may happen

your Lordship's and Sir William's advice caused a suspension of His Majesty's determinations. You will see by the inclosed instructions, and order for a Council to direct the Cardinal, and in a manner to overlook, with a proper vigilancy, over his actions, that he is tied up in a manner, and secured from doing mischief in the beginning. If he entertains any further concern, I would say, intelligence with the conspirators of his own order, it shall be discovered in a moment, and immediately as well as efficaciously remedied. His Majesty's reasons for running in appearance a kind of hazard are however founded. In the eyes of the Nation, in general, the Cardinal deserves praise for his courage, in the first setting out and promoting a Royal insurrection in the Calabrias under their Religion's and their King's banner, which has raised and inflamed the rest of the five southern provinces. This service is real. The meanings of this man in advancing to Naples, the corrupted people that flocked round him, his brother especially, known for bad and dubious dispositions, gave room to entertain an equivocal opinion; but single doubts and no facts were properly ascertained. His ambition on one side, known to the Court, his weakness in principles, on the other, and connexions in part abated by the arrest and judgment of most traitors amongst the nobles, seemed to encourage His Majesty in forming the determination of forming a Government in the form explained, with the aforesaid instructions. The first sign afterwards of a doubtful management shall cause the Cardinal's removal instantly; the disposition being taken for this necessary operation, whenever the case shall indicate the moment to put it in execution. The Cardinal's brother has been sent already to Sicily. Many persons have been dismissed from his confidence by the King's directions. In short, if a more proper person to keep up the insurgent Army, which the Cardinal himself has raised, could have been found, in this instant he should have been placed in his room. The organization of a new Army will, I hope, in a short time, cause the dismission of the Calabrese corps, and tie up again, by this disposition, any further disagreeable and dangerous thought of a sedition. This, *and no revolution*, is to be apprehended. The Russian corps are near to arrive, and we do not see that the party of the Nobility which has so much worked in the conspiration against His Majesty, may, in Naples, produce a serious disturbance, when the people in the Capital, as your Lordship is a witness, is so much devoted to His Majesty. The same is likewise in all the provinces.

"The King, in ordering my communication to your Lordship, commands that I should repeat His Majesty's acknowledgments for so many conspicuous and essential services rendered to His Majesty and Royal Family. I am, &c.,

J. ACTON."—*Copy* in the Spencer Papers.

to myself, if what I do serves the cause of my King and Country and Europe in general.—Ever believe me, with the truest esteem, your faithful and affectionate

NELSON[2].

[2] Between the 4th of August and the 10th of September, 1799, three very interesting Letters were written to Lord Nelson by Earl Spencer, in reply to his communications:

"My dear Lord, "4th August, 1799.

"I have to thank you for a long string of letters, most of which have been a very considerable time finding their way to me; but, when they have reached, they have been very satisfactory. You must have gone through a great deal of anxiety, but I hope that your perseverance and spirit will ere this be amply rewarded by the complete reinstatement of the King at Naples, which, I trust, has by this time taken place, and that Malta has also fallen before the meritorious unparalleled vigilance and exertions of Captain Ball, who has indeed shown himself worthy of the friendship with which you honour him.

"I shall say nothing on the present situation of affairs in the Mediterranean, as our communications from thence are soon, I hope, likely to be so much more easy, that we shall be able to correspond with a greater degree of certainty than we have done for a considerable time. The great and magnificent exertions of the Russian Army in Italy have produced such an effect over all that part of the world, that I have little doubt but you will soon be able to communicate with the several Ports, as you did before the French crossed the Alps; and as the Enemy appear to have given up all thoughts (if they ever had any such) of meeting us by sea in the Mediterranean, there will soon be very little to do there in a Naval way, unless it should be a co-operation with the South of France, where there seems good reason to expect that a strong party will, before long, arise against their present governors. These speculations, however, may all be wrong for aught I know, as they have so often changed their plans of late, that there is no reasoning upon them beforehand; and all I look upon as certain is, that while we have such men as you and your associates on the spot, we are secure of everything being done which human skill, bravery, and activity can effect.—Believe me, &c., SPENCER."

"My dear Lord, "18th August, 1799.

"I received with great satisfaction on the 16th instant, your letter of the 15th of July. The account it conveyed of the repossession of Naples, and of your having restored the King to his Dominions, was calculated to give the most sincere pleasure to every one here, and it has given to none of your friends more joy than to myself, that this restoration should have been effected so entirely by your means, with the assistance of the gallant companions of your services. I am very glad to see that you do me the justice to believe that Captain Troubridge needed no amplification of his merits to induce me to feel them as I ought. I did not fail to represent them to His Majesty as deserving some mark of his approbation, and His Majesty has been pleased to signify his intention of conferring the honour of a Baronetage on him—a proof of his Royal favour for the many services he has performed since he has been employed in the Mediterranean. I trust we shall soon hear of the final completion of the good work you are about, by the surrender of Capua and Gaeta, not only as it will secure the tranquillity of the Kingdom of Naples, but as it will set you at liberty to attend to some other points, where the assistance of the Fleet will probably be very essential to the cause of His Majesty and his Allies. I hope I am not too sanguine in expecting to hear a good account of Malta soon, I should suppose that the Garrison of that place must have by this time so little hope of being relieved, that they will not be disposed to hold out much longer; and though I have full confidence in you, and in Captain Ball, for co-operating as cordially with the Russians in that part of the world, as we are fortunately doing in every other where we have to act together,

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison. An imperfect copy of part of this Letter, is in vol. iii. pp. 460, 462; but the ten last lines which, following Clarke and M'Arthur, are there added to it, belong to another Letter.]

My dear Friend, Palermo, August 15th, 1799.

Yesterday brought me your letters of the beginning of April, together with your elegant Medals, which cannot fail to be as highly grateful to all the brethren of the Nile, as it would, I confess, give me peculiar satisfaction to see that Island reduced by our Naval force, without the interference of any other Maritime Power. I am willing to hope, from your not mentioning your health, that you were well when you wrote. I know you must be a good deal hurried and fatigued from the constant exertion and anxiety you have been exposed to, but the complete success with which it has been attended will, I doubt not, have much alleviated the pressure of such a crisis.

"I had great pleasure in giving the rank of Commander to Mr. Parkinson, as a compliment to the news he brought. I desired the Marquis de Circello to consider his appointment as a testimony of my respect for His Sicilian Majesty, who was graciously pleased to charge that Minister with a message to me, in which he did no more than justice to your most satisfactory exertions in his restoration.—Believe me, &c., SPENCER."

"My dear Lord, "19th August, 1799.

"By the Marquis de Circello's Messenger I received your letter of the 19th July, and I take the opportunity of the return of his Messenger to acknowledge it. I can easily conceive the unpleasant difficulty you must have been under, on the receipt of Lord Keith's orders. Those orders he was certainly right in sending, and undoubtedly nothing but the strongest necessity could justify you in disobeying them. I have not the smallest doubt upon my mind that you thought that necessity existed, and at the moment in which your letter was written, I can easily perceive that very dangerous consequences might have attended withdrawing any part of the Troops under Captain Troubridge. I trust, however, that you will have sufficiently considered the extreme importance of providing for the security of Minorca, as well as of keeping your Squadron in a state capable of co-operating with His Majesty's Allies on other parts of the Coast of Italy, (where a more pressing necessity may arise of Naval assistance, than can possibly be required at Naples since the fortunate restoration of His Sicilian Majesty,) to have induced you to take the very first opportunity of recalling the seamen and marines to their Ships, and of detaching such parts of your Squadron as may have appeared requisite, not only to Minorca for its defence, but to the Coast of Genoa, for co-operation with Marshal Suwarrow, in completing the expulsion of the French from Italy, and restoring another Sovereign to his Throne.

"These objects, with the addition of Malta, and a certain degree of attention to the final destruction of the Egyptian Army (by this time, I hope, nearly, if not quite completed) form the outline of the operations necessary for your attention, in the present state of the Naval War in the Mediterranean. More important and interesting objects were never intrusted to any man; and I have real gratification in adding, that I do not believe any man was ever better suited to carry them into effect than the one I have now the pleasure of addressing.

"You have already, my dear Lord, done wonders. What remains for you to do, may not, perhaps, be quite so brilliant, but is no less useful to your Country, and I know that wherever her interests call for your exertions, there they will not fail to be found. Believe me, &c., SPENCER.

"P.S.—The St. Joseph is fitting out, and no one could possibly have a better claim to her than you, if it should be thought fit to employ Ships of that class on

they are to your old friend. The spare gold Medal which you was so good as to send me, I presented to the man that all Europe is obliged to for his encouragement of the Arts, as well as many other acts of a public benefit. You will know this person can only be Sir William Hamilton. I have also sent all the boxes as directed. In your postscript I see you intend gold Medals for all the Captains. I have presented the other gold one to Captain Hardy in your name, as I am confident it was not your intention to exclude Captain Hardy, who was a Captain in the Battle of the Nile. I assure you, my dear friend, it hurt me to part with your kind and invaluable present, but I considered you before myself. A silver or even a copper one I shall esteem as equally valuable.

You must not think me neglectful, if I do not write so often as my friends think I ought. It is impossible, even had I two hands, and I have made a resolution never to turn over the paper but on extraordinary occasions. I wish you would ask Nepean to read two letters which I send by this opportunity—one from the King of Naples, the other from his Minister, and if the Board do not put them in the Gazette, which I take for granted they will, I think gratitude from me, if they do not, calls that it should be put in the Public papers, which I beg you to do. The estate is said to be about 3000*l.* sterling a-year. I am determined on one thing, that the inhabitants shall be the happiest in all His Sicilian Majesty's Dominions. I have to thank you for the interest you have

that station under the present circumstances. But unless an alteration should take place in the disposition of the Enemy's Fleet, I do not think it likely that we shall send any first-rate Ship to the Mediterranean."

"My dear Lord, "10th September, 1799.

"I received with great satisfaction your letters of the 1st and 6th August, by Captain Oswald, which gave me the more pleasure, as I had feared that the business of Capua and Gaeta might possibly have occupied our people longer than would have been desirable, considering the various other services for which we have to provide in the Mediterranean. I am glad to perceive that you have made such arrangements as comprehend them all for the present, and I trust that much good may arise from the Squadron you have placed off the Coast of Genoa, where the French were reduced to great straits by the activity of Marshal Suwarrow, about the time that Captain Martin will have reached it, and I am not without hopes that a considerable effect will have been produced by his appearance there.

"I did not fail to promote Captain Oswald and Lieutenant Compton on your recommendation; and I am happy to find that the former, of whose activity I had before formed a very high opinion, has conducted himself in a manner to be approved both by your Lordship and your gallant friend Troubridge. His patent for a Baronetage is now forwarding through the offices, and will soon appear in the Gazette. Lady Spencer desires me to say every kind thing to you from her, and I am, my dear Lord, your very faithful humble servant, SPENCER.

"I am truly grieved at the loss of poor Miller; but I hope that you will think my friend Sir Sidney has shown himself worthy of acting under your command."—*Copies* in the Spencer Papers.

taken in the business of the India House. The present has been magnificent; but, my friend, these presents, rich as they are, do not elevate me. My pride is, that at Constantinople, from the Grand Signior to the lowest Turk, the name of Nelson is familiar in their mouths; and in this Country I am everything which a grateful Monarch and people can call me. You will think this a short letter, but to me it is a long one, therefore I can only say God bless you. Present my best respects to Mrs. Davison and your children, and believe me ever your obliged and affectionate friend, NELSON.

August 23rd.—Your duplicate letter of May 7th came this morning, but the original has not made its appearance. Ten thousand thanks for all your goodness. The manner of the Board of Control was gratifying, but I had rather seen poor Maurice provided for. He should have been Commissioner of the Navy; and as Lord Keith will annihilate the Combined Fleet, if he meet them, the name of Nelson will be forgot. But he will never forget his friend Davison.

August 24th.—Poor dear Miller is dead; so will be your Nelson, but I trust till death that your friend longs to wear[8] your present: therefore I have kept MILLER'S, and hope you will send another to his family. If that cannot be, they shall have this, which I have unjustly kept.—Adieu, probably for ever! NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison. Part of this Letter is in vol. iii. p. 461.]

My dear Davison, Palermo, September 23rd, 1799.

I that never yet had any money to think about, should be surprised if I troubled my head about it. In my state, of what consequence is all the wealth of this world? I took for granted the East India Company would pay their noble gift to Lady Nelson, and whether she lays it out in house or land is, I assure you, a matter of perfect indifference. I have given away 2000*l.* of it to my family, in expectation it had been paid. Ah, my dear friend, if I have a morsel of bread and cheese in comfort, it is all I ask of kind Heaven, until I reach the estate of six feet by two, which I am fast approaching. I had the full tide of honour, but little real comfort. If the War goes on, I shall be knocked off by a ball, or killed

[8] These words are not very distinct, though the purport is clear, and Clarke and M'Arthur have accordingly given an interpretation of them instead of the literal expression. (Vide vol. iii. pp. 460, 461.)

with *chagrin*. My conduct is measured by the Admiralty, by the narrow rule of law, when I think it should have been done by that of common sense. I restored a faithful Ally by breach of orders; Lord Keith lost a Fleet by obedience, against his own sense. Yet as one is censured the other must be approved. Such things are.

I am satisfied, my dear Sir, you would have been truly happy to have paid the Prize-money, as soon as possible; but when the requisites are to be got from abroad, and especially if envy steps in, it makes it more difficult. We can none of us forget your generous and noble way of acting towards us.

I have not wrote to my brother Maurice by this messenger, but truly I feel much for the neglect showed him, and wish they had cared enough for me to have noticed him.—With my best respects to Mrs. Davison, believe me ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

NELSON.

If the Sword[4] is to be sent me, I shall be glad to wear such an uncommon mark of brotherly regard. I wish I had 20*l.* worth of new books—some caricatures, &c., sent me. My brother sends me the Magazines and Reviews.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Gentlemen, Palermo, September 24th, 1799.

Please to pay the ten thousand pounds so generously bestowed upon me by the East India Company to my wife, Frances Herbert Nelson, and her receipt shall be considered the same as if given by myself.—I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, your obliged NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, Palermo, November 9th, 1799.

I introduce to your acquaintance my inestimable friend Hardy. I shall only say, he is worthy of all your notice: therefore I am sure he will have it. I shall refer you to him for all news respecting myself; for what with anxiety, and

[4] The Sword presented to him by the *Captains at the Nile*.

other things, I never expect to see England again: therefore, if you have my Sword, send it to me; and if the City of London will send theirs, I should wish of all things to have it to show in this Country.—With my best respects to Mrs. Davison, believe me ever, my dear friend, your obliged

BRONTE NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison. With the exception of one paragraph, which was omitted, this Letter was correctly printed from the "Letter Book," in vol. iii. pp. 133, 134.]

My dear Davison, Palermo, December 19th, 1799.

Reports are here prevalent that the Ethalion, Alcmene and Naiad have taken some very valuable prizes off Cape Finisterre, the two former belonging to the Mediterranean command, devolved upon me by the return to England of all my superior Officers, some of whom have struck their Flags, and others gone under the command of other Admirals, I therefore, although the orders for those Ships cruising may have been given by my Seniors at that time in the Mediterranean, yet consider myself from the time (I think of their quitting the Station), but most assuredly from either their Flags being struck, or having passed under the command of other Officers, entitled to the emoluments arising from prizes taken by Mediterranean Ships, as much as if I had a Commission as Commander-in-Chief. Custom will give it me. I can fix one precedent. Lord Hood, who went home on leave, Admiral Hotham shared as Commander-in-Chief. I therefore desire, in case any difficulty arise from improper claims, that you will lay in my claim as Commander-in-Chief for all prizes taken; and if this is not authority enough for you to act, pray beg Mess. Marsh and Creed to do it. I am cut short enough by having no other emolument. I, as the King gives me this, am determined no power shall take it from me. I consider my right for the Ethalia and Alcmene as two-thirds of one-eighth, and Duckworth for the other.—Ever, my dear friend, believe me your obliged

BRONTE NELSON.

TO MAURICE NELSON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Brother, Off Malta, February 27th, 1800.

Your kind letter by Mr. Campbell I have received, although I have not seen him; and I hear from Sir William Hamil-

ton, at whose house he lives, that he is returning very soon to England. I am, my dear brother, as much vexed as any one can be about you; and since the capture of the Genereux I have wrote to Lord Spencer a very strong letter, and have sent him my Journal, [to show] that she was taken by me, and my plan—that my quitting Lord Keith was at my own risk, and for which, if I had not succeeded, [I] might have been broke. The way he went the Genereux never could have been taken, and I told his Lordship, Spencer, that I had long set my heart on seeing you a Commissioner of the Navy, but that I had completely failed in all my applications for my friends; and yet I could not but recollect that this War I had been a principal concerned in taking nineteen Sail of the Line and four Admirals. I have told him such truths, that probably by unkind treatment both at home and *abroad*, I shall be forced to strike my Flag. With all this on my mind, you will readily believe I am far from well; but, ever, my dear brother, your affectionate

BRONTE NELSON.

You may be assured of my attention to Mr. Pickford.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

[Off Malta, 10th March, 1800.]

I hope Davison and Mr. Marsh will exert themselves and get my prize-money as Commander-in-Chief for the Alcmene, in the capture of the Spanish Frigates.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison. A few lines of the latter part of this Letter, occur among the Letters, in Clarke and M'Arthur, of August 1799, and will be found in vol. iii. p. 441, of this Work.

My dear Davison, At Sea, March 12th, 1800.

I send you a letter of Admiral Duckworth's to me, and I think we cannot be better guided than by the two precedents he alludes to. There cannot, in my opinion, be the smallest doubt of my having an undoubted right to share for all things taken, from Lord Keith's quitting this Command till his resuming it, as Commander-in-Chief. The not having given orders is of no consequence; for on this Station are now Ships which Lord Keith has not given orders to, but that cannot give me a right to share as Commander-in-Chief, and for his Lordship to get nothing. I beg that you will show your friendship for me, and not sacrifice my right to any

person, however elevated his rank. Right is right. I only want justice, and that I will try to obtain, at the expense of everything I am worth. I have also to request the favour of you to ask Mr. Nepean if he ever received copies of the enclosed letters; for their not being published appears to me to convey such an idea of inattention on my part, that I must request you will direct their insertion in the newspapers, or magazines with a suitable paragraph. In doing this you will highly oblige me. You will observe in a part of the King's letter that an observance is made that this present could not hurt my delicate feelings. It is, I might have before received money and jewels, but I rejected them, as became me; and never received one farthing for all the expenses of Royalty on board the Vanguard and Foudroyant. This I expect from the Board of Admiralty, that they will order me a suitable sum. It has been honour, and not money, which I have sought, and not in vain. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Davison, and love to my godson, and ever believe me, my dear Davison, your obliged friend,

BRONTE NELSON.

Remember me kindly to my brother. It has been cruel not to make him a Commissioner of the Navy.

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD, H.M.S. PENELOPE.

[From Blackwood's Magazine, July 1833.]

My dear Blackwood, Palermo, 5th April, 1800.

Is there a sympathy which ties men together in the bonds of friendship without having a personal knowledge of each other? If so, (and, I believe, it was so to you,) I was your friend and acquaintance before I saw you. Your conduct and character on the late glorious occasion stamps your fame beyond the reach of envy: it was like yourself—it was like the Penelope. Thanks; and say every thing kind for me to your brave Officers and men. When I receive any official letter on the subject, I shall notice your and their gallant services in the way they merit. Tell Captain Ormsby I have recommended him to Lord Keith, and hope it will answer his wishes. How fortunate he has been to be with you! It will give him, I am sure, the next step, and not interfere with Captain Long, or any other Master and Commander who might have been present. I shall see you very soon, either here or at Malta. But in every situation I am your sincere and attached friend,

(Signed) BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.

TO EDMUND NOBLE, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of George J. L. Noble, Esq.]

My dear Sir, Palermo, June 2nd, 1800.

I am sure there is nothing you can ask of me that I shall not always have the very greatest pleasure in granting; and I assure you it will always be pleasant for me to mark in every possible way my regard for your person and character, both as a Gentleman and as a Merchant, in both which lights I do not believe any man in Italy stands higher. I am sure that whilst you continue in the Dominions of His Sicilian Majesty every attention will be shown you, for as no one has shown more attachment to His Majesty than yourself, or done more in the situation you have been placed in for his service, so I am confident no one is more sensible of it, or holds you in higher estimation than the King of Naples.—Wishing you, my dear Sir, all possible success, and that greatest of all blessings, health, believe me ever, your most sincere and obliged friend,

BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.

TO EARL SPENCER, K.G.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Palermo, 5th June, 1800.

I thank you for your last letter, and although I must grieve at my dear brother's situation, I cannot help myself, and must bear it. You will find myself and poor Troubridge as much worn out as our Ships. I only wish for the sake of our Country, that Troubridge may recover sufficiently to undergo the fatigue of his high and honorable station [5]. His Sicilian Majesty has fixed a pension of 1000 ounces a-year on him for his life, and made [him] a Commandant of the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merito. Ball, Hallowell, Louis, Hood, and some others, are likewise to have the Commanderie of the Order. His Majesty has given me the Ribbon, and done me the honour of placing my name next the Royal Family. From such marked attention I must and do feel sensibly the parting from such good and amiable Sovereigns; but I am, from various causes, no longer of any use. The Queen, three Princesses, and the young Prince Leopold embark on board the Foudroyant on Sunday—their *suite* near fifty persons, high and low. I only hope we shall have a good passage. When Lord Keith sees the state of the Foudroyant, I think he will

[5] Captain of the Channel Fleet.

allow her to carry me to England; for I know she cannot be fitted in this Country.—Ever, my dear Lord, believe me your sincere and affectionate

BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, Palermo, June 5th, 1800.

You are in the first place the only man of business I can resort to, and I trust you will excuse the trouble I am giving you, in begging you to order for me the enclosed list of things wanted for Bronte. They are wanted in August, but as that is impossible, I have only to beg they may be sent as soon as possible. The best mode, if a Ship can be found going to Messina, is to direct them for Mr. Grafer at Bronte, to the care of the Vice-Consul at Messina. Next to that, is to ask Sir Andrew Hamond to let one of the Store-Ships bring them to Mahon, and the Officers of the Naval Yard will, I am sure, forward them to Messina, or Palermo, where the Consul will forward them. I sail on Sunday for Leghorn with the Queen, three Princesses, and a Prince, with Sir William, Lady Hamilton and family, full fifty, in the Foudroyant; and then I trust that Lord K., if I do not get better both in body and mind, will allow the Foudroyant (who cannot be refitted in this Country) to carry me to England. I am so tired, fagged, and worn out, that the Nelson you knew is gone, and but a shadow remains. The King of Naples has just invested me with the distinguished Order of St. Ferdinand, and I am the first Knight after the Royal Family. The Order has the particular privilege of being covered in the King's presence. These marks of regard cannot but attach me to this Country and its excellent and amiable Sovereigns. Make my best regards acceptable to Mrs. Davison, and give my love to my brother; and believe me, my dear Davison, your affectionate and obliged

BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.

Sir Thomas Troubridge has a pension of £500 a-year settled on him, and Commandery of the Order of St. Ferdinand.

TO EARL SPENCER, K. G.

[Autograph in the Spencer Papers.]

My dear Lord, Leghorn, 20th June, 1800.

Your two letters of April[e] 25th and May 9th, gave me much pain; but I trust you and all my friends will believe, that mine cannot be an inactive life, although it may not carry all the outward parade of *much ado about nothing*. I certainly have felt, in every kind [of?] way, the gratitude of the Royal Family of the Two Sicilies, and indeed of the whole Kingdom; and His Sicilian Majesty has absolutely placed under my care, his Queen and children, and a more secure, and attached, grateful friend he has not. The extraordinary position in which we find ourselves at this moment makes it undetermined what measures may be proper for the Queen of Naples to pursue; and until I have safely got rid of my charge, nothing shall separate me from her. I should feel myself a beast could I have a thought for anything but her comfort. I expect to see Lord Keith in a few days, and the Foudroyant, I believe, will be found unable to be refitted in the Mediterranean; and therefore I think she will carry me to England; and I beg, my dear Lord, you will believe me your obliged

BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, Vienna, September 20th, 1800.

As the time of my arrival in England draws near, I must request the favour of you and my brother to take either a house or good lodgings for me—not too large, yet one fit for my situation, to be hired by the month, not even which time shall I remain in London. You must consider that I am not rich beyond what you are acquainted with, for all my Sicilian revenue is, for two years to come, laid out in that Country: therefore do not exceed what is right. Our party sets out to-morrow, and it will be about the middle of October when we arrive in London. My health is better, but you will see an old man. You will excuse my giving you this trouble, and believe me I feel myself your truly obliged friend,

BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.

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[e] See those Letters in vol. iv. p. 225 and 242, notes.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Friend, January 17th, 1801.

The Earl never mentioned Prize-money to me, during the twenty-four hours I was with him, and I approve highly of all you are doing, and thank you for your kind letter of the 15th. Till the 24th the San Josef will certainly be at Plymouth: after that, I hope for a week at Torbay, by which time matters will ripen. I shall not enter on the subject [7] with the Earl further than I can help. I rely on your goodness, and on the abilities of Messrs. Booth and Haslewood, and, lastly, on the justness of my cause. I have much just now to do: therefore excuse this short letter, and believe me ever your obliged NELSON.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, January 24th, 1801.

There are nonsensical reports here that you are going to buy a fine house for me. I do not believe Lady Nelson can have desired any such thing, for where am I to get the money? and if I had ever so much, I should not think of a house at this time. The best thing for Lady N., when she is in Town, is good lodgings: next to that, to hire a very small ready-furnished house. The San Josef is in Cawsand Bay, waiting orders from the Admiralty to complete her complement, which, when done, I take for granted I shall go to Torbay. I have frequent letters from the Earl, but not one word of the law-suit. *So best.* But we will not lessen our exertions to get justice, and I am sure his Agents are not less active in trying to deprive me of my right. My confidence is still in your kindness and friendship. I shall tell the exact time I shall sail for Torbay when I get my orders, and I hope to meet you there. I have a spare bed, and plenty of room in the San Josef; and no one will more rejoice to see you than your obliged and affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

My plate from Rundell and Bridge is not arrived. Just going to Plymouth to receive the Freedom.

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7 His law-suit with Earl St. Vincent respecting Prize-Money.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, January 28th, 1801.

Your letter of the 24th coming round by Torbay, prevented me getting it till yesterday. I feel all your kindness, and pray tell Messrs. Booth and Haslewood how much I admire their handsome and truly proper letter to Earl St. Vincent. The Earl must have had the letter when he wrote to me the 26th at night; but although we correspond together almost every day, yet not a word has been dropped by him or me on the subject, nor shall I begin it. No good can arise, but harm to ourselves and the Public Service may; and whether I get the cause, or lose it, not a word shall come from me. I have been kept here for want of orders, but I hope to receive them this day, which I shall tell you before I close my letter. The Lady of the Admiralty[8] never had any just cause for being cool to me. Either as a public or private [man], I wish nothing undone which I have done.—With my best regards to Mrs. Davison and your boys, believe me ever your obliged and affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Pray tell Sir Isaac Heard[9] that I cannot afford to pay for any Honours conferred upon me. They are intended to do honour to this Country, and to mark the gratitude of His Sicilian Majesty to his faithful Ally, our gracious King, in my person, his faithful servant. As far as relates to the personal trouble of Sir Isaac, or any other friend, I am not backward in payment by thanks or money, as the case requires; and for personal trouble I have already paid £41, and have had no answer relative to the Imperial Order of the Crescent. Sir Isaac is bound in honour to follow up this application; for my wish is to have all my Honours gazetted together, but paying those fees to Secretaries of State, Earl Marshals &c., &c., without which I am told the *King's orders* will not be obeyed, it would in my opinion be very wrong to do it. I could say more on this subject, but I think it better not at present.

I paid one shilling and ninepence postage, as your enclosures were above privilege. They should have been put in two covers.

2 P.M.—This moment received orders to put myself under Lord St. Vincent's orders: therefore shall probably be in Torbay on Saturday or Sunday next.

[8] Query, the Countess Spencer?
[9] Garter King of Arms.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, San Josef, Torbay, February 2nd, 1801.

Your letter of January 29th only reached me this morning, as it went to Plymouth. If you make haste here, I can show you the finest Ship, and as well-ordered as any in Europe. I live entirely on board, and have spare beds, &c. &c. The St. George is hourly expected, and then I shall be adrift for two days, and proceed to Spithead probably, or to Cawsand Bay. The Earl is nothing to either [of] us in his private character; therefore if you choose to come here, do so. When I went to the Earl yesterday, you would have thought he would have overwhelmed me with civilities, nothing *equal* to me as an Officer. *I hope he says true*, but I will not spare him an inch in the point of law, and I only hope he will never open the subject. If he does, I am prepared with a broadside, as strong (and backed with justice) as any he can send. With my best respects to Mrs. Davison and your sons, believe me your obliged and affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, February 14th, 1801.

Ten thousand thanks for your letter, and for all the news contained in it. I conjectured that the Earl[1] was driving post for something good. When I have neither hopes or fears, it is perfectly indifferent to me who is there. I only hope they will do well for the Country. I have just received the inclosed from an old Boatswain[2] of mine, so you see my giving him 100*l.*, has made him ask me for 240*l.* more. You will, of course, not pay the bills when they are presented. The St. George is in a truly wretched state. I had rather encounter ten painted cabins than her dreary, dirty, and leaky cabin. The water comes in at all parts, and there is not a dry place, or a window that does not let in wind enough to turn a mill. As Troubridge will of course go to the Admiralty, I wish to have the Orders of St. Ferdinand to invest him as soon as possible. I shall take my plate with me: sink or swim, it goes with me.—Ever your faithful and obliged NELSON AND BRONTE.

[1] The Earl of St. Vincent became First Lord of the Admiralty a few days after the date of this letter.

[2] Mr. Joseph King, of Gibraltar Dock-Yard.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Friend, San Josef, February 17th, 1801.

I do not expect to get a letter on shore: the gale has come on again, with a heavy sea. Hardy has been a week on board the St. George, but I cannot change my Ship. The Earl being at the head of the Admiralty, will, I hope, give a new spur to our just cause. The higher the Earl, the more we must attempt to wrest justice from him; and I hope your courage will not flag in the cause of an oppressed friend, even against much higher men than a First Lord of the Admiralty. I would sooner be turned on shore than give up an inch. But the Earl has wrote me the moment he came from the King a very flattering letter, asking for my support: so I will support him as a great Sea-Officer; but was he forty times as great, I will not suffer him to rob me with impunity.—For ever, my dear Davison, believe me yours faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

St. George, March 2nd, 1801,—getting under sail.

My dear Davison,

Be so good as to deliver to Troubridge two of the Crosses of St. Ferdinand—one for himself, the other he will send for Captain Hood. Lord St. Vincent has sent about Captain Miller's monument. Have you received any directions from Berry, or Sir James Saumarez? It is to cost 500*l.*, if those of the 14th of February, 1797, are to subscribe; for a less sum would be too paltry for such a respectable body. I hope to be through the Downs to-morrow, and at Yarmouth the next day. I have requested Lady Hamilton to order some things for me, and desired the bills to be sent to you. Will you have the goodness to pay them, and you will oblige ever your faithful NELSON AND BRONTE.

APPARENTLY TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

Deliver to Sir Thomas Troubridge one of the Crosses of St. Ferdinand. The Ribbon is blue, with a red edge. The Neapolitan Minister will give him a fathom—narrow.

N. AND B.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, St. George, 10 o'clock, March 11th, 1801.

Many thanks for your letter, and how much I am for your kind visit I cannot express. Sir H. is on board sulky, Stewart tells me, his treatment of me is now noticed. Dickson came on board to-day to say all were scandalized at his gross neglect. I declare solemnly that I do not know I am going to the Baltic, and much worse than that I could tell you. *Entre nous:* there is an appearance of a desire to sacrifice; for he has given me support in the *Order of Battle*. Burn this letter: then it can never appear, and you can speak as if your knowledge came from another quarter. Situated as I am, will you give Mrs. William Nelson for me one hundred pounds? She is in London, by my desire. My brother is gone, and we are to unmoor at 12 o'clock, and sail at daylight; but I think it will blow hard.—Ever yours most faithfully and affectionately,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, St. George, off the Scaw, March 19th, 1801.

Have the goodness to pay Mr. Christie for me the sum of 300*l.* for a picture, but do you not notice it to anybody; for I could not bear the idea of Sir William's selling his wife's picture. You will recollect what I told you on that subject. I wish the picture to come to your house packed up, and not to be seen by any one, because it may make talk, which there is no occasion for. I have to beg you ten thousand pardons for all the trouble your friendship gives you in my affairs, but I rely with confidence in your goodness. Your letter of the , came last night, and the box with the cases and opinions. I hope to be in England before the trial, and I will be in London; for much argument may be brought forward to meet the injustice of the claim and the ruin of the spirit of pecuniary reward held out to all ranks for the successful execution of their orders, and for the exertion of the *mind* of a Commander-in-Chief. But when I can turn my mind to the dirty consideration of money, I will write some hints for the law gentlemen. We are as slow in our motions as ever; but I hope all for the best. I have not yet seen Sir Hyde, but I purpose going this morning; for no attention shall be wanting on my part.

March 20th, off the Island of Anholt, wind at W.S.W., blowing fresh. I went on board Sir Hyde yesterday, and staid an hour. I ground out something, but there was not that degree of openness which I should have shown to my Second in Command. Hamond, in the Blanche, is gone with a Flag of Truce, and the dispatches for Mr. Drummond. We shall probably pass Cronenburg to-morrow, therefore I shall close my letters till that event is over, and direct my packet to Sir Thomas Troubridge. I have only to assure you, my dear Davison, that to the end of my life I shall ever remember all your goodness to me; and believe me, with wishing you every happiness in this life, your affectionate friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, 8 o'clock, March 20th, 1801.

Captains Foley and Hardy desire their names may be put down as subscribers to Captain Miller's monument, the same as the other Captains; for all ranks should subscribe in my opinion the same sum—that is, the Admirals so much each, the Captains so much each; but none to be begged for subscription. We are now twenty miles from Cronenburg, but the wind foul.—Ever yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR EVAN NEPEAN, BART., ADMIRALTY.

[From Brenton's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 71.]

My dear Sir, [March 1801.]

Troubridge tells me you will have the goodness to give or lend me a set of Charts of the Baltic. I only now long to be gone; time is precious, and every hour makes more resistance; strike quick, and home, and may we soon return victorious, is the fervent wish and shall be the hearty exertion of your faithful and obliged

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN FANCOURT, H. M. SHIP AGAMEMNON.

[Autograph in the possession of his nephew, Commander W. Norton Taylor, R.N.]

My dear Sir, St. George, August 4th, 1801.

You may be assured that I am sensible no blame whatever attaches itself to you or your brave Officers and men; it was

an accident[3] which we were all liable to, and I am truly sorry it should have caused you any uneasiness, as far as related to me; for I have the highest opinion of all on board my old and good Agamemnon, and I trust you will have ample revenge on the Russians; and believe me, my dear Sir, your faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, St. George, April 4th, 1801.

The job is done, and I know you will not like it the worse for having been done by me. I hope my brother will not still be neglected. I am not well, and fagged to death. Poor Thompson has lost his left leg, but is as well as can be expected. In poor dear Riou the Country has sustained an irreparable loss. Captain Moss has left a wife and six children to mourn his fate. Providence, as usual, has been good to me beyond measure.—With kindest regards to all friends, believe me ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Subscribe for me £100 for the widows of the killed, and for the wounded.

Sir Hyde having sent me on shore to talk with the Prince, I was received in the most flattering manner by all ranks, and the crowd was, as is usual, with me. No wonder I am spoilt. All my astonishment is that my head is not turned.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, April 13th, 1801.

Many kind thanks for your letter of the 4th. I only by the post barely thank you, as I shall write by the Brig, who will probably be in England as soon as the post. Sir Hyde tells me he shall send me to England as soon as we are over the Grounds, my health is so indifferent—for I have a fever every night from fretting all day—that if the Admiralty would send me a commission as Commander-in-Chief, I would not now accept it. You know my business in England requires

[3] The Agamemnon was prevented from taking part in the Battle of Copenhagen by having grounded. (Vide vol. iv. p. 305.)

my attendance in May; for all my fortune depends on justice being done me. I ask no more. I am glad Maurice has got Hartwell's place. I shall write Sir Andrew by the Brig; and say, which is true, that no Ship in the world can be better conducted in every respect that Captain Hamond's. He is gone off Carlscrona. God bless you!

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Friend, April 15th, 1801.

For once I am left behind, and without guns, and as the wind is come contrary, I do not expect we shall ever pass the Grounds; for from what I hear, I think we shall have peace in the North; and be ordered home, which God grant. You can gather from Nepean, or Troubridge, or the Earl, whether my leave is coming out; for here I *neither can or will stay*. My health is ruined by fretting, and I will not kill myself to do the work of any Commander-in-Chief. I send home the Lawyer's opinion. Justice is all I want. My Commanders-in-Chief run away with all the money I fight for: so let them. I am content with the honour: there they cannot get a scrap. But damn me if I suffer any man to swindle me out of my property, whilst he is at his ease in England. May God bless you! I have a general pass for all the Danish dominions to facilitate my journey to England. Ever yours faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, Elephant, April 17th, 1801, Baltic.

I think we shall fire no more, although the Swedish Fleet was at sea the 14th. I shall be in England in May, for both my health and affairs absolutely require it. St. George cannot get over the Shoals, therefore Foley has been good enough to receive me. Pray send the enclosed.—Ever yours faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, April 22nd, 1801.

I know my health requires it, and my affairs, particularly my law-suit, require that I should be in England before the

25th May. I intend to be in Court when it is tried, and can and will remind the Jury, if I am allowed to open my mouth, that I have full as much claim to their consideration as Lord St. Vincent, and my truth brought home to their minds will I doubt not have as much weight as Mr. Erskine's eloquence. You may say to Nepean, Troubridge, and even the great Earl, that I must be in England for my *health*, and to take care of my *private affairs*. I could say much, but I reserve myself till we can breakfast together at seven o'clock. I am got now to breakfast at half-past five. In fact, I cannot rest; for neither body or mind is happy, but for ever your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, St. George, April 22nd, 1801.

From various causes, I proposed, after the Battle of the 2nd, Sir Hyde Parker's Secretary, Mr. Osborn, to be Agent; for I was fixed nothing should come from me which could give offence. Mr. Osborn held it a fortnight, when, having *done nothing*, he declined the Agency. I, therefore, immediately proposed you, which Sir Hyde, Admiral Graves, and everybody, I dare say, will with pleasure acquiesce in. I am now working for you, getting Prize lists, accounts of stores taken by different Ships, &c., &c. You must, my dear friend, accept again this troublesome office, and as the Holstein is in England, you must manage about having her and her stores valued. The Zealand, 74, as large and full as fine a Ship as the Sanspareil, because she was a little cut with shot, was by the rascals of carpenters condemned,—the Carpenter of the London at the head of them. They had the impudence to report her an old Ship, when she was only seven years from the stocks. The Infordestein, of 64 guns, never was at sea, and was desired to be sunk, which she soon was, as no person stopped her shot-holes. In short, the wanton waste which has been made of our Prizes, which, God knows, we fought hard to get, has been hard upon the captors. Admirals, &c., may be rewarded, but if you destroy the Prizes, what have poor Lieutenants, Warrant-Officers, and the inferior Officers and men to look to? Nothing! What their gracious King gives them, a Commander-in-Chief may take from them. I by no means wish to prevent Commanders-in-Chief from destroying all Prizes; but in certain cases, I think, the Country is bound

in honour to make it up to the brave fellows who have fought for her; and if ever a case called for the consideration of the Country, surely this is the most prominent. I shall talk more on this, and many other subjects. The Danes being all landed, without any declaration as to numbers, but I fancy this can be easy got over by a dispensing order, which the Admiralty cannot refuse,—they must be sensible the Ships could not fight without men. Not less than six thousand can be allowed, and that is under the number, I am sure; for, all the Action, boats loaded with men and Officers were sent from the shore to make up for the killed and wounded. The powers of attorney, &c., are making out.—Ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

LIST OF THE PRIZES.

[The following list, in the possession of Colonel Davison, was written and signed by Sir Frederick Thesiger.]

The following is a List of the Prizes; which *remained at their anchorage* after the Victory of the 2nd of April; and those Line-of-Battle Ships and Floating Batteries within the circumflex were boarded by me in the following order, by the direction of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson:—

Wogrien, ...	Ship of the Line.
Provestein, ...	Ditto ditto.
Rensburgh, ...	Floating Battery.
Jutland	Ship of the Line.
Cronenburgh	Floating Battery.
Spear Fish	Ditto ditto.
Shark	Ditto ditto.
Charlotte Amelia . .	Ditto ditto.
Holstein	Ship of the Line.
Sea Horse	*Floating Battery.*
Infordestein	Ship of the Line.
Danenburgh, . . .	Line of Battle Ship on fire.
Zealand	Ship of the Line.

FREDERICK THESIGER.

[Added by Lord Nelson.]

Two Ships run towards the harbour, and sunk by the way—one Floating Battery, ditto: one said to be sunk alongside the Elephant, seen by Captain Bligh; and one escaped into Port. NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, St. George, April 23rd, 1801.

You will, at a proper time, and before my arrival in England, signify to Lady N. that I expect, and for which I have made such a very liberal allowance to her, to be left to myself, and without any inquiries from her; for sooner than live the unhappy life I did when last I came to England, I would stay abroad for ever. My mind is fixed as fate: therefore you will send my determination in any way you may judge proper; and believe me ever your obliged and faithful friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ALEXANDER DAVISON, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of Colonel Davison.]

My dear Davison, St. George, Kioge Bay, April 25th, 1801.

The Arrow sails too soon for me to get the power-of-attorney filled up; but you may act from my word. How can I send the subscription-book for Lloyds, if the good folks at home think of our poor fellows who have bled for them? In fourteen days I hope to be with you.—Ever your affectionate NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE REVEREND MR. COMYN, LONG PARISH, ANDOVER.

[Autograph in the possession of Page Nicol Scott, Esq.]

My dear Sir, Sheerness, July 28th, 1801.

Many thanks for your letter, and until you are better provided for on shore, you may rely that I shall not pass you by. When the St. George arrives at Spithead, which may be daily expected, you had better see Captain Hardy, and when he and all your messmates return into the San Josef, you can take your post there again without a new warrant. At present my employment will never get me in a Ship larger than a Frigate.—Believe me ever your obliged

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Parker and Langford are here with me.

TO THE REVEREND MR. HOSTE.

[Autograph in the possession of Miss Conant.]

My dear Sir, Merton, November 13th, 1801.

I have to return you many thanks for your very friendly present of game, and Sir William and Lady Hamilton desier

me to say the same for them. I wish I could have congratulated you on your good son's being made Post, but I assure you that I have not the smallest interest at the Admiralty; had I been continued in the Mediterranean command he would have had it long since, but the then Admiralty chose to give it to Lord Keith, and he has made an immense fortune.—I beg you will ever believe me, my dear Sir, your most obliged NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO WILLIAM HASLEWOOD, ESQ.

[Autograph in the possession of William Haslewood, Esq.]

My dear Haslewood, 23, Piccadilly, 24th November.

I go down to Merton to dinner, and shall be on Friday in Town, as you wish me. I would only have you be assured that although the Cause may be given against me, yet that I am not the less sensible of your care and attention to my interest through every stage of this long trial, and of your personal regard for your much obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

If the cause is given against me, 'tis not worth the trouble of sending to Merton.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR.

[Autograph in the possession of Dr. Claxton.]

My Lord, London, November 28, 1801.

I was last night honored with your reply to my letter of the 20th, telling me that the subject of it should undergo an early and proper consideration. By the advice of a friend, I have now to request that your Lordship will consider my letter as withdrawn, as the discussion of the question may bring forward characters which had better rest quiet; but I own my opinion of the services of the Officers and Men who fought on the 2nd of April, is unaltered.—I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your Lordship's most obedient Servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN SUTTON.

[Autograph in the possession of Captain Ives Sutton.]

My dear Sutton, Merton, December 12th, 1801—very cold.

Lady Hamilton has had a letter from Charles Connor, saying he wants clothes, and shoes, and a hat; will you have

the goodness to have him looked at, and any clothes, shoes, &c., that he may want, be so good as to order, and send me the bill. If Banti is in the same plight, do the same for him, and send me his bill, that his parents may repay me directly. I wish you was ashore this bitter cold weather. The Papers are sending me out of the Kingdom, but I have no such intention. With kindest regards to Admiral and Mrs. Lutwidge, Sutton and all our friends, of all of this house, believe me, dear Sutton, ever your obliged

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Will you have the goodness to pay Charles' mess and washing bill, and the same for Banti.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNORS OF THE CHARTER HOUSE.

[From "Recollections of the Life of the Rev. A. J. Scott," pp. 78, 79.]

Merton, December 28th, 1801.

These are to certify that I have known the Rev. A. J. Scott from the year 1793, as a Chaplain in the Navy, and from what I have had the pleasure of knowing of him, and from all I have heard, I can testify that he is a Clergyman of the greatest respectability; and when I was in the Baltic, Mr. Scott upon various occasions, in interpreting Foreign letters, was of the greatest service; and I beg leave to recommend him to the Governors of the Charter House.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

WILLIAM PEARCE, ESQ., ADMIRALTY.

[Autograph in the possession of Miss Nichols.]

Dear Sir, Merton, January 1st, 1802.

I am much obliged by your letter, and shall thank you to expedite the order for my pay, &c. My Flag was struck from the Alexander at Leghorn, on July 13, 1800, but in different letters for table money, &c., when I acted as Commander-in-Chief [*sic*].—I am, dear Sir, your much obliged NELSON AND BRONTE[4].

[4] In February 1802, Lord Nelson received the following Letter from his venerable Father; and as he died in April following, aged 79, it was probably the last he ever wrote to his son:—

"My dear Horace, "February 26th, [1802.]

"*This* is a *title* that, with me, will ever supersede all others which the empire of the world can ever give to *you*; yet I am not unmindful, nor my gratifications

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ADDINGTON.

[Autograph in the Sidmouth Papers.]

My dear Sir, Merton, July 17th, 1802.

My brother will be at Norwich on Monday morning, and give a vote for Mr. Wodehouse. From my heart wishing a Parliament equal to your *truly* patriotic feelings, I am ever, yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO MR. BENJAMIN BAYNTON, JUNIOR, CHELSEA.

[Autograph in the possession of Commander Baynton.]

April 8th, 1803.

Mr. Benj. Baynton[5] has been six months on board Ship, to be received on board the Victory as a youngster in a class, but Lord Nelson has nothing to do with his money concerns: that his father must settle.

Mr. B. may join immediately, as the Ship is commissioned.

TO MRS. [COLMAN?]

[Autograph in the possession of William H. Ince, Esq.]

Madam, [Early in May, 1803.]

I certainly did not recollect my giving any promise for a ticket at the Installation Ball, for I am sure it is out of my power, there being 22 Knights to have tickets, makes the numbers of them to each so very small, and I begin to doubt whether there will be any Ball, as some of the Knights decline the expense.—With kind respects to Mr. Colman, I am your most obedient Servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

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small, that are derived from the honours you are so frequently receiving, I believing they are given by those who can distinguish merit; and I know you receive them as treasures entrusted to your care for the good of others, and the glory of Providence. But, my son, the post of honour is the post of danger; and to be exalted, is to be tempted. But God tempteth not man beyond what he is able to bear. Lady Hamilton's polite remembrance of me is very gratifying; for my mind is not so callous as to feel with indifference the notice or neglect of others. I have requested Mr. Wise to send for you at Merton the portrait of Sir Charles Turner, to add to your line of ancestors. My hands are weary. I pray God bless you. EDMUND NELSON.

"Your sister's family are slowly recovering."—*Autograph* in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.

[5] Now Commander Baynton.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ADDINGTON.

[Extract from the Autograph Letter in the Sidmouth Papers.]

My dear Sir, May 20th, Noon, Victory, 1803.

I am at last afloat, and shall sail about 4 o'clock to proceed off Brest. If Admiral Cornwallis is inferior to the French Fleet (which is very improbable), I am to leave this Ship and go on in the Amphion. If I get safe to my Command, you may rely that the most zealous endeavours shall be used by me to assist, all in my power, our friends and well wishers, and to distress our Enemies.

TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ADDINGTON.

[Autograph in the Sidmouth Papers.]

My dear Sir, May 23rd, 1803.

If the wisdom of my Superiors had not prevented me, at this moment I should have been on the Coast of Portugal. I was sent off Brest, where I was ordered to join Admiral Cornwallis: it now turns out that his Rendezvous is not near Brest. I have been on his Rendezvous, he is not there, therefore I am adrift as to guessing where to look for him; but I am standing in for the French Coast again, and if I cannot find him, I intend whenever the weather is sufficiently moderate to remove into the Amphion. I am aware of the importance of my getting to the Mediterranean, and I think I might safely have been allowed to proceed in the Victory. It blows very hard at N.N.E., so as to make it impossible for me to move. I will not say all I think. It is, however, clear from Admiral Cornwallis' Rendezvous, that he is sure that there can be no Brest Fleet, for if there is, with this wind they could pass him far to windward; and indeed as there is no Frigate off Brest, he could know nothing about them. You may rely that I will do my best, even in a Sloop of War. I can only work with such tools as my Superiors give me.—I beg you to believe me ever your most attached and faithful

NELSON AND BRONTE.

6 o'clock. Not finding Admiral Cornwallis, I am going on in the Amphion, to my sorrow, for I know the weight of the Victory in the Mediterranean. N. & B.

TO MR. CONNOR.

[From the Naval Chronicle, vol. xxx. p. 3.]

Dear Charles, [Apparently early in 1803.]

As Captain Hillyar has been so good as to say he would rate you Mid., I sincerely hope that your conduct will ever continue to deserve his kind notice, and protection, by a strict and very active attention to your duty. If you deserve well, you are sure of my assistance. Mr. Scott will furnish you with money to begin your mess, and I shall allow you thirty pounds a-year, if it be necessary, which Captain Hillyar will supply you with. And as you from this day start in the world as a man, I trust that your future conduct in life will prove you both an Officer and a Gentleman. Recollect that you must be a Seaman to be an Officer; and also that you cannot be a good Officer without being a Gentleman.—I am always with most sincere good wishes, your true friend

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO DOCTOR BAIRD.

[From "The Athenæum."]

My dear Sir, Victory, off Toulon, August, 1803.

I feel much obliged by your kind letter of July 3rd. Mr. Yates[6] shall be certainly attended to whenever the Amazon joins; we have such reports of Lord St. Vincent having left the Admiralty, that I am completely at a loss to whom to write, beyond the forms of Office, and, from your account of the bad state of his health, I fear that the report is true. As to my health, thank God, I have not had a finger ache since I left England. The Fleet is healthy; but the last Ships out, although they came to sea wretches, are, generally speaking, in the most healthy condition—they are in the best humour, which is a great conducer to health. I am obliged to turn myself to every corner which is open to us for supplies—from Malta the passage is so very long, that everything we have sent for has spoiled. I am now at work in Spain, and have procured some bullocks, and a good supply of onions—the latter we have found the greatest advantage from. It has appeared odd to me, but all the Ships' Companies who have served here under the War (I mean that have not been paid off) are full of the scurvy. I am sure, from the high opinion which I entertain of your judgment, that whatever regulations you have recommended will be of great use; the health of our

[6] Assistant Surgeon.

seamen is invaluable, and to purchase that, no expense ought to be spared. I shall answer the Board's letter relative to Mr. Bird[7], and I shall send occasionally to Gibraltar to inquire into the conduct of the Hospital. Are you going to establish an Hospital at Malta, or are we to go on the old way? When I send Dr. Snipe there, his report shall be sent to your Board. I beg my respects to Dr. Harness and Weir, and believe me, my dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful humble servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO GEORGE NOBLE, ESQ., MERCHANT, NAPLES.

[Autograph in the possession of George J. L. Noble, Esq.]

Dear Sir, September 4th, 1803.

There is an almost impossibility from one cause or other for this Fleet to get a supply of cattle from Naples or its environs, therefore I give it up, and am getting supplies from other places where no difficulty occurs, and that we only pay as we receive. I hope Naples will keep free from the French, although I cannot but lament that taxes are obliged to be paid to support these invaders.—I am, dear Sir, with many thanks for your kind offer of service, your very faithful and obliged NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO EDMUND NOBLE, ESQ., MALTA.

[Autograph in the possession of George J. L. Noble, Esq.]

My dear Sir, October 7th, 1803.

I have only a moment to thank you for your kind letter. I have desired Captain Schomberg and any Captain who may be at Malta senior to him, not to suffer the Fish Ships to lay a moment longer than is possible, for I well know what a loss it is. Our dear Lady Hamilton is well, and Mrs. Cadogan. I send your mail which causes my hurry, but I am, ever, my dear Noble, yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN SIR ROBERT BARLOW, H. M. SHIP TRIUMPH.

[Order-Book of H. M. Ship Triumph.]

Memorandum. Victory, October 10th, 1803.

Pursuant to directions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, you are hereby required and directed, on no

[7] Surgeon of Gibraltar Hospital.

account whatever, to send or carry any Ships or Vessels you may take as Prizes into the Ports of Portugal (except compelled to do so from stress of weather), or to use any of the said Ports as Naval Stations, for the purpose of carrying on from them hostilities against His Majesty's Enemies.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

MEMORANDUM.

[Order-Book of H. M. Ship Triumph.]

Victory, Madalena Islands, 7th November, 1803.

As some seamen have been sent on shore to the Military Hospital at Malta, without taking with them a statement of their case, and how they have been treated, it is my positive directions that in future, whenever a man is sent to the Military Hospital, that a statement of his case, and how he has been treated, be sent along with him, in order that the Medical Gentlemen belonging to the Hospital may know what has been done, in order to remove the disease.

And as a very improper letter has been written to Dr. Franklin for a representation made by him to a Captain of a Ship at Malta, to which he belonged, it is my directions in future, that if a Surgeon feels that the representation is not correct, that he states his objections to his Captain, that such steps may be taken as the case requires; and it is my positive directions, that no correspondence is entered into between the Surgeons of H. M. Ships and the Medical Gentlemen of the Hospital, as much detriment to the Service arises from it, and it is to be recollected that Dr. Franklin and the other Medical Gentlemen perform their services gratuitously to this Fleet. NELSON AND BRONTE[8].

[8] The following "Memorandums" issued by Lord Nelson's orders, were signed by the Captain of the Mediterranean Fleet:—

[Apparently about 22nd November, 1803.]

"If a Pendant is shown over Signal No. 36, it signifies that Ships are to engage on the Enemy's starboard side, whether going large, or upon a wind.

"If a Pendant is shown in like manner over No. 37, it signifies that Ships are to engage on the Enemy's larboard side, whether going large, or upon a wind. These additions to be noted in the Signal Book in pencil only.

"St. George's Ensigns are to be worn by every Ship in the Action. G. MURRAY."

"Victory, Madalena Islands, 12th February, 1804.

"A complaint having been made to the Commander-in-Chief that some sailors belonging to the Squadron had got into the house of a shepherd near the watering-place, when the Squadron was in Agincourt Sound, and had beat a shepherd, and behaved indecently to his wife—robbed the house of many things, among which were his fire-arms; that they afterwards met with a relation of the shepherd, who, knowing, the musket, wished to redeem it for his relation, and offered two sheep for that purpose, which they took, and would not then give him the

TO MR. JOSEPH KING, BOATSWAIN, GIBRALTAR.

[Autograph in the possession of the Reverend S. T. Sproston.]

Mr. King, Victory, December 5th, 1803.

I do not believe that it is in my power to relieve you from the duties of the Sheer Hulk, and to confine it to the yard; but if Commissioner Otway thinks that is proper, a line from him to the Admiralty or Navy Board, will obtain an order. I shall always be glad of being useful to you, as I am sure you will always deserve it.—I am ever your friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

MEMORANDUM.

[Order-Book of H. M. Ship Triumph.]

Victory, Madalena Islands, December 30th, 1803.

Having observed in some recent vouchers, that onions have been purchased when in Port, when the Purser could, and ought to, purchase vegetables to put into the Ships' Companies' soup, and that onions so purchased by Government for recruiting the health of the Ships' Companies, have been used for the benefit of the Purser, by putting those vegetables, which the Purser should be obliged to purchase when to be procured: it is therefore my positive directions that the Pursers are obliged to purchase vegetables for the Ship's soup, when it is possible to procure them, and that the Government onions are not used for the soup, if the Purser has the power of obtaining onions, or other vegetables, as he is bound to do. And it is my further directions, than whenever fresh provisions can be procured on reasonable terms, that it is purchased; but that onions for the account of Government are not purchased without my orders.

Ships absent for any length of time from me, are at liberty to purchase the gratuitous onions of Government for the recruiting the health of the Ships' Companies, who may have been long fed upon salt provisions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

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musket; and as the musket is now supposed to be in the Ship such sailors belong to, it is his Lordship's directions that every possible means are taken by the Captains of the Squadron, to find out if the said musket is on board their respective Ships, &c., that the offenders may be brought to justice, who have so disgraced the Squadron by their conduct; and it is his Lordship's further directions, that no person be permitted to remain on shore during the night.—G. MURRAY."—*Order-Book* of H. M. Ship Triumph.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

[Order-Book of H. M. Ship Triumph.]

Memorandum. Victory, Madalena Bay, 26th January, 1804.

Whereas it has been represented to me that the wine-pipes received from Malta by the Transports are very bad of their kind, and considerably deficient of their marked contents: in order therefore that the casks may be full when delivered into the charge of the Pursers, it is my positive directions that a Lieutenant and Master from the Ships appointed by the Captain of the Fleet, do proceed on board such Victualler or Transport, and see the bung started of each wine or spirit cask, in the presence of the Master of such Transport, and the casks filled up if found deficient, previous to their delivery; and they are also to attend to the ready dispatch of the different Ships' Boats, that the utmost expedition may be used in clearing such Vessels. Should bad weather, or other unavoidable circumstances, prevent this measure being carried into effect, the Captain of such Ship or Vessel which may receive wine or spirits from any Transport or Victualler, is hereby directed to order a Lieutenant, Master, and Master's Mate to attend to the provisions coming on board, and see the bung of every cask of wine or spirits started, and the casks (if deficient) filled up, that the strictest justice may be done between Government and individuals. The Purser will therefore only grant a receipt for what he actually receives, and the quantity taken to fill up the different casks certified at the bottom of such Vouchers by the Officers who attend to its being received accordingly.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO THE REVEREND MR. LANCASTER, MERTON.

[Autograph in the possession of Mrs. Ullock[9].]

My dear Sir, Victory, February 14th, 1804.

Many thanks for your kind letter, and for all the good wishes of my friends at Merton, who I shall some happy

[9] Mrs. Ullock, who is the daughter of Mr. Lancaster, in sending the Editor the above letter, thus feelingly bears testimony to Lord Nelson's private worth :—"In revered affection for the memory of that dear man, I cannot refrain from informing you of his unlimited charity and goodness during his residence at Merton. His frequently expressed desire was, that none in that place should want or suffer affliction that he could alleviate; and this I know he did with a most liberal hand, always desiring that it should not be known from whence it came. His residence at Merton was a continued course of charity and goodness, setting such an example of propriety and regularity that there are few who would not be benefited by following it."

day hope to thank in person. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to merit the continuance of their esteem by every exertion in my power to bring about an honourable and speedy Peace.—With my respectful compliments and good wishes to all your family, believe me ever, my dear Sir, your much obliged friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

You must excuse short letters, for my time will not afford to turn over the leaf.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

[Order-Book of H. M. Ship Triumph.]

Memorandum. Victory, at Sea, February 23rd, 1804.

As it is my intention to engage the Enemy as soon as possible, should we fall in with them during the nigh, the Fleet may expect that Signal No. 63 or 64 will be made. Lord Nelson has no doubt but that great attention will be paid, that none but Ships of the Enemy will be fired into, for which purpose it is recommended not only to be careful that the Signal-lights for knowing each other are clear, and well placed on the Signal-staff, but also that the Ship should be hailed, if there is the smallest doubt of her being a French Ship. NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO EDMUND NOBLE, ESQ., MALTA.

[Autograph in the possession of George J. L. Noble, Esq.]

My dear Noble, Victory, May 15th, 1804.

I have appointed your friend Mr. Street to the Triumph, this is the first vacancy I have had. Pray forward my letter to Mr. Gibbs. I am very unwell at this moment, therefore I can only say I am ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO MR. JOSEPH KING, BOATSWAIN, GIBRALTAR.

[Autograph in the possession of the Rev. S. T. Sproston.]

Mr. King, Victory, November 9th, 1804.

I am glad you have escaped the fever, and was very glad to hear from you, as I dare say everything must be very dear at

the Rock; therefore if you carry this letter to Mr. Cutforth, he will upon reading it give you one hundred Spanish dollars as a present from me, and he will be so good as to consider this as a sufficient order for the one hundred dollars.—I am your sincere friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN THE HONOURABLE COURTENAY BOYLE, H. M. SHIP SEAHORSE.

[Autograph in the possession of George Barker, Esq.]

My dear Boyle, Victory, April 2nd, 1805.

When the Transports arrive, you will compleat your provisions to three months, except bread, of which, if the allowance is not sent out for two months, you must only take a proportion, and continue your people at two-thirds allowance; but if the Agent Victualler has sent out the quantity ordered you, put your people to whole allowance, and compleat your bread.—Yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

[The fifteen following Letters were obligingly communicated by Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.; but, as they did not reach the Editor until this Volume was ready for publication, it was not possible to insert them in their proper places, nor among those in the Addenda. For the same reason they are not referred to in the List of Contents or Index. These Letters (which are printed literally from the copies sent to him), do not require many notes; because most of the subjects and persons mentioned in them occur in other parts of Lord Nelson's correspondence.]

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. —Part of this letter is printed in Vol. ii., p. 241, from Clarke and M'Arthur.]

Dear Sir, Captain, Bastia, August 16, 1796.

I arrived here this morning by Diadem, which is gone to Genoa, in her way to join you. I have answered all your letters, except those before me, which I take for granted came by the Barfleur. I was astonished to hear of Admiral Man's arrival. I wish Sir Hyde may get safe, but I should fear, unless Frigates from the Lisbon Station meet him, that Richerry may cruize off Cape St. Vincent for him. I have still my doubts as to a Spanish war, and if it is, with your management I have no fears as to any fatal consequences; their Fleet is ill-manned, and worse officered I fancy, and they are slow. Lord Bute's letter is pleasant for you; it paves the way very clear for your line of acting. Ministers seldom commit themselves in an opinion. I again wish we had our Ships and, I hope Man will forgive me, that he had not quite so soon quitted *at least* Gibraltar Bay; had he laid there, Richerry, from what we have heard, would not have ventured out. All Europe knows when Sir Hyde may be expected round Cape St. Vincent, and the invaluable things he brings for *us*. I have wrote what is impertinent, but I trust you will forgive me,—I will get to my business.

I send you a copy of a letter from Mr. Wyndham; all will be well I am satisfied, in our Leghorn Expedition, always provided Wurmser is victorious; upon this ground only have

I adopted the measure. We are impatient for the Battle of the 3rd. Reports are at Florence that the Austrians are checked, but at Leghorn no paper had been published of this event by the French on the 14th. The Vice-Roy thinks you will perhaps spare three Sail of the Line for a show at Leghorn. I have not given him much hopes, but in consequence of Admiral Man's very unexpected arrival, have ventured to keep the Captain for a few days, till your answer by Speedy, which I hope you will not disapprove. All the heavy stores are shipping here and at St. Fiorenzo, and twenty-four hours, when the opportunity offers, will be sufficient. I own I think it will be honourable in England to *only* assist the Tuscans in driving the French from Leghorn, or perhaps it will be to liberate the Tuscans,—but I know the Grand Duke is not averse to the Peasantry arming. I have spoken to the Vice-Roy about the light Vessels at Leghorn. His Excellency seems of opinion that it will be best to let them out; it will mark Leghorn as more desolate. All representations must have had their effect, but this the Vice-Roy will turn in his mind by to-morrow. I hope we shall have settled Leghorn before the Dons (if they intend it) come. I shall then hope I may be spared in my own person to help to make you at least a Viscount, which will give none more real satisfaction than your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

Mr. Porter must have done something for the French to allow him to ship property. I am glad Mr. W. made the application to you; I should certainly have refused him. Captain Stuart, when he can be spared from the duty of Fiorenzo, will join me at Leghorn, and then, should the Ship be immediately wanted, she can proceed direct for the Fleet without losing time by putting into Fiorenzo.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. This Letter is not dated, but it was evidently written on board the Captain, about August, 1796.]

My dear Sir,

I am sorry it has not been in my power in shewing my taste in choice of a suit for Lady Jervis, *but such things are*,—a Genoese war, who would have thought it; but I conceive the war to be inevitable,—they have all to lose, we all to gain. The French are active in cutting off our supplies, and I fear

they will at last induce Naples also to be hostile to us, especially if Wurmser gives up the game .* * * * * * * * The Captain gets on; I have made her as stiff a Ship as any in the Fleet, and carries a remarkably good helm, two qualities she never before possessed. If I could get her new coppered I should like it. If we avoid a Spanish war, could not such a thing be thought of? but as she is I will not have an idle day in her.—Ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

Dear Sir, March 5, 1797.

Captain Macnamara has been speaking to me about the poor wretch who was condemned to suffer death at Porto Ferrajo for three times deserting from the Speedy, and once attempting to desert. If strict justice and attending to the discipline of the Service is to be attended to, he is a proper object for an example, for the desertion of the present day from the Navy is too bad; but on the side of mercy, which I well know your inclination to hold forth, perhaps a respite to this wretch may have a proper effect, on the consideration of the gallant conduct of those Seamen who have remained faithful to their King and Country, and have not flown from their Defence in a time of war. I beg pardon for having wrote so much and freely; but Mac tells me you wished to speak to me on the subject.—Believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful,

HORATIO NELSON.

I am distressed at not getting out; but *hope* to accomplish it in the morning.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 1st, 1797.

By accounts from Madrid, Mr. Pitt went out of office on the 13th June, and the Spanish officer told ours everybody made sure of a speedy peace: now as to time it is very possible, if by express for the ordinary post is only eight days from Paris to Madrid, and allowing four days from London to Paris, would be in time for Madame Langara's letter of the 25th, but the news is confirmed in Cadiz by Thursday night's

post. From Vigo they have accounts that an English Squadron was off that place, and that the San Augustine was smoking ship to kill rats, which might make our Ships think she was on fire. I have now no doubt of Hood's success, as far as destroying her, or making them do it, to prevent her from falling into his hands, and this is the tale to be told in Spain in order to cover their disgrace. This wind will bring us our water, Bomb-vessels, &c., but the latter should not come near me till all matters are prepared ready for acting. I look upon peace as very near, and I wish we may have time to get hold of the Convoy before hostilities cease, for I expect the Spaniards will make a clause for them to cease the moment you hear of the Preliminaries being signed, that is, to prevent you giving any more hostile orders, and by this means save their wealth. I wish the Portuguese would make haste out, and let me be off. I send a scrap of paper from a Spanish officer. Will you have the goodness to order inquiry to be made, and as far as is proper, to answer it? I intended paying Mrs. Pigot a visit this morning, but the East wind prevents me. With best compliments to all, believe me your most faithful,

HORATIO NELSON.

By next Thursday you must have a Frigate from England; allowing the new Ministry seven days to take their seats. I by no means think it improbable, but the contrary, if Marquis of Lansdowne is Prime Minister, that we shall congratulate you on being at the head of the Admiralty. *I ask leave to go home.*

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. —Part of this letter is printed in Vol. ii., p. 409, from Tucker's "Memoirs of the Earl St. Vincent."]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 9th, 1797.

In the first place I congratulate you on the finish, as it ought, of the St. George's business; and I, (if I may be permitted to say so,) very much approve of its being so speedily carried into execution, even although it is *Sunday*. The particular situation of the Service required extraordinary measures. I hope the Kingfisher will end all our disorders in this Fleet; had there been the same determined spirit at home, I do not believe it would have been so bad,—not but I think Lord Howe's keeping back the first petition was wrong.

Our attempt last night was frustrated by a fresh of wind; it would at least have been *2* A.M. before we got up, and as

the execution was to take place this morning, I thought it better to defer it. I believe the Mortar-boats would have approached nearer had not some of our Ships opened a ridiculous fire. I was obliged to express my displeasure, which is not very well relished; *that I can't help.* If El Corso goes to Cockburn, I take the liberty of sending a letter, and I hope Grey will be able to collect some newspapers to send him. Troubridge and Ball have both some; if she goes I will beg them.

I have fixed the 10-inch Howitzer in the largest Mortar Boat, and we have near 200 shells for it, the other howitzers are 9 Spanish inches, but our 8-inch shells will answer perfectly well for them, and six Artillerymen, with a Serjeant or Corporal, will be quite sufficient. General O'Hara will send you, I hope, 200 or 300 8-inch shells with fuzees, &c., although I hear the *Tribune* of the People has alarmed him very much. The Bomb Vessel is repaired and ready to proceed whenever you order. I am confident, and my old acquaintance the Serjeant of Artillery confirms me in my opinion, that a sea mortar might be easily fixed in her by enlarging her main hatchway, and building a bed from the bottom, she is strong enough to bear it; but how sad it is that we have not two Bomb Vessels in the Fleet—Cadiz would be ours in a week; and we must force Spain into a Peace—we would destroy them from one end of Spain to the other. I still hope we have done enough to force out their Fleet, but in case we should not I will try them again, probably not to-night. I shall keep my letter to open for news by the Flag of Truce.

I have just received your letter relative to Mr. and Mrs. Simon; Mazarredo cannot object to their going into Cadiz. I shall forward them to him without delay.—Ever your most faithful, HORATIO NELSON.

I send two letters for England. The Spanish officers know no news whatsoever.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 11th, 1797.

Although you have reading enough to tire any eyes, yet I think it right to send you the reports from Cadiz, and shall one day beg something for Martin's friend. The people at Cadiz are told what destruction they have made amongst us,

and believe it; the Gun and Mortar Boats are, the very first calm night, to attack our Squadron, and if they succeed in either *destroying* some of us, or crippling our masts, then Mazarredo puts to sea to *destroy* you, therefore do not be surprised if you hear a cannonade; this is the chief purport of my writing. I am prepared.—Your's ever faithfully,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart, G.C.B.]

My dear Sir, Theseus, July 28, 1797.

I have omitted in the detail[1] to mention Lieutenant Baines. I beg to have inserted that I have every reason to be most perfectly satisfied with him, not only for the ardour with which he undertakes every service, but also with his professional skill. The Emerald this moment goes off. I am in great pain, God bless you, and believe me your most faithful,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. —Vide Vol. iii., p. 337.]

My dear Lord, Off Trapani, May 28th, 1799.

May God send you success against the Dons, for I hope the French are got into Toulon, and not near enough to prevent the complete conquest which I am sure you will make of them. Troubridge and Hallowell are now with me, and we wish we could fly for the honor of battle to your aid: this must be the last Campaign, for in Italy at this moment, except those in Mantua and Ancona, I am confident there is not a Frenchman; they are, thank God, going to the Devil as fast as we can wish. Peace, peace, blessed peace, we shall now have, I am sure of it. Our English Ships shall be ready for you in forty-eight hours. The Portuguese may be a little longer. Niza is as good a young man as ever lived, and I began properly with him and we are like brothers. *A propos*

* * * * * * *

I did it in Council with the Queen and Lady Hamilton, and they are not bad Counsellers, and they both *love you.*

[1] Of the Attack on Teneriffe, vide Vol. ii., p. 418.

Palermo, May 30th, 1799.

I have not heard of Ball leaving Malta. Bonne Citoyenne returns directly with my orders to him.—God bless you, and give you victory, and ever believe me your affectionate

NELSON.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. —Vide Vol. iv., p. 275.]

My dear Lord, San Josef, Cawsand Bay, January 22nd, 1801.

Without orders here we are, and I may say, I believe, take her altogether, in the finest Ship in the world. With sleet and rain, ropes stiff, and sails half set, very squally, she works like a Cutter, and I firmly believe will beat most of our Frigates; the Master-Attendant and Pilot declare they never had so little trouble with a Sloop of War. I hope there will be orders to complete our complement and the Ship be paid on Saturday. On Sunday we shall get rid of all our *women*, *dogs*, and *pigeons*, and on Monday, with the lark, I hope to be under sail for Torbay, where I trust San Josef will become a perfect Man-of-War.—With every kind wish to yourself and party, believe me, my dear Lord, your obliged and affectionate

NELSON.

The Ship has 100 tons too much weight in her, and yet 400 tons less than recommended to Captain Hardy.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, January 24th, 1801.

Many thanks for your letter, but, to say the truth, I had rather been under your immediate command: my wish, and in which I hope you will assist me, is to keep San Josef for me to return to, if I outlive the Baltic. In ten weeks from sailing we must have finished, if not, more shame for us, for I am convinced the Combined Fleet will put to sea. I have no orders, or are we manned: to-day I gave up paying the Namurs, in order to hasten the departure of the Triton, I hope it will answer. I long to get to Torbay, and believe me ever, my dear Lord, your obliged and affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Plymouth, January 28th, 1801.

As I should hope our Baltic trip could not last eight *weeks*, for we must either get at some of the Fleets before that time, for we shall be crippled, and not fit to seek new Enemies. If we succeed, and succeed we must, or shew strong reasons why we could not, the other Powers will think seriously of their situation. I find Lord Spencer will not hear of any Troops even for a sudden debarkation to storm a Battery, and as I am only an underling I have only to obey, and do my utmost to fulfil the wishes and expectations of my superiors. Lord Spencer will get my letter[a] where I again strongly request that the San Josef may be held for me till my return to you, and I shall feel grateful for your seconding me, for I have not the smallest interest. As far as relates to Captain Hardy the Ship is ready, the Namur's all paid the advance and the Marines, and every woman out of the Ship; we can do no more, and I hope this post will produce orders to man us and to proceed to Torbay. The Marines, I believe, will want a very serious inspection, they have no strength and half of them cannot look over the poop hammocks; but more of this when we meet. I did not wish to begin a scene here; I should perhaps have been thought impertinent and troublesome, for, except in two or three Captains, I see such slackness that in the Mediterranean I have not been used to; and it requires a man of our friend Collingwood's firmness to keep some of them to their duty. Your secret letters, my dear Lord, never transpire, and I hope that this Campaign will be put to issue on the seas, for if Bonaparte wishes to impress France with the idea that it is absolutely necessary she should have an influence on the sea by beating our Fleets, I trust he will miserably fail in that attempt, and we may then obtain something like a tolerable peace,—a solid one I see no prospect of getting. My eyes are from some cause within these two days got much worse after noon, they are so much used that I can scarcely see any object; but for ever, my dear Lord, believe me your obliged and affectionate Friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I beg my respects to Lady St. Vincent, Mrs. Carey, &c. Lady Nelson writes me that she has taken the liberty of send-

[a] Vide Vol. iv., p. 274.

ing a packet of papers to your care; pray keep them till we meet.

Collingwood's wife and child arrived at 7 o'clock last evening, 2 P.M[s].

Just received an order to put myself under your orders, but no order is come to man the Ship.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, January 30th, 1801.

If you believe these damned French Ships are escaped, let me offer myself a willing candidate to follow; the San Josef will do, nay, she shall do. Send me once more under your confidential orders, and believe me that I will again try and fulfill them. I dare not say more, only believe that my pride and pleasure would be to get at them; and if they are gone to Egypt, to save *Lord Keith* and that Army. San Josef is under sail to-morrow, at 1 P.M. I shall keep her in the Channel all night to try her. I mean to arrive in Torbay Sunday noon. Sir Charles Cotton has undertaken the management of the Ships under your orders. Beaulieu has a rotten foremast. I received your public letter this morning. We are manned with tolerable ordinary and landsmen, and, except marines, will do. With my best respects to Lady St. Vincent, Mrs. Carey, and party, believe me as ever your obliged and affectionate,

NELSON.

I congratulate you on the success of the Magicienne. Captain Ogilvie thinks she is worth 70,000*l.*, a French Ship from the Isle of France, and tells me he has wrote you.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Amazon, Sept. 23, 1801.

Your letter of the 21st came to me too late to reply to it, and you will, I trust, give me credit that I never could have meant that the thing was possible for either the Board of Admiralty or any Member of it to be envious of any success attending

[s] Vide Vol. iv., p. 277.

my endeavours. As our friend Troubridge supposed, the thing was impossible. The people at the watering-places have been very free in their conversations, and I believe the Mayor of Deal either put a vagabond in prison, or sent him out of town, for arraigning my conduct in being careless of poor Seamen's lives; but I trouble not my head on these matters; my conscience tells me that I do my best. You will easily believe that I should have liked to have tried the business at Goree, but the objections to it were innumerable. You would have had Dickson and all of us, *the Service*. If success attended it, it would be said, 'Aye, the Admiralty gave from partiality this to their favourite,' (for I do flatter myself I am a favourite.) If it miscarried, then it would be said,—'That vain man, Nelson, thought he could do what no one else could, and his friends at the Admiralty had folly enough to believe his impossible schemes.'

I feel myself, my dear Lord, as anxious to get a Medal, or a step in the Peerage as if I never had got either,—for 'if it be a sin to covet glory, I am the most offending soul alive,'—I could lose only a few Boats. If I succeeded and burnt the Dutch Fleet, probably Medals and an Earldom. I must have had every desire to try the matter, regardless of the feelings of others; but I should not have been your Nelson that wants not to take honours or rewards from any man; and if ever I feel great, it is, my dear Lord, in never having, in thought, word, or deed, robbed any man of his fair fame.

That Wardrooms will prate, I believe, none of us can doubt, and it has its bad effects. The Boat service I believe is got very unpopular. G—— flogged some of his chaps severely for some very improper expressions. They belonged to the Unité, who was, I fancy, in very bad order. I assure you, my dear Lord, that I do not believe any Admiral could be better supported than I am by all the Captains under me. Ever believe me, my dear Lord, your obliged, attached, and affectionate NELSON AND BRONTE.

Forgive my troubling you with this long letter.

Parker[4] is a little better this morning, but his situation very critical. I know no one equal in abilities and kindness to Dr. Baird, he truly deserves your patronage.

[4] Vide Vol. iv., pp. 429, et seq.

TO ADMIRAL THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B.]

My dear Lord, Victory, off Toulon, Oct. 17, 1803.

Your letter of June 17th, recommending Lieutenant Peter Parker and three gentlemen to be made Lieutenants, I only received on the evening of October 6th, by the Childers. Mr. Percy is promoted into the Medusa, and if I had received your letter sooner, the others should likewise have been disposed of. I shall be very happy in receiving your nephew Captain Parker under my command, and as the French Frigates have begun to move about, I hope the Amazon will fall in with one; and I assure you, my dear Lord, that in any way in my power I shall be happy in being useful to Captain Parker, whose character stands very high. I was quite vexed that I had not received the Admiralty directions respecting the arrangements for the Ambuscade and Weazle before I had given my acting orders, and as I had anticipated the Board's directions respecting promoting Captain Durban, and had not the smallest notice of their wishes, I hope the Board will confirm my nomination of Lieutenant Layman. Mr. Parker shall have the first vacancy which offers as Commander, and Mr. Granville as Lieutenant. Sir Richard Bickerton wishes to keep Captain Stuart with him; he is a very excellent young man, and has all the traits for making an excellent seaman and naval officer. As for George Elliot, Sir Richard Strachan, under whose command he is placed, is in raptures with his conduct.

With respect to the state of the Fleet here, as I observed to you before, they expected every day to go home, and therefore thought it was not necessary to do anything to their Ships, except to be prepared for a passage home; therefore when war came, and they had been six weeks at sea, they had literally nothing on board. However by a little time, summer months, and stores, provisions and refreshments from Spain, the scurvy is eradicated. We are supplied for a voyage to Madras, and as far as we can do, the Ships are complete in every sense of the word, and in the highest health. Their hulls, rather say bottoms, are beyond me, and for the sake only of such very fine Ships I wish they were docked. In parting with them I am sensible that I can never expect Ships so well manned. The wants of the Fleet, as far as relates to the abilities of the Captains, when I mention Keats, Sir Robert Barlow, you will agree with me can in no hands be so

readily remedied as by such men. There is nothing except turn the Ship keel out at sea that we cannot accomplish.

The French Fleet in Toulon have never been reported less than seven of the Line, and for this last fortnight eight Sail of the Line ready for sea, which I suppose included the Neptune, new 80-gun Ship; a 74 is repairing in the arsenal. I hope by management always to keep with me six Sail of the Line; at present we are Victory, Kent, Superb, Triumph, Belleisle, and Renown. The Canopus went, twenty-two days ago, to the Madalena Islands to water, she has not returned, and I am uneasy about her. Triumph next goes to water, then Kent. It is my intention to run with the Squadron in the ensuing moonlight nights to look at the Madalena Islands, and I shall also take another opportunity of anchoring the Squadron in St. Peter's, where I anchored the Vanguard when dismasted[5]; our gales have been very violent, but we have no accidents since the first gale of July. I have as many destinations sent me of the French Fleet as there are Countries who are interested; however, I hope some happy day to see them along side of us, and then I flatter myself their expedition will be spoiled. With respect to raising Maltese for the Fleet, I have answered the Admiralty on that head; not half a Maltese is to be procured, and I have almost a complaint of our Ships pressing men from the Runners, because they induce Maltese to enter, and they carry them from the Island. But my dear Lord all this does not surprise me, I saw it long before Malta came into our possession: I know how to appreciate the full value of it, and I think I know when to stop and not overrate its value. We have not been able to draw from it off Toulon as much refreshments as would have kept a Sloop of War in health; the passages in summer are dreadful, and in winter for a Transport impossible, but from our situation with Spain as yet we have not wanted for any thing.

October 22nd.

Canopus has not yet joined, she is a month absent this day, and our weather is so uncertain that this day week I sent Renown to look into Toulon, and she has not joined; a vessel spoke from Marseilles yesterday say they have nine of the Line at Toulon—that agrees with us, eight ready, one 74 repairing. I have increased Captain Cracroft's Squadron to watch the French Army in the heel of Italy with two very fine Sloops, Arrow and Bittern. I leave myself bare in order that other services should not be starved, but my Squadron for their

[5] Vide Vol. ii., p. 17.

numbers are certainly not to be exceeded, and the Country may hope every thing from them, should the Enemy give us an opportunity. Spain is far from friendly, although she may not be at war. I have sent to our Minister at Madrid an order given to our Consuls, and I now send a letter of Mr. Blankeny's to Lord Hobart. We may be forced to go to war with them if they go on ill treating us.—I am ever my dear Lord, with sincere good wishes, your affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES MORICE POLE, BART.

[Autograph in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart., G.C.B. —Sir Charles Morice Pole was one of Lord Nelson's early friends, vide Vol. i., p. 37 *n.*]

My dear Pole, Victory, May 25th, 1804.

Where your letter of December 20th has been travelling to I cannot guess, but it only arrived to me in the Leviathan on the 12th instant. I assure you that I most sincerely wish to promote Brown[6], who is an ornament to our Service; but alas! nobody will be so good as to die, nor will the French kill us. What can I do? but I live in hopes, as the French keep playing about the mouth of Toulon harbour, that some happy day I shall be able to get a blow at them. My system is the very contrary of blockading, therefore, I for one shall not be entitled to those thanks which the newspapers say the City of London mean to give the Blockading Squadrons. I would no more accept thanks for what I was conscious I did not merit, than I would refuse them, and feel hurt at their not being given for a great victory, and it is curious I am likely to be placed in both situations[7]; but such things are.

I am sure Lord St. Vincent ought to feel grateful for your zealous support of his measures[8]; and I hope you will stand by the Navy against all attempts to have Soldiers placed in our Ships independent of the Naval Act of Parliament from whatever quarter it may be attempted. When that takes place there is an end of our Navy,—there cannot be two Commanders in one Ship.

We are all as happy as a set of animals can be who have been in fact more than a year at sea; or rather not going on

[6] Apparently Lieutenant Brown of the Victory, who is mentioned in Vol. vi., p. 316, and in p. 178 ante.

[7] Vide Vol. iv., p. 524, and Vol. vi., p. 124.

Sir Charles Pole was then a Member of the House of Commons.

shore, for with the exception of anchoring under the North end of Sardinia, not a Ship has been to a Naval yard for refitting. Hope keeps us up.

I beg my respectful compliments to Lady Pole; and believe me ever, my dear Sir Charles, most affectionately yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

LORD NELSON'S WILL AND CODICILS.

COPY OF LORD NELSON'S WILL AND CODICILS.

[Will, dated 10 May, 1803.]

THIS is the last Will and Testament of me, Horatio Viscount Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk, and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Duke of Bronté, in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily. First, in the event that I shall die in England, I direct my executors hereinafter named (unless His Majesty shall signify it to be his pleasure that my body shall be interred elsewhere), to cause my body to be interred in the Parish Church of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk aforesaid, near the remains of my deceased father and mother, and in as private a manner as may be. And I direct that the sum of one hundred pounds shall be divided amongst the poor of the several parishes of Burnham Thorpe, Sutton, and Norton, all in the County of Norfolk; that is to say, one-third part to the poor of each of the said parishes, the same to be distributed at the discretion of the respective Curates or officiating Ministers of those parishes, and in such manner and proportions, and to such objects as they respectively shall think fit. And I give and bequeath to Emma Lady Hamilton, widow of the Right Honorable Sir William Hamilton, Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, my Diamond Star, as a token of my friendship and regard; I likewise give and bequeath to the said Emma Lady Hamilton the Silver Cup marked E. H., which she presented to me. I give and bequeath to my brother the Reverend William Nelson, Doctor in Divinity, the Gold Box presented to me by the City of London. Also I give and bequeath to the said William Nelson the Gold Sword presented to me by the Captains who fought with me at the Battle of the Nile. Also I give and bequeath to my sister Catherine Matcham, the Sword presented to me by the City of London. Also I give and bequeath to my sister Susannah Bolton, the Silver Cup presented to me by the Turkey Company. Also I give and bequeath to Alexander Davison, of St. James's-square, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, my Turkish Gun, Scimitar and Canteen. Also I give and bequeath to my late Captain and worthy friend Captain Hardy, all my Telescopes and Sea Glasses, and one hundred pounds in money, to be paid three months after my death. And I give and bequeath the

sum of one hundred pounds to each of my executors, hereinafter named, to be paid or retained at the end of three months from my death. And I give and bequeath to my before-named brother, William Nelson, and William Haslewood, of Craven-street, in the Strand, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, all the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and personal estate, whatsoever, and wheresoever, (except the household goods and furniture, wines, plate, china, linen, pictures and prints, which shall be in my house at Merton, at my decease, and also except my diamond sword, and jewels, hereinafter bequeathed, and also except any other articles which I do, or shall, or may by this my Will, or by any Codicil or Codicils hereto, otherwise bequeath and dispose of); To hold to them, their executors, administrators, and assigns, upon trusts, and for the ends, intents, and purposes hereinafter limited, expressed, declared, and contained of, and concerning the same: viz. upon trust that they the said trustees, and the survivor of them, and the executors and administrators of such survivor, do and shall as soon as may be after my death, convert into money such parts of the same personal estate as shall not consist of money, and do and shall lay out and invest in the purchase of three pounds per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities so much and such part of the same money, and also of the money which shall belong to me at my death, as by the dividends, interest, and income thereof will produce the clear yearly sum of one thousand pounds, and do and shall stand and be possessed of the said Bank Annuities upon trust, that from time to time during the natural life of Frances Herbert Viscountess Nelson, my wife, they the said trustees and the survivor of them, and the executors or administrators of such survivor, do and shall permit and suffer or authorize and empower the said Viscountess Nelson, my wife, and her assigns, to receive and take the dividends, interest, and income of the same Bank Annuities, when and as the same shall become due and payable, in addition to all the other provisions made by me at any time heretofore for her, and in addition to the sum of four thousand pounds lately given by me to her, and which sum of four thousand pounds it is my will that she shall retain; I direct and declare that the provision made for her by this my Will, and also the said four thousand pounds shall be accepted and taken by her in lieu and full satisfaction of all dower, right, and title of dower and freebench of her the said Viscountess Nelson, my wife, of and in all or any of the freehold and copyhold lands and hereditaments of which I am now seised or possessed, or of which I have been or shall be seised or posses-

sed at any time during her coverture by me. And I also declare and direct that in case the annual income to arise or be produced from the Bank Annuities to be purchased with the residue of my personal estate shall be insufficient to answer and pay the sum of one thousand pounds a year, then the deficiency shall be answered to the said Viscountess Nelson, my wife, out of the rents, issues, and profits of my barony, town, and feud lands, and hereditaments in Farther Sicily, hereinafter devised; and I charge the rents, issues, and profits thereof, with the payment of the said yearly sum of one thousand pounds, or such part thereof as the Bank Annuities to be purchased with the residue of my personal estate shall be insufficient to answer and pay, so that in all events the said Viscountess Nelson, my wife, shall be entitled to receive a clear annual income of one thousand pounds during her natural life, provided always that nothing contained in this my Will shall extend or be construed to subject my real estates in England to the payment of the said annuity of one thousand pounds or any part thereof. And upon further trust that my said trustees, or the survivor of them, or the executors or administrators of such survivor, do and shall on my decease pay and divide the surplus of my residuary personal estate which shall remain after investing such part thereof in three per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, as shall be sufficient to produce one thousand pounds a-year, as aforesaid; and also on the decease of the survivor of me and my said wife, do and shall pay, transfer, assign, and distribute the said Bank Annuities, to be purchased as aforesaid, to answer the said sum of one thousand pounds a-year unto and amongst the said William Nelson, Susannah Bolton, and Catherine Matcham, or such of them as shall be living at those respective periods, and the issue of such of them as shall have departed this life in the mean time, leaving issue then living to be divided between them in such manner that they may take their respective shares as tenants in common, and so and in such manner and in such proportions that the issue of deceased parents may as between themselves take as tenants in common and per stirpes and not per capita, and so as no person or persons may take under the description of issue unless his, her, or their parent or parents respectively shall have departed this life, as to the said Bank Annuities in the lifetime of the survivor of myself and my said wife. And as to the said surplus of my residuary personal estate in my life time, provided always and in case a pension or pensions to the amount or value of one thousand pounds a-year or upwards, shall in my life time be granted to the said Vis-

countess Nelson, my wife, by His Majesty or by Parliament, then and in that case the said sum of one thousand pounds a-year to be granted to her a saforesaid, shall be in lieu of the provision of one thousand pounds a-year hereby made for her, and then and in that case the same provision shall cease and be void, and in that case the whole of my residuary personal estate shall be divisible and distributable on my death in the same or the like manner and to the same persons, and in the same proportions as if the death of my said wife had taken place at the instant of my death. And in pursuance and in exercise and execution of all and every power and powers, authority and authorities, enabling me in this behalf, I nominate and appoint the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, and their heirs and assigns, to succeed on my death to the Dutchy of Bronté, in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, and the town and estate of Bronté in the same Kingdom, and all and singular the messuages, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, immunities, franchises, and hereditaments, situate in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, which were granted to me by His present Majesty Ferdinand, by the Grace of God King of both Sicilies and Jerusalem, Infant of Spain, Duke of Parma, Piacenza, Castro, &c., Great Prince of Tuscany, &c., by letters patent or other instrument bearing date on or about the tenth day of the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and all other the dutchies, towns, estates, messuages, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, immunities, franchises, and hereditaments situate in the said Kingdom of Farther Sicily, of which I am seised, or over which I have any power of nomination or appointment, nevertheless upon, under, and subject to the trusts, and for the ends, intents, and purposes, hereinafter expressed, declared, and contained of, and concerning the same, and I give and devise the same dutchies, towns, estates, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, unto and to the use of the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, their heirs and assigns for ever, nevertheless, upon the trusts and to and for the ends, intents, and purposes, and under and subject to the powers, provisoes, and limitations hereinafter limited, expressed, declared, and contained of and concerning the same: viz. upon trust that they my said trustees, or the survivor of them, or the heirs or assigns of such survivor, do and shall immediately after my decease, or as soon afterwards as circumstances will admit, at the costs and charges of my trust estate, or the rents, issues, and profits thereof, settle, convey, and assure the said dutchies, towns, estates, messuages, lands, tenements, and heredit-

aments, with their rights, royalties, members, privileges, and appurtenances, to the uses, upon the trusts, and for the ends, intents; and purposes, and under and subject to the powers, provisoes, and limitations, hereby directed to be limited, expressed, and declared concerning the same, if the laws and customs of the said Kingdom of Farther Sicily, or of the said Dutchy of Bronté, will admit; and if the same cannot in all respects be effected by the laws and customs of the same Kingdom or dutchy, then in such manner and form as in the opinion and discretion of my trustee or trustees for the time being will be consistent with the laws and customs of the same Kingdom or dutchy, and best or nearest correspond with the same uses, trusts, ends, intents, and purposes, powers, provisoes, and limitations: that is to say, to the use of the said William Nelson and his assigns, for and during the term of his natural life, without impeachment of or for any manner of waste; and from and after the determination of the estate hereby limited to the use of the said William Nelson for his life as aforesaid, then to the use of the said William Nelson and William Haslewood and their heirs, for and during the natural life of the said William Nelson, upon trust, to support the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited, and protect the same from being defeated or destroyed, and for that purpose to make entries and bring actions as occasion shall require; yet nevertheless to permit and suffer the said William Nelson and his assigns to receive and take the rents and profits of my said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily during the term of his natural life; and from and after the decease of the said William Nelson, then to the use of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and all and every other son and sons of the body of the said William Nelson, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally, successively, and in remainder one after another, in order and course as they respectively shall be in seniority of age and priority of birth, and of the several and respective heirs male of the body and bodies of all and every such son and sons lawfully issuing, every elder of such sons, and the heirs male of his body issuing being always to be preferred, and to take before every younger of the same sons and the heirs male of his body issuing; and, in default of such issue, to the use of the said Susannah Bolton and her assigns, for and during the term of her natural life, without impeachment of or for any manner of waste; and from and after the determination of that estate by forfeiture or otherwise, in the lifetime of the said Susannah Bolton, to the use of the said William

Nelson and William Haslewood, and their heirs, during the natural life of the said Susannah Bolton, in trust to preserve and support the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited from being defeated or destroyed, and for that purpose to make entries and bring actions as the case shall require; but, nevertheless, to permit and suffer the said Susannah Bolton, and her assigns, to receive and take the rents, issues, and profits thereof during her natural life; and from and after the decease of the said Susannah Bolton, to the use of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and all and every other son and sons of the body of the said Susannah Bolton, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally and successively, and in remainder one after another, in order and course as they respectively shall be in seniority of age and priority of birth, and of the several and respective heirs male of the body and bodies of all and every such son and sons lawfully issuing, every elder of such sons, and the heirs male of his body issuing, being always to be preferred and to take before every younger of the same sons, and the heirs male of his body issuing; and, in default of such issue, to the use of the said Catherine Matcham, and her assigns, for and during the term of her natural life, without impeachment of or for any manner of waste, and from and after the determination of that estate by forfeiture or otherwise in her life time, to the use of the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, and their heirs, during the natural life of the said Catherine Matcham; in trust to preserve and support the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited from being defeated or destroyed; and for that purpose to make entries and bring actions as the case may require; but, nevertheless, to permit and suffer the said Catherine Matcham, and her assigns, to receive and take the rents, issues, and profits thereof, during her natural life; and from and after the decease of the said Catherine Matcham, then to the use of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and all and every other son and sons of the body of the said Catherine Matcham, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, severally, successively, and in remainder one after another in order and course as they respectively shall be in seniority of age and priority of birth, and of the several and respective heirs male of the body and bodies of all and every such son and sons lawfully issuing, every elder of such sons and the heirs male of his body issuing, always to be preferred, and to take before every younger of the same sons, and the heirs male of his body issuing; and, in default of such issue, to the use of my own right heirs. And I hereby authorise and empower

my said trustees, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, at any time or times after my decease, at his and their will and pleasure to sell and dispose of all or any part of my real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, for such price or prices in money, or for such equivalent or recompense in lands; and also to make sale and dispose of or convey in exchange the lands and hereditaments to be purchased and taken in exchange under the provision hereinafter contained, as to them, my said trustees, or the survivor of them, or the heirs or assigns of such survivor shall seem reasonable; and upon receipt of any money to arise or be produced from the sale of my said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, or from the sale of the said lands and hereditaments to be purchased and taken in exhange for my said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, to lay out the same in the purchase of any freehold estates held in fee simple, and situate in England, Ireland, or the principality of Wales: and I hereby declare that the lands and hereditaments to be purchased with the money to arise from the sale of my said estate in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, and from the sale of the said lands and hereditaments to be purchased and taken in exchange for my said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, and also the lands and hereditaments to be taken in exchange for the same respectively, and the rents, issues, and profits of the said lands and hereditaments respectively, shall be held upon the same or the like uses, and upon the same or the like ends, intents, and purposes, and charged and chargeable in such manner as is hereinbefore expressed or declared of and concerning my said real estate in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, or as near as may be and the change of circumstances will admit. And I hereby declare that the receipts of my said trustees, or the survivor of them, or the heirs or assigns of such survivor, shall be good and sufficient acquittances and discharges to such purchaser or purchasers for the purchase money for which the said lands and hereditaments shall be sold, or for so much thereof as in such receipt or receipts shall be expressed or acknowledged to be received, and that such purchaser or purchasers, his, her, or their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, shall not afterwards be obliged to see to the application of the same purchase money, or be answerable for the mis-application or non-application of the same; and that the person or persons respectively who shall take any lands or hereditaments in the way or nature of an exchange under this present power, shall not be obliged to see the lands or here-

ditaments to be given in the way or nature of an exchange, settled or conveyed upon the trusts hereinbefore directed to be declared of and concerning the same. And I hereby will and direct that all persons who by virtue of this my Will shall come into the possession of my real estates hereby devised, or the lands and hereditaments to be purchased or taken in exchange under the provision hereinbefore contained, shall have power to make leases or grants of the same or any part thereof as to my real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily according to the usual and accustomed mode of leasing or granting the same, as to any lands or hereditaments in England, Ireland, or Wales, to be purchased or taken in exchange as aforesaid for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, so as the usual covenants be contained in such leases and the full annual rent be reserved and no fine taken on granting the same. And I direct that provisions or powers to the same or the like effect shall be contained in the settlement or settlements to be made as aforesaid. And that if my intention and the provisions of this my Will may be more effectually accomplished through the medium of a trust than by an actual settlement, then I direct that it shall and may be lawful to and for my trustee or trustees for the time being to retain the legal estate of my said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily until all the trusts hereinbefore declared of the same real estates shall have been fully accomplished and performed. And I also direct that in the mean time after my death, and until such settlement shall be made, the rents and profits which shall become due for the said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, shall belong and be payable and paid to, or be received and taken by the person or persons respectively, who for the time being, and from time to time, would be entitled to the same rents and profits in case such settlement as aforesaid was actually made, and in the same manner and proportions as he or they respectively would be entitled to the same rents and profits, in case such settlement had been made. And I give and bequeath the diamond-hilted Sword given to me by His said Sicilian Majesty, the diamond Aigrette presented to me by the Grand Signior, my Collar of the Order of the Bath, Medals of the Order of Saint Ferdinand and Insignia of other Orders, to the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, in trust that the same may be held as or in the nature of heirlooms as far as the rules of law and equity will permit, and belong to and be taken and enjoyed by the person or persons respectively, who under or by virtue of the lim-

itations contained in this my Will, shall for the time being be entitled to the possession of my real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, or the lands and hereditaments to be purchased and taken in exchange in lieu thereof under the provisions hereinbefore contained: Provided always, and it is my will that the same Sword and Jewels, or any of them, shall not vest absolutely in any person or persons being tenant or tenants in tail under this my Will, unless he or they respectively shall attain the age of twenty-one years, or die under that age, leaving issue male living at his or their death or respective deaths, but as far as the rules of law and equity will admit shall belong to the person or persons to whom my said real estates in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, or the lands and hereditaments to be purchased and taken in exchange under the provision hereinbefore contained, would under the limitations of this my Will in that event have belonged, descended, devolved, or remained. And I give and devise unto the said Emma Lady Hamilton, her heirs and assigns, my capital messuage at Merton in the County of Surrey, and the out-houses, offices, gardens, and pleasure grounds belonging thereto, and such and so many and such parts of my grounds, farms, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the several parishes of Merton, Wimbledon, and Mitcham, or any of them, as together with and including the site of the said messuage, out-houses, offices, gardens, pleasure grounds, shrubbery, canal, and mote, shall not exceed seventy acres as shall be selected by the said Emma Lady Hamilton within six months after my decease, such selection to be testified by some deed or instrument in writing under her hand and seal. And I further direct that all money due on the security of the same messuage and other hereditaments at my death shall be paid and satisfied out of my personal estate and out of the money arising from the sale of the residue of the said farm, under the directions hereinafter contained in exoneration of the said messuage and other hereditaments so devised to and for the benefit of the said Emma Lady Hamilton as aforesaid. And I give and devise unto the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, their heirs and assigns, all the residue of my lands and grounds situate in the parishes of Merton, Wimbledon, and Mitcham, aforesaid, or so much thereof as shall not be by me sold and conveyed or otherwise disposed of in my life time, and also in the mean time till selection thereof as aforesaid by the said Emma Lady Hamilton as to such part or parts thereof as are to be or may be selected by the said

Emma Lady Hamilton as aforesaid, to hold the same unto and to the use of the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, their heirs and assigns for ever, upon trust that they the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, do and shall as soon as conveniently may be after my decease, sell and dispose of the same lands and hereditaments, either together and in one lot, or in parcels and several lots, and either by public auction or private contract, as to the said William Nelson and William Haslewood, and the survivor of them, his heirs and assigns shall seem meet, and convey the same when sold unto the person or persons who shall agree to become the purchaser or purchasers thereof, and to his, her and their heirs and assigns for ever, or for such person or persons, and for such uses, ends, intents and purposes, as he, she, or they shall direct or appoint. And I hereby declare and direct that the receipt or receipts of my said trustee or trustees for the time being shall be good, valid, and sufficient acquittance and discharge, or acquittances and discharges, to the person or persons respectively, who shall agree to become the purchaser or purchasers of all or any or any part of my said lands and hereditaments hereby directed to be sold for all or any part of the money to arise by sale thereof, or for so much thereof as by such receipt or receipts respectively shall be acknowledged to be received; and that thereupon the person or persons respectively, who shall agree to become the purchaser or purchasers of all or any part of my said lands and hereditaments hereby directed to be sold, shall not be answerable or accountable for the misapplication or non-application of all or any part of the money to arise by sale of the same lands and hereditaments, after paying his, her, or their purchase-money to my said trustee or trustees for the time being, or to his, her, or their order. And I also further direct that the money to arise by sale of all or any part of my said lands and hereditaments hereby directed to be sold, shall (after a deduction of all costs and charges attending such sale or sales as aforesaid) be added to and deemed a part of the residue of my personal estate hereinbefore given and bequeathed, and follow and be subject to all the dispositions, limitations, and trusts hereinbefore declared of the same, and in increase of the primary fund for payment of my debts; and that in the meantime, and until such sale or sales shall be made, the rents, issues, and profits of my said lands and hereditaments hereby directed to be sold, or such part or parts thereof as from time to time shall remain unsold, shall be held in trust

for, go to, and be paid and applied and received by the person or persons respectively, who, for the time being, would, under and by virtue of the trusts hereinbefore declared, be entitled to the interest and income of the money to arise by sale thereof, if such sale or sales was or were made, and in the same manner and proportions, as he, she, or they would, in that case, be entitled to the same. And I give and bequeath all the household furniture, implements of household, wines, plate, china, linen, pictures, and prints, which shall be in and about my house at Merton at my decease, and not otherwise disposed of by this my Will, or any Codicil or Codicils which I may hereafter make, to the said Emma Lady Hamilton for her own use and benefit. Provided always, and I hereby declare it to be my will, that in case any or either of the trustees hereby nominated and appointed, or any future trustee or trustees to be appointed under this present provision in their or any of their place, shall depart this life, or be desirous of being discharged of and from the aforesaid trusts, or shall go to reside beyond seas, or shall neglect or refuse or become incapable to act in the said trusts before the said trusts shall be fully executed and performed, then and in that case, and as soon and as often as the same shall happen, it shall and may be lawful to and for the surviving or only acting trustee or trustees for the time being of the same trust, estates, monies, and premises under this my Will, or the executors or administrators of such surviving trustee, or of the last acting trustee, to nominate any fit person or persons to supply the place of the trustee or trustees respectively, so dying, desiring to be discharged, or going to reside beyond seas, or refusing, or neglecting, or becoming incapable to act as aforesaid, and that immediately after such appointment, the trust estates, monies, powers, and effects, then vested under and by virtue of this my Will in the trustee or trustees so dying, desiring to be discharged, or going to reside beyond seas, or refusing, neglecting, or becoming incapable to act as aforesaid, shall be conveyed, assigned, and transferred so and in such manner that the same may vest in such new trustee or trustees jointly with the surviving or continuing trustee of the same trust estates, monies, and premises, or solely, as the case may require, and in his, her, or their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns upon the trusts hereinbefore expressed and declared of and concerning the same, and that every such new trustee shall have and may exercise the same powers, privileges and authorities of sale and exchange, and of giving effectual receipts, and all other powers and authorities whatsoever as if he had been appointed a trustee by this my Will, and as if

his name had been inserted in this my Will, instead of the name of the trustee hereby appointed in or to whose place such new trustee respectively shall come or succeed. Provided always, and I hereby further declare it to be my will, that the several trustees hereby nominated, and the trustees to be appointed by virtue of the provision last hereinbefore contained, and each and every of them, and the heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns of them, each and every of them respectively, shall be charged and chargeable only for such monies as the same trustee and trustees respectively shall actually receive by virtue of the trusts hereby reposed in him and them, notwithstanding his or their, or any of their giving or signing, or joining in giving or signing, any receipt or receipts for the sake of conformity. And that he, they, any one or more of them, shall not be answerable or accountable for the other or others of them, or any or either of them, for the acts, receipts, neglects, or default of the other or others of them; but each and every of them only and respectively for his own acts, receipts, neglects, or defaults respectively; and that he, they or any of them shall not be answerable or accountable for any banker, goldsmith, broker, or other person with whom or in whose hands any part of the said trust monies shall or may be deposited, or lodged, for safe custody or otherwise in the execution of the trusts hereinbefore contained; and that he, they, or any of them shall not be answerable or accountable for the rise and fall in the price or value of stock, or the insufficiency or deficiency in title or value of any security or securities, stocks or funds, in or upon which the said trust monies, or any part thereof, shall be placed out or invested, or of any lands and hereditaments to be purchased or taken in exchange, as aforesaid, nor for any other misfortune, loss, or damage which may happen in the execution of the aforesaid trusts, or in relation thereto, except the same shall happen by or through his or their own wilful default respectively, and then and in that case each person respectively shall singly and alone be answerable for such loss or damage as shall arise from his or her own default. And also that it shall and may be lawful to and for the trustees in this my Will named, and such future trustee or trustees to be appointed as aforesaid, and every or any of them, their and every of their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, by and out of the money which shall come to his and their respective hands, by virtue of the trusts aforesaid, to deduct, retain, and reimburse to and for himself and themselves respectively, and also to allow to his and their co-trustee and co-trustees all costs, charges, damages, and expenses which he, they, or any of them shall or may suffer,

sustain, expend, disburse, lay out, or be put unto, in, or about the execution of the aforesaid trusts, or in relation thereunto; and that it shall and may be lawful to and for my said trustee and trustees, or either of them, in his or their discretion, to compound any debt or debts owing or to be owing to me or to my trust estate, and to accept part thereof in full of the same, or to give or allow an enlarged day for payment thereof, and also to sign the Certificate of any Bankrupt, and to pay any debt which shall be claimed to be due and owing from me in such manner and on such evidence as he or they shall think fit to admit. And that he or they shall or may refer to arbitration, or to arbitration and umpirage, any difference which in the execution of the trusts of this my Will shall or may arise between him or them and any other person or persons who shall be or is or are or shall or may claim to be a debtor or debtors to or creditor or creditors of my said trust estate, and that the award and determination which shall be made on such reference or umpirage, shall be binding and conclusive on all persons claiming any benefit under this my Will. I nominate and appoint the said William Nelson and William Haslewood to be executors in trust of this my last Will and Testament. And I revoke and annul all and every Will and and Wills, Testament and Testaments, made by me at any time or times heretofore, and declare that this present writing alone contains the whole of my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I, the said Horatio Viscount Nelson and Duke of Bronté, have to the fourteen first sheets of this my last Will and Testament, contained in fifteen sheets of paper, set my hand, and to the fifteenth and last sheet my hand and seal, have also affixed my seal to the top of the first sheet where the several sheets are fastened together, and have executed a duplicate hereof this tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three. NELSON AND BRONTE. (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the Right Honorable Horatio Viscount Nelson and Duke of Bronté, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, at his request, in his presence, and in the presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto, the word "uses" being first interlined over the erased word "trust" in the eighth sheet, and the word "farms" being first interlined between the words "grounds" and "lands" in the tenth sheet.

HORATIO LEGGATT,
WILLIAM SLAUGHTER, Jun.,
HENRY FLETCHER,
} Clerks to Messrs. Booth and Haslewood, 3, Craven Street, London.

Codicil No. I.

[Dated 13th May, 1803.]

I, Horatio Viscount Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe in the County of Norfolk, and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Duke of Bronté in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, to my last Will and Testament, bearing date the tenth day of this instant, May, do make and publish a Codicil in manner following: (that is to say,) Whereas in and by my last Will and Testament I did give and devise, among other things, unto Emma Lady Hamilton, therein named, her heirs and assigns, my capital messuage at Merton, in the County of Surrey, with the appurtenances and such and so many and such parts of my grounds, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the several parishes of Merton, Wimbledon, and Mitcham, or any of them, as together with and including the site of the said messuage, out-houses, offices, gardens, pleasure grounds, shrubbery, canal, and mote, shall not exceed seventy acres, as should be selected by the said Lady Hamilton, within six months after my decease: Now I do hereby revoke and annul the gift and devise so made of the said capital messuages and premises in and by my said last Will and Testament, and in lieu thereof do give, devise, and dispose of the same in manner following; that is to say, I give and devise unto William Nelson and William Haslewood, in my said Will named, their heirs and assigns, my said capital messuage at Merton, in the County of Surrey, and the out-houses, offices, gardens, and pleasure-grounds belonging thereto, and such and so many, and such parts of my grounds, farm lands, tenements and hereditaments in the several parishes of Merton, Wimbleton, and Mitcham, in the said County of Surrey, or any of them, as together with and including the site of the said messuage, out-houses, offices, gardens, pleasure-grounds, shrubbery, canal, and mote, shall not exceed seventy acres, as shall be selected by the said Emma Lady Hamilton, within six months after my decease, such selection to be testified by some deed or writing under her hand and seal, to the use of such person or persons, and in such parts, shares or proportions, and for such estate and estates, and interest and interests, and charged and chargeable in such manner with any sum or sums of money, annuities, legacies, rent, charges or otherwise, and either absolutely or conditionally, and subject to such power of revocation and new appointment as the said Emma Lady Hamilton, from time to time, as well when covert as sole, and notwithstanding her coverture

by any husband with whom she may happen to marry, by any deed or deeds, writing or writings, to be sealed and delivered by her in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, and to be attested by the same witnesses, or by her last will and testament in writing, or any writing purporting to be or to be in the nature of her last will and testament, or any codicil or codicils thereto to be signed and published by her in the presence of, and to be attested by three or more credible witnesses, shall direct, limit, give or appoint the same, and, in default of such direction, limitation and appointment, and in the mean time, and from time to time, until such direction, limitation or appointment shall be made and take effect, and from time to time as to so much and such parts of the said capital messuage and premises, of which no such direction, limitation or appointment shall be made, to the use of the said Emma Lady Hamilton, for and during the term of her natural life, without impeachment of or for any manner of waste; and from and after the decease of the said Emma Lady Hamilton, to the use of my own right heirs; in all other respects, I ratify and confirm my said Will and Testament. In witness whereof I, the said Horatio Viscount Nelson and Duke of Bronté, have to this Codicil to my last Will and Testament, contained in three sheets of paper, set my hand and seal, and my said seal also to the first sheet where the said sheets are fastened together, and have also executed a duplicate hereof, this 13th day of May, 1803.

NELSON AND BRONTE. (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the Right Honble. Horatio Viscount Nelson Duke of Bronté, as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, in his presence, at his request, and in the presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses.

HORATIO LEGGATT,
WILLIAM SLAUGHTER, Jun.,
HENRY FLETCHER,
} Clerks to Messrs. Booth and Haslewood, 3, Craven Street.

No. II.

[Dated 6th September, 1803.]

I Horatio, Viscount Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk, and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Duke of Bronté in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, having to my last Will and Testament which bears date on or about the tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, made and published a Codicil bearing date the thirteenth day of the same month, do make and publish a further Codicil to

the same last Will and Testament, in manner following: that is to say, I give and bequeath to Miss Horatia Nelson Thompson, who was baptised on the thirteenth day of May last, in the parish of Saint Marylebone, in the County of Middlesex, by Benjamin Lawrence, Curate, and John Willock, Assistant Clerk, and whom I acknowledge as my adopted daughter, the sum of four thousand pounds sterling money of Great Britain, to be paid at the expiration of six months after my decease, or sooner if possible; and I leave my dearest friend, Emma Lady Hamilton, sole guardian of the said Horatia Nelson Thompson, until she shall have arrived at the age of eighteen years, and the interest of the said four thousand pounds to be paid to Lady Hamilton for her education and maintenance. This request of guardianship I earnestly make of Lady Hamilton, knowing that she will educate my adopted child in the paths of religion and virtue, and give her those accomplishments which so much adorn herself, and I hope make her a fit wife for my dear nephew Horatio Nelson, who I wish to marry her if he proves worthy, in Lady Hamilton's estimation, of such a treasure as I am sure she will be. Further I direct that the legacies by this my Codicil, as well as those by my last Will and Testament, given and bequeathed, shall be paid and discharged from and out of my personal estate only, and shall not be charged or chargeable upon my real estates in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in the Kingdom of Farther Sicily, or any or either of them, or any part thereof.

In all other respects I ratify and confirm my said last Will and Testament and former Codicil. In witness whereof I the said Horatio Viscount Nelson, and Duke of Bronté, have to this Codicil, all in my own handwriting, and contained in one sheet of paper, set my hand and seal, this sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three. NELSON AND BRONTE. (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, and published by the Right Honorable Horatio Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament, in the presence of GEORGE MURRAY, first Captain of the Victory, JOHN SCOTT, Secretary.

No. III.

[Autograph dated about the 6th of September, 1803.]

Private for yourself and most secret.

My dear Haslewood,

I send you home a Codicil to my Will, which you will not

communicate to any person breathing, as I would wish you to open, read it, and if not drawn up properly, send me a copy and I will execute it. It is possible that my personal estate, after the disposal of the furniture at Merton, may not amount to four thousand pounds, and sooner than this legacy, or any other, should go unpaid, I would saddle Bronté or any other estate with the legacies. I only mention this as a thing which might happen; and I want to give several other single legacies, and to continue the annuity of one hundred pounds a-year to poor blind Mrs. Nelson.

I may congratulate you on the favourable termination (I hope) of my law suit. You have acted not only an able lawyer's but a most friendly part through the whole business. I beg you will express my compliments and thanks to Serjeant Shepherd, who has done so much justice to my cause; and be assured I am ever, my dear Haslewood, your obliged friend,

NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

I have pretty nearly settled all my Bronté matters; and although I shall not probably at present be able to get the value of it, yet I shall secure to be regularly paid my £3000 a-year net. Burn it when read[1].

[1] In reference to this Letter, which is printed in vol. iii. p. 197, the Editor has received the following communication from Mr. Haslewood, dated Brighton, 29th October, 1845:—

"The letter to which you refer was proved in Doctors' Commons as a third Codicil to Lord Nelson's Will. The concluding words of it are,—"Burn it when read;" and I am extremely anxious that the recital of the letter should always be accompanied by a statement of the reasons why this injunction was not obeyed, which are given in my Answers to two Bills in Chancery respecting the Bronté estate; one filed by Thomas Earl Nelson, before his accession to the Peerage, and the other, which is still depending, filed by the present Earl; and I should consider myself greatly obliged by your introducing, in the course of your interesting work, as much of this explanation as you might judge proper."

"And this Defendant further saith, That, on comparing the said second Codicil with the said Letter which accompanied it, he perceived a discrepancy between them; inasmuch as the said Codicil directed the legacy thereby given to be discharged out of the said Testator's personal estate only, and not to be charged on his real estates in Great Britain and Farther Sicily, or any or either of them; and the said Letter expressed his intention to be, that, sooner than such a legacy or any other should go unpaid, he would saddle Bronté or any other estate with the legacies. And this Defendant, therefore, not considering it right to destroy the said Letter, kept the same deposited with the other testamentary papers of the said Testator. And this Defendant further saith, That the late Right Honourable Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, who was then Judge of the High Court of Admiralty of England, and Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, having been a personal friend of the said Testator, this Defendant, after the death of the said Testator, consulted the said Sir William Scott as to the propriety of proving the said Letter as a Testamentary paper; and by his advice the same was so proved."

No. IV.

[Dated 19th February, 1804.]

I, Horatio Viscount Nelson, and Duke of Bronté, &c., &c., do hereby give and bequeath to my dearest friend, Emma Lady Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, K.B., the net yearly sum of £500, to be paid and considered as a tax upon the rental of my estate at Bronté in Sicily, to be paid every six months—the first to be paid in advance, and so continued for and during the term of her natural life. And however I may in my Will have disposed of Bronté, I declare this as a Codicil to my said Will; and it is my intent, notwithstanding any want of legal forms of which I am ignorant, that the above net sum should be paid to the said Emma Hamilton, as I have before wrote. Dated on board His Majesty's Ship Victory, at Sea, this 19th day of February, 1804.

NELSON AND BRONTE. (L.S.)

Witness our hands, the date as above written, T. M. HARDY, Captain of H.M.S. Victory; JOHN SCOTT, Secretary.

N.B.—The aforementioned sum of £500 a-year to be first paid after the rent is received.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

No. V.

[Dated 7th April, 1804.]

I desire that the sum of £100 sterling money of Great Britain may be annually paid unto the reputed widow of my brother Maurice Nelson by whatever name she may assume, be it S. Nelson, S. Field, or any other name, and if I have not the means to pay this sum, exclusive of my other legacies, I then trust that my friend Alexander Davison will pay it for me regularly every year, and to be paid quarterly as it is paid at present. I declare this a Codicil to my Will, this seventh day of April, one thousand eight hundred and four.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

(Witness) T. M. HARDY, JOHN SCOTT.

No. VI.

[Dated 19th December, 1804.]

To be added to my Will and Codicils. N. & B.

I hereby confirm my last Will and Testament, bearing date on or about May 13th, 1803, with the Codicils, and

confirm anew my legacy to Lady Emma Hamilton and to my adopted daughter Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I further give to my dear friend, Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, K.B., the sum of £2000 sterling, and to my Secretary, John Scott, Esquire, the sum of £100 to buy a ring or some token of my remembrance; and I request that he will, with Captain Hardy, take care of my papers and effects for my executors; and I give to my friend the Reverend Alexander John Scott, the sum of £200 sterling. Dated on board the Victory in the Gulf of Palma, Sardinia, December 19th, 1804.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

No. VII.

[Dated September 11th, 1805.]

I give my dearest friend, Lady Hamilton, all the hay belonging to me at Merton and in Wimbledon Parish. September 11th, 1805.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

No. VIII.

[Autograph dated 21st October, 1805.]

October the twenty-first, one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.

Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to our King and Country to my knowledge, without her receiving any reward from either our King or Country. First, that she obtained the King of Spain's letter, in 1796, to his brother the King of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare war against England, from which letter the Ministry sent out orders to then Sir John Jervis to strike a stroke, if opportunity offered, against either the Arsenals of Spain or her Fleets; that neither of these was done is not the fault of Lady Hamilton, the opportunity might have been offered. Secondly, the British Fleet under my command could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the Governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the Fleet being supplied with everything, should they put into any Port in Sicily; we put into Syracuse and received every supply, went to Egypt, and destroyed the French Fleet. Could I have rewarded these services, I would not now call

upon my Country, but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Hamilton therefore a legacy to my King and Country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my Country my adopted daughter Horatia Nelson Thompson, and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only. These are the only favours I ask of my King and Country at this moment, when I am going to fight their Battle. May God bless my King and Country, and all those who I hold dear. My relations it is needless to mention; they will of course be amply provided for.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

(Witness) HENRY BLACKWOOD.
T. M. HARDY.

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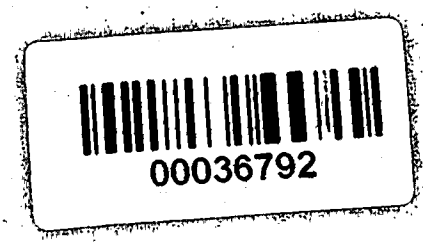
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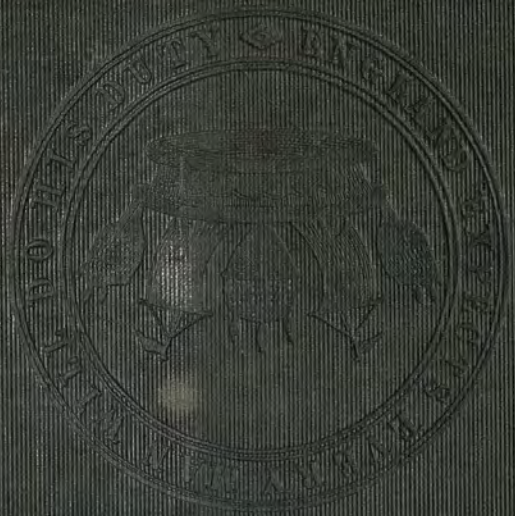
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